Encyclopædia

of

Religion and Ethics
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ABRAHAM (ISRAEL), M.A. (Lond. and Camb.),
Heresy (Jewish).

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Good Nature.

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Hyksos.

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Hegel.

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God (Japanese).

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Foundation and Foundation-Rites, Games, Hottentots.

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JOSEPH (Morris).
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JOYCE (Gilbert Cunningham), M.A., D.D.

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God (Slav), Human Sacrifice (Slav).

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First Cause, Goethe.

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| Home, Hope (Christian), Humility. |

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<td>Fellow of the University of Madras; Hon. Canon of St. George’s Cathedral, Madras; Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, Madras; author of <em>The Faith of Islam, The Historical Development of the Qur’as</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sethe</td>
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<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>Professor der Aegyptologie an der Universität zu Göttingen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shorey</td>
<td>PAUL</td>
<td>Ph.D., LL.D., Lit.D.</td>
<td>Professor and Head of the Department of Greek in the University of Chicago; Roosevelt Professor at the University of Berlin, 1913; Member of the American Institute of Art and Letters.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikes</td>
<td>EDMUND</td>
<td>M.A.</td>
<td>Fellow, Tutor, and Classical Lecturer of St. John’s College, Cambridge; author of <em>The Anthropology of the Greeks</em>; editor of <em>Euripides’ Prometheus Pontius, the Homeric Hymns</em>, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith</td>
<td>HENRY PRESCOTT</td>
<td>D.D.</td>
<td>Librarian of the Union Theological Seminary, New York; formerly Professor of Old Testament Literature and the History of Religion in the Meadville Theological School, Pennsylvania.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith</td>
<td>KIRBY FLOWER</td>
<td>Ph.D. (Johns Hopkins), LL.D. (Vermont)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spight</td>
<td>HAROLD EDWIN BALME</td>
<td>M.A.</td>
<td>Junior Minister of Essex Church, Kensington; formerly Assistant Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Aberdeen; sometime Fellow of Manchester College, Oxford.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spooner</td>
<td>WILLIAM ARCHIBALD</td>
<td>D.D.</td>
<td>Warden of New College, and Hon. Canon of Christ Church, Oxford; Chaplain to the Bishop of Peterborough.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stock</td>
<td>ST. GEORGE</td>
<td>M.A. (Oxford)</td>
<td>Lecturer on Greek in the University of Birmingham; author of <em>English Thought for English Thinkers</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stokes</td>
<td>GEORGES J.</td>
<td>M.A. (Trinity College, Dublin)</td>
<td>Of Lincoln’s Inn, Barrister-at-Law; Professor of Philosophy and Jurisprudence in University College, Cork, National University of Ireland.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffrin</td>
<td>AARON EMMANUEL</td>
<td>M.A. (Oxon.)</td>
<td>Vicar of Waterlooville, Hants.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Szebro</td>
<td>ALADAR</td>
<td>Dr.Phil.</td>
<td>Minister of the Reformed Church in Budapest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennant</td>
<td>FREDERICK ROBERT</td>
<td>D.D., B.Sc.</td>
<td>Fellow and Lecturer of Trinity College, Cambridge.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Generalize: Authors of various articles in this volume are listed with their qualifications, academic positions, and notable works. This includes philosophers, theologians, and linguists from different fields and academic institutions across Europe and the United States. Their contributions range from ancient to modern studies, covering subjects from humanism to theology, linguistics, and classical studies. The list highlights the breadth of scholarship and the diverse expertise represented in this volume.
THOMSON (JAMES ALEXANDER KERR), M.A.
Assistant Professor of Greek in the University of Aberdeen; late Scholar of Pembroke College, Oxford.
Hon. Fellow, Pembroke College, Oxford.

THOMSON (J. AETHUS), M.A., LL.D.
Growth (Biological).

THURNER (EDUARD), Dr. Phil.
Professor der K. K. Altertumswissenschaft an der Universität zu Straßburg, emeritiert seit 1906.
Health and Gods of Healing (Greek, Roman).

THURN (Sir EVERARD IM.), K.C.M.G., C.B., M.A.
(Edin.), LL.D. (Edin.).
Formerly Government Agent in British Guiana; Lt.-Governor of Ceylon; Governor of Fiji and High Commissioner of Western Pacific.
Guiana.

THURSTON (HERBERT), B.A., S.J.
Glücklerism.

TROELTSCH (ERNST), Dr. theol. phil. jur.
Professor der Theologie an der Universität zu Heidelberg; Geheimer Kirchenrat.
Free-Thought, Historiography.

TROIJKY (SERGIJ VICTOROVICH), Master of Theology.
Instructor in the Alexander-Newski Theological College at St. Petersburg; Member of the Imperial Archeological Institute of St. Petersburg; attached to the Chancery of the Over-Francis of the Most Holy Synod.
Greek Orthodox Church.

TURNER (JOSHUA), Ph.D.
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TURNER (STANLEY HORNBY), M.A., D.Litt.
Fellow of the Royal Economic Society; Deputy Chief Inspector for Scotland to the National Health Insurance Commission; formerly Lecturer in Political Economy in the University of Aberdeen.

WAGGOTT (PHILIP NAPIER), M.A. (Oxford and Camb.).
Of the Society of St. John the Evangelist; Curate of St. Peter's Church, Cambridge; Select Preacher, Oxford (1902-1904), Cambridge (1903 and 1912); author of Religion and Science (1904), The Scientific Temper in Religion (1906).

Walsh (W. Gilbert), M.A.
London Secretary of Christian Literature Society for China; James Long Lecturer; author of Confucius and Confucianism, Ways that are Dark; editor of China.

Watson (David), D.D.
Minister of the Church of Scotland at Glasgow; Vice-Convener of the Church of Scotland Social Work; author of Social and Moral Problems and the Church's Duty.

Walther (HUGO), M.A., B.D.
Minister of the United Free Church at Bearden, Stirlingshire.

Wells (Leonard St. Alban), M.A. (Oxford).
Missioner of St. Andrew's Church, Salisbury; formerly Chaplain and Lecturer of the Clergy College, Ripon; author of Choice of the Ages (1911), Paul the Apostle (1913); sub-editor of the Oxford edition of Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.
Gospels (Apocryphal).

Wheeler (RRON DAVIS), M.A.
Curate of Freasham, Surrey.

Whitworth (OWEN WALTER), M.A. (Lond. and Camb.), D.D. (Aber.).
Theological Tutor, Cheshunt College, Cambridge; Examiner in Hebrew in the University of London; Geheimer Kirchenrat.

Secretary of the Baptist Historical Society; formerly Principal of the Baptist College of Victoria, and Secretary of the Victorian Baptist Foreign Mission.
Friends of the Temple, Huguenots, Huntingdon's (Countess of) Connexion, Hutchinsonians.

Wild (ALFRED), Dr. Phil. et Litt. h.c. (Louvain); Litt.D. h.c. (Dublin).
Ordentlicher Honorar-Professor der altrömischen Geschichte und Aegyptiologie an der Universität zu Bonn.

Wilde (GEORG), Dr. jur. et phil.
Ordentlicher Professor an der Universität zu Halle; Geheimer Regierungsrat.

Wills (GEORGE), Dr. jur. et phil.
Ordentlicher Professor an der Universität zu München; Geheimer Regierungsrat.

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

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

Woods (MURRAY), Dr. Phil.
Ordentlicher Professor der Klassischen Philologie an der Universität zu München.

Würth (JULIUS), Dr. phil.
Professor of Greek in the University of Sydney, New South Wales.

Human Sacrifice (Roman).
CROSS-REFERENCES

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

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LISTS OF ABBREVIATIONS

I. GENERAL

A.B. = Anno Hijrae (A.D. 622).
Akk. = Akkadian.
Alex. = Alexandrian.
Amer. = American.
Apo. = Apocalypse, Apocalypsis.
Ar., Apoc. = Apocrypha.
Aq. = Aquila.
Arab. = Arabic.
Aram. = Aramaic.
Arm. = Armenian.
Ary. = Aryan.
As. = Asiatic.
Assy. = Assyrian.
AT = Altes Testament.
AV = Authorized Version.
AVm = Authorized Version margin.
A.V. = Anno Yezidi (A.D. 636).
Bab. = Babylonian.
c. = circa, about.
Can. = Cypriote.
cf. = compare.
c.t. = contrast.
De = Deuteronomist.
Elohist. = editions or editors.
Eyg. = Egyptian.
Eng. = English.
Eth. = Ethiopic.
EV = English Version.
F. = first verse or page: as Ac 10th.
fr. = first verse or page: as Mt 11th.
Fr. = French.
Germ. = German.
Gr. = Greek.
H. = Law of Holiness.
Heb. = Hebrew.
Hel. = Hellenistic.
Hex. = Hexateuch.
Hym. = Hymnary.
Ir. = Irish.
I. = Iran.
I. = Israelite.
J = Jahwist.
J = Jehovah.
Jer. = Jerusalem.
LXX = Septuagint.
Min. = Minean.
MS = Manuscript.
MT = Masoretic Text.
n. = note.
O.A. = Oracles.
O.T. = Old Testament.
P. = Priestly Narrative.
Pal. = Palestine, Palestinian.
Pent. = Pentateuch.
Pers. = Persian.
Phil. = Philistine.
Ph. = Phenician.
R. = Redactor.
Rom. = Roman.
RV = Revised Version.
RV = Revised Version margin.
Sab. = Sabean.
Sem. = Semitic.
Sept. = Septuagint.
Syr. = Syrian.
Syr. = Syrian.
T. (following a number) = times.
Talm. = Talmud.
Targ. = Targum.
Theod. = Theodotion.
TR = Textus Receptus.
tr. = translated or translation.
VSS = Versions.
Vulg. = Vulgate.
WH = Westcott and Hort’s text.

II. BOOKS OF THE BIBLE

Old Testament.

Gn = Genesis.
Ex = Exodus.
Lv = Leviticus.
Nu = Numbers.
Dt = Deuteronomy.
Jos = Joshua.
Jg = Judges.
Rt = Ruth.
1, 2, 3, 4 = 1 and 2 Samuel.
1, 2, 3 K = 1 and 2 Kings.
1, 2, 3 Ch = 1 and 2 Chronicles.
Ezr = Ezra.
Neh = Nehemiah.
Est = Esther.
Job.
Ps = Psalms.
Pr = Proverbs.
Ez = Ecclesiastes.

Apoxyphora.
1 Es, 2 Es = 1 and 2.


Mt = Matthew.
Mk = Mark.
Lk = Luke.
Jn = John.
Ac = Acts.
Ro = Romans.
1 Co, 2 Co = 1 and 2.
P = Philippians.
1 P, 2 P, 3 P = 1 and 2 Peter.
1, 2, 3 Jn, 3 Jn = 1, 2, and 3 John.
Col = Colossians.
Ph = Philemon.
He = Hebrews.
Corinthians.
Gal = Galatians.
Jude.
Rev = Revelation.
LISTS OF ABBREVIATIONS

III. FOR THE LITERATURE

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

Baethgen = Beiträge zur sem. Religionsgesch., 1888.
Benzing = Heb. Archäologie, 1894.
Darmstaedter-Siglo = Dict. des ant. gr. et rom. Rechtsprechens, 1893.
De la Saussaye = Lehrbuch der Religionsgesch., 1896.
Dentinger = Enrichissement Symbolicum, Freiburg im Br., 1911.
Deussen = Die Philosophie der Perser (2 vols. 1890).
Dougherty = Arabia Deserta, 2 vols. 1888.
Grimm = Deutsche Mythologie, 3 vols. 1875–1877.
Hamburger, Akad. für Bibel u. Talmud, i. 1870 (1890), ii. 1883, suppl. 1886, 1891 f., 1897.
Hölder = Altsächsische Sprachgesch., 1891 ff.
Howitt = Native Tribes of S. E. Australia, 1915.
Jubainville = Cours de litt. celtique, l–xii, 1883 ff.
Legrand = Études et monuments religieux égyptiens, 1904.
Lane = An Arabic–English Dictionary, 1839 ff.
Lepsius = Denkmäler aus Ägypten u. Äthiopien, 1842 ff.
Lichtenberger = Enzy. der sciences religieuses, 1786.
Lidzbarski = Handbuch der nordischen Epigraphik, 1898.
Mair = Sanskrit Texts, 1859–1872.
Mawardi = A Concise Dict. of the Assyrian Language, 1894 ff.
Pawley-Winslow = Realencyc. der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, 1896–1896.
Parrot-Chipiez = Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité, 1878 ff.
Peller = Römische Mythologie, 1898.
Réville = Religion des peuples non-civilisés, 1885.
Riehm = Handwörterbuch d. bibl. Altertums 1, 1893–1894.
Robinson = Biblical Researches in Palestine, 3 vols. 1849.
Roth = Lex. d. gr. u. röm. Mythologie, 1884.
Schürer = GJV, 3 vols. 1898–1901 [JVP, 5 vols. 1890 ff.]
Schwally = Leben nach dem Tode, 1892.
Siegfried-Stade = Heb. Wörterbuch zum AT, 1898.
Smith (G. A.) = Historical Geography of the Holy Land, 1889–1890.
Smith (W. R.) = Religion of the Semites, 1894.
Spencer = Principals of Sociology, 1858–1863.
Spencer-Gillen = Native Tribes of Central Australia, 1896.
Spencer-Gillen = Northern Tribes of Central Australia, 1904.
Swete = The OT in Greek, 3 vols. 1895 ff.
Tylor (E. B.) = Primitive Culture, 1891 [1903].
Wesenberg = Geschichte der Beschreibung des Grabes und seiner Berechnung, 1897.
Wiedermann = Die Religion der alten Ägypter, 1899 (Eng. tr., revised, Religion of the Anc. Egyptians, 1897).
Wilkinson = Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians, 3 vols. 1878.
Zimmern = Geschichte der Völker des AltenTestaments, 1892.

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

AA = Archiv für Anthropologie.
AAU = American Antiquarian and Oriental J. of Language.
ABA = Archiv für die Literatur.
ABE = Archiv für Ethnographie.
AG = Archiv für Geschichte der Wissenschaften.
AGP = Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie.
AH = American Historical Review.
AHTR = Ancient Hebrew Tradition (Hommel).
AP = American Journal of Philology.
AR = American Journal of Psychology.
ARPE = American Journal of Religious Psychology.
ART = American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature.
AT = American Journal of Theology.
AM = Annales du Musée Grégoire.
APES = American Palestine Exploration Society.
APF = Archiv für Papyrologie.
ARP = Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.
ARW = Archiv für Textwissenschaften.
AS = Acta Sanctorum (Bollandus).
ASG = Archiv für Geschichte der Wissenschaften.
ASL = Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie.
ASW = Archeological Survey of W. India.
AZ = Allgemeine Zeitung.
BAG = Beiträge zur allgemeinen Geschichte.
BCJ = Bulletin de Correspondence Hellenique.
BE = Beiträge zur Geschichte der Wissenschaften.
BG = Bombay Gazetteer.
BJ = Bullen Judaeicum (Josephus).
BL = Bulletin Lectures.
BLE = Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique.
BORG = Beiträge zur Geschichte der Wissenschaften.
BSA = Bibliotheca Sacra.
BSA = Bulletin de la Soc. de Sociologie.
BSAA = Bulletin de la Soc. de Géographie.
BTS = Bulletins de la Soc. des Antiquaires, etc., Paris.
BSG = Bulletin de la Soc. de Géographie.
BW = Biblical World.
BZ = Bibliotheca Sacra.
LISTS OF ABBREVIATIONS

CAIBL = Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
OBT = Calcedon Buddhist Text Society.
CE = Catholic Encyclopedia.
CIF = Childhood of Fiction (MacCulloch).
CGS = Cultus of the Greek States (Farnell).
CIS = Census of India.
CIL = Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum.
CILS = Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.
CILS = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
Cincinnati Seminary.
COET = Cuneiform Inscriptions and the OT (Eng.
t. of KAT*; see below).
CR = Contemporary Review.
CRZ = Celtic Review.
CSE = Classical Review.
CSE = Church Quarterly Review.
CSJ = Corpus Script. Eccles. Latinarum.
DC = Dict. of Christian Antiquities (Smith-
Chestem). DCH = Dict. of Christian Biography (Smith-
Wace).
DCS = Dict. of Christ and the Gospels.
DI = Dict. of Islam (Hughes).
DP = Dict. of National Biography.
DPA = Dict. of Psychology and Psychiatry.
DWH = Denkschriften der Wiener Akad. der Wissenschaften.
EB = Encyclopaedia Biblica.
EBR = Encyclopaedia Britannica.
EEK = Encyclopaedia Islamica.
EER = Encyclopaedia of Islam.
EXP = Expositor.
EXP = Expository Times.
FHG = Fragmenta Historiorum Graecorum (coll. C. Müller, Paris, 1885).
FL = Folklore.
FLJ = Folklore Journal.
FLR = Folklore Record.
GA = Gazette Archéologique.
GB = Golden Bough* (Frazer).
GD = Göttische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
GIP = Grundriss d. iranischen Philologie.
GV = Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes.
GV = Geschichte des Volkes Israel.
HAI = Handbook of American Indians.
HDB = Hastings' Dict. of the Bible.
HE = Historia Ecclesiastica.
HGC = Historical Geography of the Holy Land (G. A. Smith).
HI = History of Israel.
HL = Hibbert Journal.
HJ = History of the Jewish People.
HN = History Naturals (Pilay).
HV = Handwörterbuch.
IA = Indian Antiquity.
ICCR = International Critical Commentary.
ICOR = International Congress of Orientalists.
ICRB = Indian Census Report (1901).
IG = Inscrip. Graecae (Pll). under auspices of Berlin Academy, 1873 ff.
IGA = Inscrip. Graecae Antiquissima.
IGI = Imperial Gazetteer of India* (1885); new edition (1898-1909).
IJE = International Journal of Ethic.
IIT = International Theological Library.
JASI = Journal of the Anthropological Institute.
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<td>PB</td>
<td>Polychrome Bible (English).</td>
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<td>PBE</td>
<td>Publications of the Bureau of Ethnology.</td>
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<td>PF</td>
<td>Palestine Exploration Fund.</td>
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<td>PEFS</td>
<td>Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement.</td>
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<td>PG</td>
<td>Patrologia Graeca (Migne).</td>
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<td>PKB</td>
<td>Preussische Jahrbücher.</td>
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<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>Patrologia Latina (Migne).</td>
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<td>PNQ</td>
<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>PRES</td>
<td>Proceedings of the Royal Society.</td>
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<td>PSBE</td>
<td>Proceedings Royal Soc. of Edinburgh.</td>
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<td>PSBA</td>
<td>Proceedings of the Soc. of Biblical Archeology.</td>
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<td>PTS</td>
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<td>RA</td>
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<td>RAS</td>
<td>Revue d'Asiatic Society.</td>
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<td>RASR</td>
<td>Revue d'Assyriologie.</td>
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<td>RB</td>
<td>Revue Biblique.</td>
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<td>BBW</td>
<td>Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology (Washington).</td>
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<td>SC</td>
<td>Revue Critique.</td>
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<td>RCG</td>
<td>Revue Celtique.</td>
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<td>RG</td>
<td>Revue des Deux Mondes.</td>
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<td>RE</td>
<td>Revue des Études Gregorien.</td>
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<td>RG---</td>
<td>Revue Egyptologique.</td>
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<td>REJ</td>
<td>Revue des Études Juives.</td>
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<tr>
<td>REl</td>
<td>Revue d'Ethnographie.</td>
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<td>RHL</td>
<td>Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses.</td>
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<td>RHR</td>
<td>Revue de l'Histoire des Religions.</td>
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<td>RN</td>
<td>Revue Numismatique.</td>
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<td>RPP</td>
<td>Records of the Past.</td>
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<td>RPRA</td>
<td>Revue Philosophique.</td>
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<td>RQ</td>
<td>Römische Quartalschrift.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RS</td>
<td>Revue sémithique d'Épigraphie et d'Histoire ancienne.</td>
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<td>RSA</td>
<td>Recueil de la Soc. archéologique.</td>
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<td>RSJ</td>
<td>Reports of the Smithsonian Institution.</td>
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<td>RTA</td>
<td>Revue de Travaux relatifs à l'Archéologie et à la Philologie.</td>
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<td>RTH</td>
<td>Revue des traditions populaires.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RTAP</td>
<td>Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RTR</td>
<td>Recueil de Travaux.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RWB</td>
<td>Realwörterbuch.</td>
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SBAW = Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akad. d. Wissenschaften.  
BEE = Sacred Books of the East.  
SBOT = Sacred Books of the OT (Hebrew).  
SDB = Single vol. Dict. of the Bible (Hastings).  
SMA = Sitzungsberichte der Münchener Akademie.  
TASJ = Transactions of the Asiatic Soc. of Japan.  
TC = Tribes and Castes.  
TES = Transactions of Ethnological Society.  
TALZ = Theologische Litteraturzeitung.  
TAT = Theol. Tijdschrift.  
TRHS = Transactions of Royal Historical Society.  
TRSE = Transactions of Royal Soc. of Edinburgh.  
TS = Texts and Studies.  
TSBA = Transactions of the Soc. of Biblical Archeology.  
TU = Texte u. Untersuchungen.  
WAJ = Western Asian Inscriptions.  
ZA = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.  
ZATW = Zeitschrift für die alttest. Wissenschaft.  
ZCK = Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst.  
ZCP = Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie.  
ZDA = Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum.  
ZDMG = Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.  
ZDPFV = Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins.  
ZE = Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.  
ZKF = Zeitschrift für Kulturwissenschaft.  
ZKG = Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte.  
ZKT = Zeitschrift für Kathol. Theologie.  
ZM = Zeitschrift für die Mythologie.  
ZNTW = Zeitschrift für die neuest. Wissenschaft.  
ZAPP = Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Pädagogik.  
ZTK = Zeitschrift für Theologie u. Kirche.  
ZVK = Zeitschrift für Volkskunde.  
ZVEW = Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft.  
ZWT = Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie.  

[A small superior number designates the particular edition of the work referred to, as KAT², LOT², etc.]
FICTION (Primitive, Oriental, and Greco-Roman).—By the term 'fiction' in the literary sense we understand any tale or narrative—whatever its length and whether in poetry or prose—told or written for amusement or for instruction. This rough working definition must, however, receive considerable modification, for the fables and the parable (p. 42) are scarcely fiction in the usual acceptance of the term; nor does the definition seem to account for the origin of fiction, but to apply solely to its later forms and developments.

1. Origin. — The origin of fiction is impossible to determine with certainty. In its earliest known form it may be divided, as by MacCulloch, into sagas and Māorihana.

(a) The Saga. — This type, represented most familiarly by the bulk of Old Icelandic literature, and also seen, for example, in the Nibelungenlied, the Arthurian cycle (see ARTHUR, ARTHURIAN CYCLE), the Irish Táin Bó Cuailnge, the Pākehā Rāa Rūa, the European Chéruheug, the Oriental Alexandre the Great, etc., is probably historical in origin. There is here, in other words, doubtless a kernel of real events, about which the mythopoetic tendency common to the entire human race has clustered events which may or may not be historic. In the latter case they may have been performed by others than the characters to whom they are ascribed, and to which—in view of changed beliefs and outlook upon life—motives, assisting and thwarting agencies, and even results may be assigned that are radically different from, or even diametrically opposed to, those which were in the original form of the saga in question. Thus, the saga constitutes the earliest type of history, and it is possible, in great part, to reconstruct a large portion of real history by the excision of material obviously fictitious. Such history can in no case (except where, as in the Alexander cycle, authentic historical materials are elsewhere given) be regarded as other than a mere or less close approximation to the course of events as they actually took place; and the conclusion of the most conscientious investigators will perform differ widely as regards the historicity of alleged events of prime importance to the credibility of the saga. Conspicuous examples of this type are the Malay Sejarah Melayu (tr. Leyden, Malay Annals, London, 1851; cf. W. Gerlach, Androcles, der Naturwunder, Leipzig, 1860–77, v. i. 108–119) and the Maori epics (Gray, Polynesia. Mythol. and Ancient Trad. Hist. of the New Zealand Races, London, 1855), where the historical basis is readily discernible, despite the legendary accretions. Indeed, there is practically no people which does not possess at least one saga as to its origin and history. But, being designed primarily to preserve history, the saga cannot properly be classed as fiction.

(b) The Māorihana. — With the Māorihana the case is different, although the two are often confused, so that, as MacCulloch says (loc. cit.): 'What is told as a saga in one country occurs as a Māorihana in another place. Possibly Māorihana are the deteriorated form of sagas; on the other hand, a saga may merely be a Māorihana to the personages of which definite names have been given. Hence, we can hardly affirm yet which is the earlier of the two; nor is there any good reason for supposing that both forms of the folk-tale may not have been invented separately. But, judging by most collections of folk-tales, the earliest stories must have had more or less of the saga form, more especially if we consider saga and myth to be closely related. We have seen how many European folk-tale incidents exist as separate stories among sagas, but told of this or the other traditional personages. These are sagas or myths. They may, however, be told occasionally of no one in particular; then they are savage Māorihana. Moreover, where a more or less elaborate story told by savages can be proved to have reached them by diffusion or borrowing, almost invariably the actors in it have become the well-known heroes or divinities of the tribe. In other words, a story told in Europe as a Māorihana becomes a saga when it is adopted by savages.'

The Māorihana is normally shorter than the saga, and it very frequently has a didactic purpose which is foreign to the essence of the saga; we may even say that, in its didactic aspect, the Māorihana is the parent of the fable, the main difference being that in the latter the 'moral' is clearly indicated, while in the former it may be drawn or not, if present, or may be altogether lacking, or may have different morals in different versions. As an instance we may take a story whose earliest known form is found in the Paśupatahrī (iii. 4). Here a Brāhmaṇa secures a goal for sacrifices, and is seen by three rogues, who plan to get the animal. Standing at intervals...
along his road, the first acts him why he carries a dog, the second a dead child, and the third an anan. The Betham, thinking his gun has gone down and run away, while the rogue enjoy a feast. The moral here given is: 'Rogues gifted with much understanding, with good discretion, and with ability to deceive, are very dangerous.' In the Faerie Queene (iv. io) the moral is: 'He who, with himself for a standard, judges a knight to be a knave, is justly to be pitied by him'; and in the Kathaeramante (xv. vi. 61—80) that: 'Numbers conquer in this world.' In this story, in which the rogue makes Odysseus believe that he is with child, and conspire with a physician to procure him for an abortion; no moral is given. In the Gaia Romannus (xxxix.) three physicians so convince their rival that he has leprosy that he contracts the disease, the three physicians being 'the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life; or the world, the flesh, and the devil, who often corrupts the good physician, i.e. a priest or confessor, so that he is driven from the church for further punishment.' In Shakespeare, in Macbeth, Petrarch, Torquato Tasso, Laclamere, 1826, 1827; Gaia Romannus, ed. Custerly, p. 753.)

Many of the Mârchen, as is clear from MacCulloch's masterly CF, are the stéréotypes of older sagas; and a still greater number are distinctly celticological in character, as in our familiar story of how the robin got its red breast, although the latter category more properly comes under the rubric of myth and folklore (ø.v.c.) and a third class represents primitive religious beliefs, as in Finn in Boots, Beauty and the Beast, Bluebeard, Jack and the Beanstalk, etc. In all these cases—historical, mythological, and survivalistic—the original motive was profoundly serious. Indeed, the present writer is inclined to believe that primitive man did not derive his ideas from mere amusement (cf. above, vol. iv. p. 866). Yet this statement obviously demands much caution, as it may be profoundly in earnest, and yet the necessity for relaxation and the capacity for enjoyment of it are innate in primitive man, as in the most highly developed of modern human races. Just as we may read fiction of the most superlative character for the sake of recreation, or may turn to a psychological or problem novel or to a historical romance for delineation of character or for a reconstruction of bygone times, and derive a true Aristotelian catharsis and elevating stimulus and joy from the reading or the hearing of the tale, so it doubtless was with primitive man. And, just as children delight in hearing stories to-day, so early man (and early child) found joy, after the day's work was done, in similar recitals. Only, what to us are fairy stories and palpable fictions were to him very real and entirely possible. Thus, then, amusement and recreation, if not the prime factors, soon came to be potent agencies in the development of fiction; nor is there any reason why amusement and recreation should not be combined with history, myth, and folk-belief. Indeed, there must be some element of pleasure if the tale is to survive, this pleasure being of every type, from mere amusement or frank ribaldry to the highest intellectual catharsis or minute dissection of character. In the early stage the hero must be the embodiment of all the popular virtues, and must be victorious over every obstacle; later, as in the Novus d'Archer, temporal success is unessential, more stress being laid on nobility of soul; finally, in some types of fiction it becomes possible for the hero not only to defeat, but also to be characterized by ignoble qualities, so that the novel becomes a study of degeneration, not of progress, as in Harold Fredeic's Damnation of Tharon Wares (1890); known in Britain under the title of Thesmophoria. Yet the latter type of fiction can scarcely hope to be popular; for the middle classes, whose mental attitude represents the national standard, are insufficiently developed to appreciate a novel which is wholly 'unpleasant'; although it can scarcely be doubted that such fiction, when seriously undertaken, is perfectly legitimate, and that the horror which it excites arouses an ethical resolve to endeavour to avoid becoming such a person as is portrayed. Whether, at the first, there was 'make-believe' seems questionable, and yet at a very early time there must have arisen a fund of anecdote which formed the genesis of a short form of fiction—of which all traces have long since vanished—precisely as so much of our own fiction is more or less drawn from real types, so that we must say, if it is to meet with approval, se non è vero, è ben trovato.

(c) Diffusion.—The problem of the diffusion of fiction-incidents is extremely involved. The story-telling instinct is universal, and the widely divergent national types—to which attention will be devoted below—show that various peoples have independently developed their own classes of fiction in accordance with their distinctive modes of thought. It is possible, however, that the question is somewhat more complicated than it seems. Attention has been called by Mrs. Florence Steel and Sir Richard Temple (Wide-awake Stories, 387 f.) to the fact that, 'since the incidents are more apt to retain their stock forms than the stories which make up the most important portion of a tale from the investigator's point of view.' In some instances the incident is so unusual that borrowing would be the first thought, were not the difficulty of the way of such an hypothesis so great as practically to forbid it (cf., also, CF, 23, 486 ff.). Elsewhere the process of borrowing is evident, as in the African story of Epr Rabit and Taysk (Harris, Uncle Remus, his Songs and his Sayings, New York, 1881, pp. 33—25), which appears, with the substitution of a Frenchman for Epr Fox, in a Biloxi (Louisianian) tale (At Bull. BE [1919], pp. 15—15). While we must recognize that intercommunication was probably more extensive than is commonly believed (cf. Hir, Ingulischer, Strassburg, 1906—07, pp. 317 ff., 396 ff.), and that in this way there was a very general transmission of folk-tale incidents, it is safest, in our present state of knowledge, to adopt a conservative attitude, and to hold, unless there is positive evidence or very strong probability to the contrary, that these incidents are derived from the same source or from the essentially uniform psychology common to the entire human race.

(d) Earliest form.—The ordinary speech of man is in prose, and we may accordingly be certain that the most primitive Mârchen, as recorded, for instance, among the N. Amer. Indians, was also in prose. The same was probably the case with the saga. Yet, while prose is easier for normal conversation, it is less easy to recollect and repeat accurately than poetry. Accordingly we find that there was a tendency, when the sages and such Mârchen as were deemed of greater importance developed to considerable length, to recite them in verse. In other cases, as in Old Irish, or in the Pahbelt Râsta Rastit cycle, there is a commingling of prose and verse, the cante-fable, in which the speeches of the principal characters, quasi-summary of the tale, and indications of especially important situations are given in verse, and the bulk of the narrative being in prose. As a matter of fact, the co-existence of poetic (bardic) and prose (folk-tale) versions of the same theme may be found in N. India to-day, and it is well known that the former type preserves the text much more faithfully than the latter, while the resultant record is usually the form most in vogue. In the case of

of Sinbad the Sailor, the origin of which goes back to the palmy days of trade in the east and the Indian Ocean, and which was probably composed at Basra during the tenth century, and it is most likely that the origin of the Romance of the Arabian nights is the result of the steady stream of new stories being added to it, thus creating a new literary genre in India; and, if this fact be born in mind, it is evident that the Arabic romance writers preserved the literary merit, special stress should be laid on his descriptions. They are, most of them, excellent, though the length of the story is itself extraordinary, and, if this book be born in mind, it is evident that the Arabic romance writers preserved the literary merit, special stress should be laid on his descriptions.

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**FICTION (Primitive, Oriental, and Grecoroman)**

The national Roman, however, is the Romance of *Astar*, which, in its present form, dates from the period of the Crusades. It is in simple style, and is of value for its pictures of the life of the desert (cf. *Caesar de Persia*, J. A. xii. [1883] 97-123, xiv. [1884] 317-347; and *Leaves from Eastern Life*, London, 1887, pp. 108-144, where the Arabic romances are summarized and estimated: partial Eng. tr. by Hamilton, 4 vols., do. 1883. Here must be included also the great cycle of the Romance of *Basir* (summary by Hust, 400-407), the Romance of *Safir al-Fasiya* (Fr. tr. by Al Bey, Constantinople, 1847), and the Romance of *Tayy* (d). *Syria*, etc. — In this literature, besides the story of Alhajr (q. v.), the department of fiction may be regarded as including the romances of Judiae and Agnon. (Johann, 1800); the Romance of Treasures (ed. tr. Besold, Leipzig, 1888); and the cycle of the Seven Sleepers (cf. Gudin, *Testi orientali sopra i sette dormitori di Bugia*, Rome, 1892). In *Babylonia and Ethiope* no works of fiction are recorded, and the instances of *Marec* in the *Chronicle* of *Babylonia* (Eng. tr. by J. W. F. Riggs, 1893, 1. vii. 73—Am 59, Ex 16, I 5, 5); *Homaia* can be assigned unquestionably to this class. In the NT some of the parables of the *Sermon on the Mount* have been taken by Him from *Marec* (e.g. Mt 18:28-32; Lk 10:33); and to the same category may belong a number of the Talmudic and Midrashic parables and illustrative Sayings. At the same time, it is obvious that the lack of written fiction does not imply that *Marec* and sages were not current in great numbers; Armenian literature, for instance, is devoid of the romance, but the folk-tale is very popular (cf. Chalatian, *Armen. Marec* and *Sogian*, Leipzig, n.d.).

(c) *India*. — The *Marec*-literature of India is enormous, and is represented in Sanskrit by such collections as the *KathaShiripravara* (Eng. tr. by Travey, Calcutta, 1894-97), *Kathakol* (Eng. tr. by J. S. Williams, London, 1898), and *Kamasastra* (Ger. tr. by Schmidt, Kiel, 1884, Stuttgart, 1898). The oldest formal Indian romance is Dachini's *Dakshaswadaksha* (Ger. tr. by Meyer, Leipzig, 1882), a capital romance of romance, written about the 6th cent. A.D., and the only Sanskrit romance which can lay claim to general interest. Following this, every device of the highly artificial Sanskrit *Katha* style was called into requisition by Subandhu (between A.D. 500 and 600) in his *VedaSundara* (Eng. tr. by Gray, New York, 1912) and he was quickly imitated by his avowed rival, Bana, the author of the equally artificial *Kadambari* (Eng. tr. by C. M. Ridding, London, 1896), and *Harapanava* (Eng. tr. by Cowell and Thomas, do. 1897). In these three romances matter is everywhere sacrificed to form; learned allusions, elaborate personages, and well-nigh cloying descriptions of scenes, phenomena abound, and there is neither analysis of character nor interest in action. The majority of Sanskritists utterly condemn the Indian romance, but the present writer ventures to find certain melodious, mystic, and majestic beauty which can never be equalled even in Sanskrit; and the above is merely a hint that all these are not rare in the Indian romance. The present writer ventures to find certain melodious, mystic, and majestic beauty which can never be equalled even in Sanskrit; and the above is merely a hint that all these are not rare in the Indian romance.

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to Persia, where it was incorporated in The Thousand Nights and One Night, ultimately appearing in the Occident in the Dresser's version of Boccaccio. The adventures narrated in Dajin's romance, however, bear no resemblance, either in plot or in episode, to the incidents of KambaK and his kinsfolk. In the spirit of the fables and of the Greek romances is as divergent as the audiences of scholars on the one side and the general reader of the other, for whom they wrote: nor can any real affinity, much less any direct connection, be traced between the romances of India and of Greece and Persia.

(5) Persian.—To the Pahlavi period, besides the lost version of the Hoshi Afsana, the immediate source of The Thousand Nights and One Night, belongs the single extant Middle Persian romance, the Kadhah-kh 4 Artazsir-e Pahlevi, dating from about the 8th century. (Eng. tr. by Darab Peshotan Sattari, Isphahan, 1892; and tr. by the Rev. Robert D. Bussaner's Reise in der des indogermanischen Sprachgebietes zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen, iv. (1879) 22-89.)

In modern Persian the romance begins with Firdausi, Jami, Tant ' 2 Eisad, and the anonymous (1510) Qavam o Nathan, and is continued by such poets as Nizami (Ladli o Majzun, Eng. tr. by Atkinson, 1830; and Jami o Majzun, Fr. tr. by Chayen, Paris, 1890). Among the modern writers may be mentioned Muhammad Kamin (Qasib o Kasr, tr. by Franklin, London, 1898), the anonymous (1801) Numa (analyzed by van Koen, Romana von Misir, Leyden, 1898), and Qosib o Batin Taj (Eng. tr. by Forbes, London, 1890). There are a host of other Persian romances, unprinted and even unedited (for a convenient survey, see Eth. Gise, ii. (1894) 228-284, 317-324); and for specimens, see Cevadn, A Group of Eastern Romances and Novellas, from the Persian, Taim, and Urdu, London, 1898.

Though frequently profuse and repetitions, the Persian romance is less attractive than the Indian romances; rather, it is the best that the Orient has ever produced. Among the literatures whose romance has been deeply influenced by Persian should be mentioned the Georgian (Fink, in Kultur der Ostspanien, ii. (1908) 308; Wardrop, Geordische Pahel Tales, London, 1894).

(g) Malay.—The Malay literature is derived mainly from Indian, Persian, Arabic, and, with an admixture of Javanese and Polynesian elements. The difficulty, already noted, of distinguishing between fact and fiction meets us again in such Malay works as the Sagara Malayu (to which reference has been made above), Bhakti Debut, Javanese Yatisa, Toja al-Sattal, and especially the Hong Week (on this class of works, see especially Holandt, Handelingen bij de boevenizing van der land. en volkenbunde van Nederland. Oost-Indisch, Breda, 1861, i. 154 ff.); Newbold, A count of the Brit. Settlements in the Straits of Malacca, London, 1826, ii. 317 ff.).

(5) Chinese.—The novel was introduced into China in the Mongol period, although its real origin is unknown. It probably came from Central Asia, the paradise of storytellers, in the wake of the Mongol conquest. Three centuries had to elapse before the highest point of development was reached. Fables, anecdotes, and even short stories had already been written by the Chinese in the first centuries, but between these and the novel proper there is a wide gulf which so far had been satisfactorily bridged. Books, indeed, have maintained that the novel was developed from the play, pointing in corroboration of their theory to the Ist Hsing Chi, or Story of the Sages, which on its first printing under four heads, as dealing (1) with satirization and plotting, (2) with love and intrigue, (3) with succession, and (4) with brigandage or lawless characters generally (Gies, Hist. of Chinese Lit., London, 1901, p. 785).

The Chinese romance—begins with Lo Kuan-Chung's San kuo chih yeh, based on the wars of the Three Kingdoms for supremacy in the 3rd cent. B.C., and includes the Lieh Kuo Chi'ao, covering the period between the 8th and 17th centuries, and the union of China under the first Emperor. The romantic novel is represented by the Yü Chiao Li, written in the 17th century. (Fr. tr. by Régnier, Les Deux royaumes, Paris, 1859; and Eng. tr. by Julian, Les Deux jeunes filles lettres, 2 vols., Paris, 1860); and the 17th cent. Huang Long Ming (Eng. tr. by Hsiu, Li-lui, by Joly, Hongkong, 1828). To the third class belongs the interesting Hsi Yu Chi, 'Record of Travels in the West,' based on the Indian travels of Hsiian Tsang and translated in a Japanese adaptation by Kikutei Bakin in 1838; and the fourth, or 'picaresque,' type finds illustration in the Shihi Hu Chi, ascribed to the 18th century, Shih Nalun; while the 18th or 17th cent., Eel Yu Mei, 'Twice Flowering Plum-Tree,' may be described as 'a novel with a purpose, being apparently designed to illustrate the beauty of filial piety, the claims of friendship, and duty to one's neighbour in general' (Giles, p. 304).

There are, moreover, numerous collections of novelties, such as the Cheh Fu Ch'ih, Kao, 'Marvellous Tales, Ancient and Modern,' and Po Sung-tang's Liao Chai Chi Ch' 1 (Eng. tr. by Giles, Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio, 2 vols., London, 1820). Among other Chinese romances of which translations are accessible, mention may be made of the Mou Yu Lung Yen Ton Hen Hsien (Fr. tr. by Schlegel and Han, d'Arly, Lo Romanesque, Paris, 1842), and the Po Ch'e Tsang Ki (Fr. tr. by Julian, Blanché et Urt, in les cines sauvages, 1884). With the Pavia published a Chosen de conte de nouveautés (1815), and d'Hervey-Saint-Denys, Trois nouvelles chinoises (1852). The number of Chinese novels in non-literary style is very large.

Chinese fiction is exceedingly profuse, and has scant regard for probability; and much of it is morally objectionable. It is held in contempt by the cultured, who, however, read it with avidity, and its value for a knowledge of Chinese life and thought cannot easily be over-estimated (see, further, Candlin, Chinese Fiction, Chicago, 1899).

(5) Japanese.—Unlike Chinese fiction, the romance in Japan is highly esteemed, here occupying a place analogous to that which The Romance of the Three Kingdoms holds in India. Japanese fiction begins about the 10th century with the Rikuhon-like Katsuki Monogatari, 'Story of the Bamboo-Healer' (Eng. tr. by Dickins, J.R.A.S., 1887, pp. 1-66), in which there are many Chinese elements, together with strong Buddhist and Taoist influences. To the same period—probably in part by the same compiler—belongs the similar Ubiso Monogatari. The next step in fiction to attract attention in Japan was the realistic novel of popular life, represented by the Ies Monogatari, dating from the same period as the two Monogatari just considered, and soon imitated in the Inferior Yamato Monogatari; the Genji Monogatari, by a lady known as Murasaki no Shikim, (early 11th cent.), which is one of the works which mark the highest point attained by the literature of Japan (Eng. tr. of the first 17 chaps. by Kinichiro Suyetan, London, 1903), and which was imitated in the 11th century. Some of the Monogatari of the authors Daihe 2 Kanrei, the 18th century, Inaka Genji of Tanshiko, and the 11th century, Hisayosuji Monogatari: Jippensha Ikku's Hara-akira (1802-22), and the 19th century, Mume Kyosai and Shunsoku Tantrami no Sono of Tanngeki Shunsai. The development of the historical novel was very late in Japan,—not until the 14th century, the chief specimens being the Daka Seidan and Shunsai's Edo Bunke, a version of the favourite
FICTION (Primitive, Oriental, and Greco-Roman)

Japanese cycle of the revenge of the forty-seven Rōnin (Eng. tr. by Salto and Greely, New York, 1884). To the end of the century belong imaginary travels, best represented in Japanes by the Kikokushi (1774; Eng. tr. of the main portion by Chamberlain, T.S.J, viii. (1879)), and by Bakun's Kikokusho Nihon Monogatari (Eng. tr. by Morin, Yokohama, 1881). To the earlier period of Japanese fiction belong such collections of Mōrōs as the Uji Monogatari of Minamoto no Takakuni (also known as Uji Dainagon), who died in 1077; and in 1810, Bakun, in his Shikigoya no Kuruma, 'Pawbroker's Store,' gives an interesting box arrangement, in which each of the pawbroker's pledges tells its own story.

In the older fiction of Japan, as in India, the authors were of the higher classes, some of them, such as Murasaki no Shikibu, Daini no Sammi, and Minamoto no Takakuni, belonging to the Court circles, while the Yamato Monogatari is ascribed by some authorities to the Mikado Kwaza. But in course of time fiction degenerated, and was eclipsed between the 11th and the 17th century. When fiction was revived, its entire spirit was changed. The audience sought no longer the higher classes, but the common people; and, as Aston says (Hist. of Japan. Literature, London, 1861, p. 207 l.), "from the Tokai in (1080-1087) the city populations enjoyed great material prosperity, but their moral standards were low. This naturally quick-settled, and accorded up to a point which may fairly be described by our own slang phrase, that they had little real culture or refinement. The many-headed beast had, however, learned to read, and demanded an intellectual jubilation suited to its tastes." In like manner, the older novels were no longer of men of culture, but the off-scourings of the population, such as Ibara Seikaku (i. 1683), Santo Kōden (1714-1721), and Hikai (1721). Apart from collections of children's tales, like The Cat's Wedding, The Battle of the Alps and the Crab, The Old Man who made Trees to Blossom, and The Hero's Revenge (for the tr. of many of these stories see Mitford, Tales of Old Japan, new ed., London, 1890), only too large a portion of the Japanese fiction of this period is pornographic and discreetly immoral in tone, as in the 17th cent. Hokusai Monogatari. The reason for this flood of pornography was, as Aston points out (p. 304), that the social relations of the sexes were very like those of ancient Athens.

'There was no social intercourse to speak of between men and women. Women of the higher classes of the lower classes. Wherever young girls and young men did not stand in the way, the women lived a very secluded life, surrounded by woman-like relations. The marriage arrangements were arranged for them, and romantic attachments were extremely exceptional. The manners and customs of the respectable classes of society were therefore not a promising field for the writer of fiction. He preferred the free atmosphere of the brothels, to the no less tiresome and handsome buildings, with the showy education and gay costumes of their inmates, but a superficial appearance of elegance and refinement. The element of romance in the lives of these women was perhaps small, but it exists; and it was far more natural to credit them with romantic adventures and passions than their more immediate sisters. And if the novelists' description of these places as the home of wit and beauty, and the natural resort of all young men of spirit and fashion, had a tendency to corrupt public morals, it is also to be remembered that the class of readers whom they addressed were not particularly in these matters.

The great contribution to Japanese fiction of the later period was the romantic novel, inaugurated by Kijéden, among whose many works special mention may be made of the Madoshi Hōiki and the Hōichi Subodai. Kijéden was, however, completely eclipsed by the most famous of all the novelists of Japan, Kikuchi Bakun (1857-1898), the author of many countless other works, of the Yamashiki-takü (1805), the Okuma (Fr. tr. by Regamey, Paris, 1883), the Kuma no tayuma no ayako (Eng. adaptation by Greely, A Compendium of Love, 1872). In the Nihon-kan, 'Story of the Eight Dogs' (1814-1914).

About 1879, European influence began to make itself felt in the romance, as in the political novels of Sudô Nanase, three novelists of the New Style (1887). The worst defect of the Japanese romance, apart from its pornographic and immoral tone, is its gross improbability (which it shares with Chinese fiction) and to Europeans—its inordinate length and repetition.

(i) Greek.—The Greek romance begins, properly speaking, with the Opitias of Xenophon, for in this alleged account of Cyrus the Great the author's real purpose was to set forth the character of the ideal ruler and the nature of the ideal State. This romance is descriptive as being, in reality, an amplification of the Utopia ideal presented in Plato's concept of Atlantis, the Meropis of Theopompos (4th cent. B.C.), the Hyperboreas of Eclesius of Athens (a contemporary of Alexander the Great), the Panchaia of Euenhemus of Messene (3rd cent. B.C.; cf. art. EUPHemerism), and the mythical travels of Iambulus—a category which was unexpectedly ridiculed by Lucian of Samosata in his True History. We have, moreover, in this type of Greek fiction the combination of discontent with things as they were with the vague knowledge of foreign lands gained from travellers' and merchants' tales. The element of romantic love is, however, lacking in these works, as it is, indeed, at least as a main factor. In older Greek literature as a whole. Yet love was, of course, present in fact; and in course of time the influence of this passion, whether for good or (as in the poets) for worse, was bound to gain public recognition. This recognition became possible largely through the breakdown of the old Greek State and of the aristocratic mode of life, with its rigid exclusion of women from the outer world. Furthermore, the merchant classes became dominant; and there was a resultant demand—very much so—that the later period of Japanese fiction—for a type of literature which should appeal to the bourgeoisie. It was, indeed, probably the women of the middle classes for whom the Greek novelists primarily wrote, and they very wisely contrived to unite the theme of love with the older romance of travel. At the same time, there was still an considerable amount of exclusion of women; and, as Warren (Hist. of the Novel previous to the Seventeenth Cent., New York, 1860, p. 44 f.) remarks: "That the novelists' reasonings is clear from the conventional way in which they first bring their couple together, their meeting takes place by chance, in a temple, as the only spot where both sexes could properly meet. And when the wanderers begin, it is almost always on account of some accident or chance that the girl is exposed to the adventures she undergoes. . . . But, the proprieties being once satisfied, and the heroine's adventure being no longer a matter of whimsy or accident, the girl is free rein to his fancy and puts their reputation as travellers on the same plane as the tame of his horse. But these continuo pergruations must have been unnatural except with women of degraded life, and there are many instances in the novels where the heroine is reduced to slavery, or at best to a kind of servitude, and she is held in very light esteem by her captors and persecutors, escaping the common consequences of their contempt only by the display of extraordinary talents, or by the sudden appearance of the hero. So it is quite plausible to suppose that in this reduplication of dangers surrounded by members of the great and the middle class, was a deliberate purpose on the part of the novelist cater to the prejudice of his public, and that], these histories of a lower social class had in mind the disinherited families of the great merchants, and indulged the seceded readers of their times with the idea of vengeance, of freedom for those who had suffered and their reliance on her own talents and energy. . . . The wives of the commercial princes of Syria and Egypt share the same freedom which their fictitious adventures granted them in common with their male counterparts." This combination of love and foreign adventure, which is the distinctive characteristic of the Greek novel, finds its earliest formal expression in the Ta ki Seis Komikyō furon of Antonius Diogenes (before the second half of the 14th cent. A.D.) and the 24 books, an outline of which is preserved by Photheus
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[Text continues with paragraphs discussing the evolution and impact of Greek fiction, mentioning notable works and authors such as Homer, Archilochus, and other classical writers.]
In the medieval period, Latin fiction consists solely of short *Märchen*, frequently collected for the purpose of edification, elaborate morals being very often appended, as in the famous *Deutero Romanorum* (ed. Oesterley, Berlin, 1872; Eng. tr. by Hooper, London, 1894), other collections being the *Romania* of Petrus Albus (c. 1270), *Historia regum*, *Deutero Romanorum* (ed. Schmidt, Berlin, 1872), the *Historia septem regum* (ed. Buchner, Erlangen, 1889), the *Dolomentes* of Johannes de Aita Silva (ed. Oesterley, Strauburge, 1879), the *Romania* of Jacques de Vitry (ed. Crane, London, 1890), and the *Tractatus de diversis materiae predicatoribus* of Etienne de Bourbon (Leges de la Marche, Appendices historiques, legenaric et apologica, . . . à Etienne de Bourbon, Paris, 1877; for a good general collection of specimens of this literature, see Ulrich, *Proben der Lit. Neulit. des Mittelalters*, Leipzig, 1908). But to all intents and purposes we pass, with the close of the Greek romance, directly to the fiction of medieval and modern Europe.

**FICTION (Medieval and Modern).—**There is no place in the course of the art, and in the bibliography appended to the following article, suitable from the Chinese and Japanese romances are given by Glasse, in the works mentioned above, and expository summaries and analyses of the Greek romance are to be found in Bobles, Daniele, and—more recently—Louis H. Gray.

**FICTION (Medieval and Modern).—**When we pass from the ceremonial romance to the earliest castes in fiction among the modern nations, or, at least, the earliest which have been preserved to us, we find the great majority of them first sung, and then written in verse; no book, as we arbitrarily did in the history which has been so often referred to in modern discussions of the novel, exclude metrical narratives from our survey. In the new world, was no place the story of the ill-assisted line, as to content and spirit, between tales in verse and tales in prose. It was not until the Renaissance had re-discovered the ancient models that the prose-tale developed, formally and artistically, away from prose, with methods and standards of its own.

The oldest extant works of fiction which come to us from the Dark Ages belong to the Teutonic races; the Romance languages were slow to develop pure literature in the vernacular, because Latin was so familiar to those who cared for literary form. The primitive beginnings of fiction among the northern tribes can only be conjectured. We can only believe that this recital of the warlike exploits of a tribal hero to half-conscientious, untrained exaggeration of them; and then, when the warrior's victory over all human foes had become so much a matter of course as to pall upon the hearers, the story-teller had recourse, in the oldest extant specimen of Teutonic narrative, going back probably to the 6th century—in the *Beowulf*—to the introduction of superhuman foes to be conquered by sheer strength and courage. The plots are scarcely more than a succession of events; of emotional expression there is little, of character, study almost none, except in the episode of Wiglaf (possibly, for that reason, of later date). But the very exaltation of purely magic elements leads in a modern direction; and, far removed from the rude barbarism of the setting is from courtly knighthood, the description of the old king rejoicing, as he dies, because he has won great treasure not for himself but for others, who already contains the most essence of chivalry.

In a number of the northern sagas, and most fully of all, perhaps, in the *Nibelungenlied*, an unconscious advance towards the unity which more civilised standards of art require is the result of the gloomy fatalism of the northern nations. Over all the action broods the shadow of Fate, Werd, hurrying inexcusable; the hero is doomed, his destiny is predetermined (see *DOOM, DOOM MYTHS*). In the *Nibelungenlied* the tragic end is kept in view with an almost Sophoclean consistency. Here again the singer or singer, by an unhappy turn of thought, using it chiefly for omen and unneeded warnings of doom, and told a simple tale of the tragedy of human life, more or less as far as the traditional outline of the story allowed, as men and women would be likely to do.

2. Although the best French scholars, such as Gaston Paris (Renaissance, xiii. (1864) 419) and Leopold Gantier (in *Petit de Julleville, Hist. de la langue et de la litterature franceses*, Paris, 1896-99, f. 53), admit that the French epic is of Germanic origin, the French were the acknowledged masters of the metrical romance in its later form. The oldest monument of their fiction, the *Chanson de Roland*, is composed of elements that do not differ very widely from those of the Norse sagas; but the long series of verse-tales, which for two or three centuries delighted courtly audiences, interwove, in a way which must have been highly entertaining at the time, the three great interests of the Middle Ages—battle, love, and religion. Love had scarcely suggested itself to the earlier makers' as offering scope for literary treatment; fighting and love were in the men's chief employments in those days, and the staple of their songs; even in the 11th cent. *Cham- son de Roland*, that precious relic of chivalrous heroics, is a tale of love in the fall of Troy, the exploits of Charlemagne and his peers, or the fortunes of Arthur and the Round Table, all alike visualized their heroes—Greek or Trojan though they might be—as knights of their own day.

3. After the grave, majestic, national epic, with something of the sterner aloofness of its spiritual, came (about the beginning of the 12th cent.) the light, bright, courtly romance, delighting in the description of journeys and pageants, and full of the spirit of adventure, which so often figures in the adventures of women, an inspirer of tales, and all chivalrous qualities for men. The whole story of the *Grail* (e.g., of Christian and *Troyes*, or as it was worked over by Wolfram von Eschenbach in his German *Parzival*—was full of suggestion of a wistful longing for superhuman beauty and beauty, which made it an excellent example for those who gave it such devout reverence. When, in the 16th cent., the purblind *Eschenbach* (Schoeneaster, bk. I) could see nothing but 'open man slaughter and bold braviery in Malory's as quaintly beautiful prose version of the Arthur story (finished about 1467, first printed by Caxton in 1485) it only showed how the Renaissance standards had blinded the eyes of their enthusiastic converts to the simple beauty of medieval life. The moral sweetness of the best of these romances of native English workmanship, *SirGawain and the Green Knight* (13th cent.), is one of its many special charms.

4. The medieval habit of vivid personification of virtues and vices as unseen allies and adversaries in the spiritual combat led, in the spirit of allegory, to the rise of allegory. The most famous and notable type of this in the great *Roman de la Rose* (begun c. 1255 by Guillaume de Lorris, finished c. 1276 by Jean de Meung). Those who cannot appreciate this work need never hope to understand the spirit of the Middle Ages. About the time, a century later, when Chaucer was translating it into English, William Langland was using the same sort of
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allegorical machinery to deliver his message to the common people in *Pièro Plueman*. The 15th cent. also saw the rise of a considerable body of prose romances—material—besides the literary style of the nascent modern nations, owing to the cosmopolitan or "universal" character of the education of those who had the development of letters in their hands. But the case is different

when, in our historical survey, we reach *Amadis de Gaule*, the first and best of the great body of *novelas de caballerías*, or romances of chivalry, which formed for a century or more the most popular literature of the Spanish people and stood in the direct line of descent towards the modern novel. Whatever its primitive sources, it goes back certainly to the 14th century—it took its final shape in the hands of Garcia Ordóñez de Montalvo, probably between 1492 and 1504, though it is not known to have appeared in print before 1618. Although this famous story and the class which it heads are not of Spanish origin, and although they inherit their material and take their spirit from the rather universal chanson de geste, through the romance d'ascenseurs, yet it was in Spain, and as stamped with a Spanish character, that they acquired their importance in the development of prose fiction. Montalvo's prototype was followed by a long series of successors and another almost equally famous family, that of the Palmersins, the best known of these being the *Palmiers de Jagarros*, only written by Luis Hurtado of Toledo. Most of these romances are anonymous or of uncertain authorship; they were really the creation of the age which favoured them so eagerly—almost as if they were created by them, for most only a few worn copies exist to-day.

That, as has been often said by those who take Cervantes' half-humorous boast too seriously, these romances were ended by Don Quixote, would really be disproved. It was precisely because their popularity was already waning, and because by the end of the 16th cent., their reproduction in the mass was not without some admirers, of the short prose tale in which the French were almost univalently so high rank. The great

lopes in prose (composed 1520) became the definite type in France of these chivalrous tales, which they followed until, in the 15th cent., printing gave them a new lease of life.

5. Before we pass to the development which the romance of chivalry had in Spain, it will be well to realise that, as happened in that country in the 15th cent., so in France, before the close of the Middle Ages, the common people, wearying of a type of fiction which seemed to touch so little the life of the interluders, they best, created, by their demand for other kinds of tales, a new style of literature. That such people are not necessarily aware from reading about the doings of those above them in the social scale of the most arsenic, existing in those enjoyed by stories of the type offered in England by the *Family Herald*, and in America by the novels of several writers whose public is found exclusively among the interluders, and so by degrees, especially as the tenor of their stories became more numerous, they asked for a livelier, more numerous treatment of life on its lower levels. The romantic and historical tendencies, to which the name of fabliaux is applied in its stricter or more modern sense—short tales in verse dealing, for the most part from the comic point of view, with the coarse life, moving, on the one hand, into moral apologetics and, on the other, into sentimental legends. Their usual characteristic of unvarnished realism has been attributed, by the various satirical and moralising character of the stories, to the necessity felt by their Western adapters of studying the manners of thought and speech prevalent among their audiences. The fabliaux are, as a rule, intended to come to laughter, which sprang up easily in the Middle Ages: frequently cynical, sometimes satirical, usually coarse. This was the type of story which, immediately appearing after the manners of Aesop; growing out of them there is the interesting class of animal stories of *Puncher Fuchs* and the French *Rameaux de Rossé*, their types, resembling, in their satirical and their shrewd philosophy, rather the stories of *Breve Fox* and *Breve Rabbit*, which have delighted a recent generation, than the somewhat belated echo of R. Bostad's *Chamber*; and in Italy, especially there is a large number of short stories, then and there called *novelle*, carrying on (much in the spirit of the fabliaux of the present day) much of the Romantic tradition and imagination in favour of observation as the source of their material, they gave to realist fiction both its method and its point of view, and after the French people, only the Continental followers—Le Sage, Balzac, Tolstoi—saw, like their literary ancestors, chiefly the evil in the world of every day; it was reserved for some happy, healthy Englishmen (Fielding, Thackeray)
to paint the triumphs as well as the trials of the common man.

The first of his epoch-making series of picaresque romances (Spañ. pícaro, 'rogue') was the Vida de Lazarillo de Tormes (author uncertain; first known edition 1553). Extending to no more than fifty pages of ordinary print, it was a small thing to produce such marked results; but it soon had a host of imitators. The next was larger, the Gus-

The Naturalist—The Unfortunate Traveller, which has been
called, from another point of view, the first English historical novel. J. S. Jusecand (The
English Novels in the Time of Shakespeare, p. 247) goes even further, and says that Nash first pointed out the road that was to lead to the true novel, in that he was the first 'to endeavour to relate in prose a long sustained story, having for its chief concern the truth.' The time was scarcely ripe, however, for the picaresque novel in England; and, when Defoe took up this model, it was Le Sage who taught him.

While his French contemporaries were looking towards England, Le Sage, as a loyal subject of Louis xiv., forgot that the Pyrenees existed, and reproduced the Spanish setting so exactly that some critics of that nation have even set up a theory that he was a Spanish imitator. But, though his characters wear the Castilian costume, they have a French wit and vivacity—and the passions of humanity. The master of Defoe and of Fielding, and the inspirer of Dickens, Le Sage shows in Gil Blas (1715—54—55) absolute truth to human nature, as distinct from truth to this or that national characteristic; and it is precisely this that he brought into novel writing that constitutes his principal claim to high rank as a contributor to the development of prose fiction.

8. We have now traced one line of descent down to the realist Fielding, and it will be necessary to go back and follow the course of another, parallel in time, though not in direction, since it leads to quite a different conclusion. This is the pastoral romance, which had its origin in Italy, though it, too, attained its most characteristic and influential form in Spain. Two feminine Italian works—both mingled prose and verse—stand out prominently among the models: Boccaccio's L'Ameto, written in 1564 or 1565; and Sannazaro's Arcadia (1564). Although both to both the pastoral form was a venerated inheritance through Vergil from Theocritus and the other Greek idyllists, there is a marked difference in the appeal which it makes to each. Boccaccio, writing in 'the first five careless rapture of the Renaissance, was as full of hope for the perfection of humanity as was Sir Thomas More in his Utopia (whose date, 1516, is not far from corresponding with the effective beginning of the English Renaissance in the same proportion as Boccacio's with that of the Italian); by the time Sannazzaro wrote, the dawn-foresh of hope had died away, and the dis-

sion turned to the simple pastoral mind as an escape from unpleasant reality, charmed by the contrast, as were Louis xvi. and Marie Antoin-
ette when they escaped from Versailles to play shepherd and shepherdess at the Trianon. It is in this spirit that Sidney's Arcadia (1580; begun 1579, when he was an exile from court) is written. In the allegorical pastoralists, from Vergil to Spengnoli, the note of longing for escape to an ideal life is scarcely heard; in Sannazzaro the desire of

the most important contribution made by Spain to the pastoral romance was the Diana of Jorge de Montemayor (c. 1560), which not only furnished a model to Sidney and a plot to Shakespeare's As You Like It (Gentlemen of Verona), but holds a place in the evolution of the modern novel second in importance to that of Amadis of Gaul alone. Here the ad-

herence to the round of actual life is closer than in Italy; it is modified to some extent by elements borrowed from the older chivalric tra-

dition; and it leads directly along the road to the fashionable pastoral of France. Of this the most consummate example is Honoré d'Urfé's Astres (1612). Literature still was, in the main, the pos-

session of the privileged classes; and, the move-

ment in France towards a greater refinement of speech and manners which, not long after the public-

ation of d'Urfé's romance, centred in the Hôtel de Rambouillet was a kind to make fashionable throughout the century the high-flown sentiment of such writers as Mme. de Lafayette and Mille. de Scudéry. The outcome of this succession was slow in making itself apparent.

9. The conventional grace of the pastoral could offer no material to the realistic novel; but, when the tide of sentimentalism at last broke through the restraining barriers—when, after two generations of Cartesiansm and scepticism, the emotional soul of Jean Jacques Rousseau was aroused to action by the kindred sentimentality which went out to meet him from the pages of the Astres—the true career of the Spanish pastoral had begun. The melan-

choly of unanswerable questions, the longing of Sireno, are repeated in the longings of Saint-

Preux and in the despair of Werther. The sen-

situality of Diana developed into the sensibility of La Nouvelle Héloïse.

The influence of the Puritan middle class in Eng-

land had a marked effect on the 18th cent. history of fiction there. Imbued with the idea of the para-

mount importance of the soul, its authors were driven to novels that substituted the difficulties of the task, they thought it best a sin-

ful waste of time to read tales of amorous or martial adventure for mere diversion; and the Eng-

lish story-teller of the early years of that century, Defoe, was obliged to conform to this prejudice by giving his tales a colour of truth. His success may be judged by the uncritical criticism of a contemporary who speaks of 'the little art he is so truly master of, of forging a story and imposing it on the world for truth' and how long this remained the unreasoning belief in the story, as held by those who will recall the frequent occurrence in novels of the first half of the 18th cent. of the foot-

note 'A fact,' which was still supposed to add value to the incident related. Defoe, then, wrote fictitious biography with a lifelike reality never surpassed; the element of plot was at hand in the love-stories drawn from contemporary life which formed the staple of the popular drama; and Addison was already, in the Spectator, showing himself a master in the subtle delineation of character. It is not surprising, therefore, that, before the century was half over, Richardson had pro-

duced the first English novels in the full or strict sense of the word—perhaps we may say the first

novels, dismissing the claims made by the French, with pardonable patriotic pride, for Prévost and Marivaux—Pamela (1740), Clarissa Harlowe (1748), and Sir Charles Grandison (1755). In his object, which he declared to be 'to promote the cause of religion and virtue,' Richardson was in line with the Puritan tradition; and of his notable achievement one of the most striking, in the first time of a work of non-dramatic prose fiction guided throughout its course by a single motive, in which all the incidents serve to bring about a definite result, he does not seem to have been conscious himself. He calls Clarissa 'a dramatic narrative;"
and, since here, as in the other two books, the entire story is told by means of letters, the characters speaking for themselves as on the stage, we may understand that what he really intended to do was to write the novel in a more private and personal way, but to write what should be practically a pocket play. Hence the presence of a plot, which, from the time of Dryden, was treated as one of the indispensable elements of his art. Also known how to offer, all the while that the romances were as loose and formless as ever. Fielding, a more conscious artist (he speaks of himself in Tom Jones as 'in reality the founder of a new province of writing'), calls the novel a comic epic in prose; as the epic is an enlarged tragedy, so this new form of his is an enlarged comedy. Among the principles he lays down for it is that it is to show real life, in contrast to the old romances at which he jeers, and that it must aim to show people the folly as well as the wickedness of all dishonesty.

The time was now at hand when a more decided place than ever before was to be given to emotion or passion. Emotion had been deliberately suppressed by the Neo-Classics and their leaders; in Horace's vivid phrase (Ep. 1. x. 34), they had thrown it out with apitchfork—and the hour was now approaching when, as he predicted, it should return by the back door of the spirit of education which explains the extent of Richardson's fame in his own age—a fame that was not confined to England. He was the first in whose work Diderot described him as with Euripides and Homer, and to Germany, where the greatest writers seized on his design. The reaction from the conventional suppression of feeling swung to the opposite extreme. Stendhal, Rousseau, and Goethe unchained sentiment and allowed it to rush into every imaginable excess. La Nouvelle Heloise (1760), Tristram Shandy (1760); these were the declarations of the romantic spirit; and carried it further. The Sentimental Journey (1768) speaks in its very title of the quest of feeling, not merely the surrender to it; and Goethe's melancholy hero was the idol of an enthusiastic young generation, reproducing himself west of the Rhine in Chateaubriand's morbid Renard (1810).

A similar reaction to that which brought about the reign of sentiment accounted for the popularity of the medieval or Gothic romance in the latter part of the 18th century. The first specimen worth noting was Horace Walpole's Castle of Otranto (1765), in which he tried to paint the life of the manor-house as agitated by the action of supernatural machinery such as the superstitious of the time might have accepted. The classical age had thwarted out the supernatural too, or at least kept it rigorously in its place; and now it also was revenging itself. Beckford's Vathek (1784), Mrs. Radcliffe's Mysteries of Udolpho (1794), and Lewis's Monk (1796) are the most famous of this class.

The last named professed no other purpose than the amusement of their readers; but there was another side of the Romantic Movement which employed the novel for quite other ends. The earliest notable example of what we now call the novel of purpose is Caleb Williams (1796), in which the revolutionary philosopher Godwin set forth his principles of social justice. It was to have a number of greater successors—although, perhaps from the difficulty of giving a definitely didactic purpose a work of fiction, the number is not large. But that the kind exists as a recognized class is significant of the immense broadening of the scope of the novel which constituted the most obvious change between that of the 18th and that of the 19th century. The greatly increased complexity of life was one reason why the drama could no longer be, as in the Elizabethan age, the characteristic literary form. Something more flexible was needed, and something which with the vast growth in the number of those who demanded mental food could be carried into a million homes remote from cities and theatres. The novels of the 18th, or even of the early 19th, cent. did not dream of the expansion which their form was to acquire. To realize the extreme to which the genre had come, it is only necessary to imagine the puzzled amazement with which Sir Walter Scott would read one of Mrs. Humphry Ward's sociological novels, such as Marcella or Sir George Trencavel.-The spirit of the novel has been written principally by English and American authors, and in the last half-century by the Russians; while, in his novels dealing with the Modernist controversy, Foscolo in Italy reminds us again of Mrs. Ward's Robert Elsmere and its sequel of thirty years later.

As Caleb Williams the forerunner of Uncle Tom's Cabin and Oliver Twist, so the extravagant mystery tales of Walpole and Mrs. Radcliffe developed, with the growth of a more accurate knowledge of the life of the past, into the historical novel. The first successful practitioner in this form (after vain efforts which may be said to have gone on for two thousand years, if we stretch the definition to include Xenophon's Cyropaedia) was, by common consent, Sir Walter Scott. Avoiding the stiff pedantry of reproducing with antiquarian accuracy the exact speech and mannerisms of the period in which his scene was laid, and the obvious absurdity of using those of his own day, he created, with the instinct of genius, a symbolic medium which should give the flavour of the old republic to the ordinary reader by its unfamiliarity. The thing done, a host of others followed along the same road. In English the height was reached in Thackeray's Henry Esmond (1820) and The Student of the Cathedral (1841); in France, the great American achievement of Dumas was, by his own confession, made possible only by the example of Scott. The Germans, represented, for instance, by Georg Ebers, have had a tendency to display too much of that devotion to scientific accuracy which so honourably characterises their work in other fields, and to allow their facts to be fused too little in the fire of the imagination.

Towards the middle of the 19th cent., as a conscious theory first in France, realism came to the front. It was partly no doubt a development of the idealism of the 18th 

"5 as a consequence of the scientific evolution of the age; it continues and completes the work of the physiologist..."
FICTION (Medieval and Modern)

The literature of our scientific era, as classical and romantic literature corresponded to an age of skepticism and theology (Le Roman experimenté, p. 25).

But, with all his pride in his theories, Zola did not see that he had made more a myth than he had said (Le Naturalisme au théâtre, 1881, p. 111): "The realistic novel is a corner of Nature seen through a temperament and through a formula which any reader can repeat; it is the result of an observation made by the author. He sees in humanity simply la bête humaine—the beast in all its transformations, but only the beast. This rather common characteristic of what is called 'realistic fiction' may, one supposes, be explained by the fact that we are more easily convinced by the verisimilitude of evil than by that of good: if a rain is described from exact observation, the reader will be instinctively inclined to credit the description to the idealistic imagination of the writer.

The term 'realism,' of course, has been used in various senses—now as opposed to conventionalism, now to idealism, now to the imaginative treatment, and again to sentimentalism. Bierce's definition may be quoted: 'Realistic fiction is that which does not shrink from the commonplace or from the unpleasant in the effort to depict things as they are, life as it is.' (J. Stevenson's The Merry Men, p. 295.) If literature is to be a transcript of actual existence, if books are not to be, as the invalid Stevenson said of them, a worthless mock of real life, and if the universal order of natural law is to be maintained, then it is much to be said for truthful portraiture; and it cannot be denied that much of the effect of the most famous works of English prose fiction, Robinson Crusoe, comes from its wealth of exact and vivid detail.

In the broadest sense of the question, from the point of view of literature, which is more than the purely technical 'must of necessity be that of the present article, there seems little doubt that the realistic treatment, with reasonable limits, is to be commended. If we are not ready to accept for more of the present and the future the sentiments of the realists of the last quarter of the century.

The case of Russia is somewhat different from the others. The first novel in that language was published only in 1789, but a generation later began, with Gogol, the sudden efflorescence which had started and of fiction has almost vanished, and the circle of readers has widened to include those who are most in need of encouragement for their better impulses. It cannot be questioned that the kind of reading which provides them with high examples is the best in its effect. The lady who wrote under the name of 'Ouida' used to be considered eminently unsuitable for admission to School-society libraries; yet there is a very definite sense in which at least the greater part of her many books may be called far less immoral than most of Dickens', in whom a young man might search long before he found another to whom the same example of life so lofty and edifying as the (perhaps unduly handsome and impressive) hero of Under Two Flags. So, in the Waverley Novels, 'life is seen at its bravest and its best; and the young man who takes them as his guide to conduct stands a small chance of playing cripple or coward in human affairs.' We may not be fortunate enough to number among our acquaintances so noble a gentleman as Colonel Newcome, but the same will not be the case with the most careful reader of the novel as a 'human document,' which might more truly have said this. But Thackeray undervalued his own powers—or else his vision was able to penetrate beneath the superficial appearances in a way that the realist seldom does. It is the ability to do this which makes the work of the idealist so much more alive and has made the opposite school. They who depend (in Coleridge's judicial phrase) on 'the mere manners and modes of one day' and their the mere facts are much more interesting and as that of Dickens has waned—when people are no longer able to be amused by recognizing the minute veracity of their portraiture. Thus we dismiss an old photograph after a cursory glance, and return to spend hours in gazing at the Sistine Madonna, true to the highest part of human nature after four hundred years. Thus Ben Jonson is read only by professional students of literature, while Shakespeare enters into the daily life of the whole English-speaking race.

15. Yet after the Romantic Movement, itself a reaction, had spent its force, it was only natural that naturalism should set in as a protest against the exaggerated idealism into which the Romanticists sometimes ran. Still, in the first quarter of the 19th cent. Jane Austen had begun her career as a novelist by opposing to the extravagant sentiments and impossible situations of the 'Gothic' novel the stories of everyday life as she saw it. And so throughout Europe, from the middle of the century, the French influence has been felt, and many of the best known authors have been thoroughly 'naturalistic.' In Spain, Pérez was the father of the movement; Juan Valera, though not technically a realist, was no less real; Emile Zola, with his earliest master of English, the novel, and the later Valéry have followed the same path. In Italy, Fogazzaro, Matteo Serra, and d'Annunzio have been the most widely known representatives of realism. The Scandinavian north, Bjørnson and Strindberg have won their renown under the same banner; while another, Svedo, Angrisati (1856), had already written in the same spirit. In the rest of the world, as a matter of fact, though most of the results we have been considering were of French origin, Gogol had distinctly formalized the theory of the human document before the days of the Goncourt. One reason why Turgenev and Dostoevski and Tolstoi have made so deep an impression outside their own country is that the Russian novel is the novel of uncivilized people giving us their impressions of civilization, trying to find out the meaning of life as if no one had ever thought about the matter before; but a reason deeper still is the burning charity for suffering humanity which pervades their books. None of them has purely literary aims—they seek truth and justice; the difference between them and some French realists is the difference between the curious peeping visitor to a hospital and the man who comes asking to bring comfort and healing to the sufferers.

Into Germany, realism came from both sides, from France and from Russia; but the unconquerable idealism innate in the German character made this no thoroughly congenial soil for its growth. Max Kretzer promised to be the leading German realist, but supernaturalism took hold of him. Even Sudermann has not been consistently realistic; Sudermann, in spite of some pieces of brutal naturalism, has shown a tendency, which has also appeared in other quarters, to regard phenomena (found unsatis-
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...lying in themselves) merely as symbols of deeper spiritual realities which are just as true and even more worthy of study.

15. In the fiction of the last fifty years, a special note must be made of the way in which some of the greatest writers of fiction have used the deeper, or at least more scientific, study of man and his ways. It was no accident that the moderns gave rise to the psychological novel. It was this which gave to Browning's poetry a part at least of its great value; but a wider use has been made by the novelists. George Eliot wrote her novels even more with her psychology than with her ethics, and attained a vividness in portraying the inner life which the novel had not yet seen. But she did not stop with the individual analysis; she strove to make her case typical, and to show the working of the laws of the spiritual world, as immutable as those of the physical. The character-plot has tended to become the favourite form of the serious literary novel. Most of the noted writers of recent years, Turgenev and Tolstoi and Dostoievski in Russia, Meredith and Hardy in England, Henry James and Howells in America, Bourget in France, Bjørnson and Sudermann in the north, have preserved their principal effect by the penetrating subtlety of their character-studies.

77. Yet in the fiction of the last twenty-five years there has been a significant reaction against the attempt to limit the purpose of the novel first to a painstaking study of phenomena and then to a deep analysis of the causes of the phenomena. Meredith's Harry Richmond, exactly a century ago Stevenson's Prince Otto gave the signal for a new exodus into the ' new life' which was born of romantic fiction, followed soon by Anthony Hope with his Zenda stories, and then by a host of minor romancers. Their number and their power have grown. There is now a reaction back to the subjects to the days 'when knighthood was in flower' or have laid their scene in some imaginary principality, are sufficient evidence of the existence of a new novel, a novel of the people, a novel of the present, a novel of the modern scene. The flexibility best adapted to deal with the complexity of modern life, and as a pre-eminently social form of literature answering to the general tendencies of the age, has become the prevailing and characteristic literary form of our period; making its way against prejudice, and without assistance, it has supplanted the epic and the romance, has taken precedence over the drama, over lyric poetry, and over the essay. When Dante mirrored the world of the Middle Ages in the Divine Comedy, says Arthur Symons (Studies in Prose and Verse, London, 1904, p. 6).

'poetry could still represent an age and yet be poetry. But the way to do this was not by the cost of things; it has been taken from the terrible improvements of civilization in a divine medium, where it lies, disregarding the many voices of the street. From society, offering the infinite capacity for detail; and is it by the infinity of its detail that the novel, as Balzac created it, has become the modern epic. The increasing democratization of literature, allowing many a man to write with a slender equipment of education in the French sense, and offering any outlet of the world, English, and giving a thirst for reading to thousands with almost none of either, constitutes a grave danger. The money rewards of the successful novelist allure to the profession not a few men destitute of any sense of responsibility for the use of their gifts; and the fact that these rewards are often to be won by pandering to the unrefined or actually base tastes of the multitude throws a temptation into the way which some of these otherwise well-endowed writers have not been able to resist. But in the right hands the novel, by the very fact of its being so closely in touch with actual life, has the opportunity to take a large share in moulding the thought of the new age. It will do well if it listens to the suggestion of Matthew Arnold's oft-quoted definition of poetry, and takes as its mission the offering of a constructive criticism of life.
their abundant leisure from the business of food-producing was occupied in incessant warfare, which led to the formation of powerful confederations under a single chief, the weaker tribes enrolling themselves as objects in return for protection. As ancestor-worshippers they deserted their own discredited ancestor-gods in favour of those of their protector, whom they regarded as the incarnation of the parties able to protect them from injury. But as these expeditions were always followed by cannibalism; the bodies of the slain were offered to the gods before being eaten, and there appears to have been a religious significance in the act, which raised it almost to the status of a rite. But, with all their ferocity in war, the Fijians are a courteous and amiable people, hospitable to strangers, anxious to please, ceremonious in their manners. They have a strong feeling for aristocratic institutions, which even the introduction of Western civilization has failed to eradicate.

The islands came somewhat late into the field of colonization. Though they were sighted by Tasman in 1643, it was not until the middle of the 19th cent that Europeans acquired much influence. By 1874 the majority of the natives had nominally adopted Christianity, either as Wesleyans or as Roman Catholics. In that year the most influential chiefs, acting under the pressure of claims for compensation by the United States, ceded the group to Great Britain, and Fiji became a British Colony. Unfortunately this cession had scarcely been proclaimed when an epidemic of measles swept away 40,000 natives out of a total population of 200,000. Since that date the population has decreased by about a total of 27,000 in 1911. It now seems to be stationary. The natives are sharing, not altogether to their moral advantage, in the material prosperity of the islands, having learned the art of sugar-cane cultivation. Their isolation before the arrival of the missionaries, for there is a humorous song in which Uto, his descendant, is represented as living for pleasure, without regard to the god's portion, and returning with the useful intelligence that nothing but the under-shell of the turtle was allotted to him.

In some versions, Ndengel appears as the creator of mankind; but he has no emotions, sensations, or appetites, except that of hunger. Others have it that his son, Rokomantu, created the land; he created fish and food, and the fowling garment trailed across it, there were sandy beaches; where his skirt was looped up, the coast was rocky. It was he who taught man to make fire. The people of Rakiraki thought that the missionaries had come to teach them some variant of their own cult: 'Ndengel,' they said, 'is the true God, and, if Jehovah is also the true God, then Jehovah is another name for Ndengel.' Many years afterwards, during the heathen relapse under Navosvakandus, the same argument was used to show that his teaching did not clash with that of the mission, but was merely a new revelation.

The great saga of Ndengel is too long to give within the limits of this article; it recounts how the god, then merely an irascible old man, as no doubt he was in his earthly career, had a tame pigeon which used to awaken him from slumber; how his two grand-nephews, from whom he had taken the bird, killed it with a bow and arrow and defiled him to punish them; how they took refuge with Rokola, the chief of the Carpenter clan; how there was war in the mountains; the Carpenter clan were besieged by Ndengel in the fortress of Kaukavura; how, after many stragglers, in the court of the chief, it is conjectured flooded. It is conjectured that the two young men escaped the deluge in a canoe, and sailed away to the far West. Fijian myth has it that some day they will come again, bring-
The shark-god, who is the tutelary divinity of many tribes unrelated to one another, probably had his origin in totemism. Waterhouse gives the following list of names under which he is invoked: 'He-who-is-inside-the-Canoe'; 'Cirrumpnavigator-of-Yandua'; 'Feeder-of-Fishes'; 'Lover-of-Canoe-Spares'; 'Waylayer'; 'Rover-of-the-Mangroves'; 'Expectant-Follower'; 'Ready-for-Action'; 'Sail-Cleaner'; 'Lord-Shark-that-Calls'; 'Tabu-white'; 'Tooth-for-Raw-Flesh.' Tribes that worshipped the shark under the same title had a common origin, but those who knew him by different names acknowledged no such bond. Thus, a tribe that called him 'Outside-the-Canoe' recognized no tie with those who invoked the 'Cirrumpnavigator-of-Yandua.' As in other totemistic systems, the shark-god is beneficent to his worshippers, who, in their turn, are forbidden to eat his flesh.

Marae, a native of Eoe, whose name means 'outside the canoe,' to serve him, and to make him safe to land by his back fin. During the invasion of Naneva in 1884, a shark jumped across a war-canoe, turned over to show the cutting on his belly, and laid open its belly, that the marae might eat its flesh.

The attention paid to the shark-god almost entitles him to rank as a KaloVa, he is probably no more than a totem, like the hawk, the eel, the lizard, and the prawn—all recognised as having a tutelary position with certain tribes, who nevertheless had erected temples to ancestors of gods (Kalo-Yalo). Totemism in Fiji did not affect the social system in any way; it had no influence on the marriage laws or on the belief in a future state.

3. The Kalo-Yalo. It has been explained that most of the tribes in Fiji admitted a more or less close relationship to a tribe that worshipped the same ancestor-god; the tie was called fossau (the same root). (See EEF 1: 463.) It does not follow that the god to whom the tie of fossau was traced had a temple and a priest in both the communities. In most cases, some later chief of strong character had monopolised the religious instinct of his descendants, and much depended upon the priest, for the chief exercised no ascetic function himself, but was content to stand aside, and leave this rather menial office to the professional priesthood.

The origin of the temple was to be found in the story of a totemist in VanuaLevu, where the first act of the insurgen was to weed the grave of the late chief and present relics to his spirit, imploering his aid in the revolt; the next was to kill and eat a native government official, ominously having a religious significance. From weeding a grave it was but a step to building a temple for the shelter of the spirit.

The practical application of the Fijian religion lay in the oracle; there was no ritual except in the presentation of offerings, and everything depended upon the support of the high chiefs. Whether they believed in the incarnation of the priest, or whether the priest believed in their own inspiration, it is not easy to say, but there was certainly an understanding between the two orders: the priest depended for subsistence upon the offerings made to the god, and the priest whose oracles were unfavourable to the chief's policy saw his temple fall into disrepute, which was harder empty. On the other hand, unfavourable oracles, especially in time of war, had so depressing an influence upon the common people that the chief had the best reason for keeping the priest in
good humour; both knew that neither could stand firm without the support of the other.

Williams (in his Fiji and the Fijians) relates how the king of 

Thakadrenaloo, on the eve of a warlike expedition, allowed one of the gods to be put off with a single paddling, instead of the usual three. The reason was that the king had expected in the division of the 

fate. That night the god visited the priest, and foretold de-


taste. The next day, at the sacrifices, the king decided to abandon the 

expedition. In another case, however, matters took a different turn. - "I asked the old man angrily; 'Who is your 
god? if you make a stir, I will eat you.'

The priesthood itself was hereditary, though any chief's son could simulate inspiration and make a lucky forecast of events which might obtain re-

ognition. He had, however, to brave the opposition of the hereditary priests, who looked very 

oldly upon the novice. The priests were not always the chief's tools, sometimes they gave 

expression to popular discontent at some act of tyranny: 'The famine is devouring you, because 
you have put Tonga instead of to Mbaun; 'This hurricane was sent to punish you because you refused the princess to the king of 

Rewa.'

The priests ranked according to the importance of the 
god to whom they ministered; they were generally of humble birth, though in Rewa, a few years before the treaty, the church of the missionaries, the 

chiefs had found it necessary to disestablish the whole of the priestly caste on account of their 

arrogance, and to pretend that members of the ruling family had themselves received instruction. The 

disestablished priests immediately fell into their proper place, a very humble one. 1

4. Gods of the after-world.—Besides the Kalon-

Ve and the Kalou-Yale, there was a class of gods 

who had neither temples nor priest. They haunted 

well-known spots on the road by which the shades 

came, and the roads themselves; but, as they left 

the living unmolested, there was no need for pro-

pitiatory offerings (see EREI. 446). The following is a 

translation of a fragment of the poem of which the 

poet gave a rehearsal. It is in prose style and consists of 

mouth of the shades newly arrived in the presence 

of the gods at Nakauvanda:


"My Lord, in ill fashion we are buried, 

Buried standing up into heaven, 

We see the sun lying over the sky, 

We are worn out with the fast stamping in the earth, 

The rafters of our house (the ribs) are torn asunder, 

The eyes with which we gazed on one another are destroyed; 

The nose with which we kissed has fallen in; 

The breast to which we embraced is ruined; 

The thighs with which we clasped have fallen away; 

The teeth with which we smiled are decayed; 

The teeth with which we have showered down; 

Gone is the hand which threw the tripe stick, 

Bones that were the hawks' stones (toothcuffs), 

Bolled away are the blunders of races (the pigs were 

shaved)."

Hark to the lament of the mosquito:

"Well it is that they should die and pass onward, 

But alas for my conch-shell (the ear) that they have taken away!"

Hark to the lament of the fly:

"Well it is that they should die and pass onward, 

But alas for the eye from which I drank!"

Hark to the lament of the black ant:

"Well it is that they should die and pass onward, 

But alas for my wife's teeth (the male organs, the most 

vulnerable point of attack for that issue when a native 

dies, down) that they have taken away!" 1

The Fijian's dislike of their own burial custom of 

stamping the earth into the grave was shown in the case of the chief of Lakemba, who begged the 

missionaries to give him a wooden coffin to be buried in, that his body might not be trampled on. 

With all its charm and simplicity, the story of the 

Story of Solomon (the Path of the Shades) is not 

without beauty and pathos. There is, it may be 

remarked, a suggestion of Greek myth in the 

glimpse of the islands in the Waters of Solace, by 

which the Fijians, whose emotions are transient, 

excuse the shortness of their mourning for the dead. 

1 For the manner of approaching the gods, see Common 

2 For saleo-ru and sualebi, see Commonw and Darby (Fijians).
FILIAL PIETY

claims his reward by attending the funeral with a blackened face; and bold indeed would be the employer who dared to withhold the promised pay.

In some cases, the bewitched person obstinately refused to accept the secret murder, and the body was simply left to be eaten and carried by the operations of massage to drive this invisible spirit into one of the extremities, from which it can be drawn out by the fingers and finger nails.

Beside the wounded they purified the deceased as a spirit, and the name of the deceased was told his name. This would cause the name to be uttered that of the thief. If the name belonged to the same village, all known in the village, and knew all the names of the village, the body began to twitch convulsively, and himself would call out the name of the thief. If he was hustled into an abbey, upon the right man——and an intimate knowledge of his fellow-tribesmen often set him upon the right track——the offender would confess, for a bribe or a threat of a debt against the evil doer. So well known was the process, and so great fear was imposed, that no Pijian could aspire to it. The proper course for a person wrongfully accused by a wizard was to pay a fee to a rival seer to press for the free spirit; as for a spirit, it was entitled to be those whose souls have been stolen away.

The earliest method of detecting crime was by 


FILIAL PIETY

1. Definition and scope.

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By taking into account the view that the Fijians are essentially religious, and the idea that filial piety is a form of ancestor-worship, it is apparent that the practice of filial piety is closely related to the practice of ancestor-worship. This is evident in the belief that the spirits of ancestors play a significant role in the lives of the living, and that the proper way to honor them is through acts of piety. This is particularly evident in the practice of ancestor worship among the Fijians, where the dead are revered and their spirits are believed to have a direct influence on the living.

(1) Amongst many savage peoples, filial piety can hardly be said to exist, the aged being simply put to death, or forced to commit suicide, as having survived their usefulness (see art. ABANDONMENT AND EXPOSURE, OLD AGE). Leaving such barbarity out of account, however, we generally find filial piety allied with ancestor-worship. The dead ancestor is revered as a spirit; and, while the worship of the dead not seldom originates in the idea of doing honor to the dead, the desire of enjoying their company in the after-life, or in the wish to keep them at a distance, we must, nevertheless, not ignore the other side, viz. belief in the interest and sympathy of the departed, the desire of winning their favor, and the hope of securing their aid. That the ancestral spirit frequently coalesces with the death-god needs no explanation, nor is it any need for the fact that he sometimes becomes the hero whom his tribesmen have revered, the objects of filial piety.

The object of such piety is the ancestor, who is as much respected as the hero of the tribe or family, and is regarded as a higher being, to be treated with all reverence. Here we see a synthesis of religious and piety, and similar conceptions will be found everywhere, even in the highest forms of religious life. The manner in which piety towards ancestors is found amongst the various peoples is as varied as the character of the peoples themselves. On the lower planes of thought, religious reverence and reverence for the head of the family are not as yet disengaged from each other, and piety at this stage rests upon natural feeling rather than upon distinct conceptions. But, as soon as the idea of a comprehensive order makes itself felt in the religious consciousness, ancestor-worship and family piety are each assigned a place in this order, and are clearly differentiated.

(2) In Egypt there existed a widely diffused worship of the dead, which, however, was distinguished from piety towards parents, the latter being strongly emphasized as a duty falling under the law promulgated by the priests.

(3) In China the law of superordination and subordination is deemed to be the supreme law of heaven, and finds its specific expression in the Confucian (q.v.), which, indeed, insists so strongly upon the cardinal importance of piety, more particularly as shown towards parents, that he values ancestor-worship simply as a means of fostering it. This
piety is itself a form, in fact the chief form, of subordination. Cf. ETHICS AND MORALITY (Chinese) and FAMILY (Chinese).

(4) Among the Brahmans a special motive for marriage is the desire to bring up a son who shall one day be able to make the appropriate sacrifice to the mases of the father. The main responsibility in the matter of filial regard thus rests with the male, for he is specially enjoined in the closest connexion with worship of the dead.

(5) Among the Persians, a very different view of things appears in the later Hindu. Among the supreme duties of believers are reckoned the service of Ahura Mazda and the worship of the Earth, the mother who bears mankind—a point of oriental stinginess, since this mother-worship is addressed to the head of all women. This view is intimately allied with the idea that the life-giving power as represented in motherhood, and the reverence and homage accorded to it, form one of the most effective means of overcoming the daevas, or demons.

(6) Among the Romans, filial piety was based upon different grounds altogether. They likewise, in turn, worshipped the mases; but the reverence by which they accorded to the paterfamilias had really a legal basis. According to the XII Tables, the father had absolute authority over his children, and it was this legal relationship that provided the foundation for filial piety. Even a son of mature age was still under paternal jurisdiction in family affairs, and could not be changed or acquired, anything that he did on his own account so long as his father lived. The father had the right to sell his children; he had even the 'power of life and death'—a prerogative, however, which was subsequently curtailed.

(7) In Greece, the father in his old age had a claim upon his son for support, except in the case of his having criminally neglected the education of the latter. Next to the worship of the gods, and to the obligations towards the dead and the fatherland, the honouring of one's parents was generally accounted the highest of duties. In Athens those who were about to enter on office were required to show that they had discharged the duties of children towards parents, as it was believed that unfilial persons were incapable of offering such sacrifices as would be acceptable to the gods. A son was certainly entitled to appeal against his being disinherited by his father, and so weak-minded, but the moral judgment of the public appears to have been adverse to such appeals. Though filial obedience was not exacted in the case where a father made an unjust demand, it was, nevertheless, regarded as seemly that children should be silent as to the errors of their parents. Finally, these views in instances of piety towards the father, in the sense of obedience, being accorded a higher place than affection for the mother.

(8) The sentiment of filial piety was strongly developed also among the Semitic races. Nothing in the nature of worship of the dead, indeed, is found amongst either Jews or Muhammadans; and, as piety towards parents is here associated with religion, there is a direct link between piety and obedience to which wins God's blessing, as disobedience evokes His wrath. In Islam, moreover, and more decisively still in Judaism, piety towards the mother is specially enjoined in the closest connexion with worship of the dead.

3. Christian.—Christianity, in giving love the central place, wrought a change in the conception of filial piety. The new relation between man and God which Christianity made possible assured the form of that between child and parent, and this in turn reacted upon the natural relationship itself. Though the attribution, of such a love respect to their fathers, and children must be obedient to their parents. The life of the Aryan, however, deprives this formal obedience of any proper emphasis. In Judaism, however, filial piety is a commandment, obedience and disobedience to which have the sanctions of promise and curse respectively; but respect for one's parents, as also reverence before God, assume here a more emotional character. Thus, while it is decreed that the son who manifests a disobedient and obstinate spirit towards his parents shall, upon their accusation, be stoned to death by the elders of the city (Dt 21.18), the normal relationship of the child to the parent is not one of bare servile constraint, but one of affection, as, for instance, finds a beautiful illustration in the Book of Ruth; and fidelity conjoined with reverence to parents, like fidelity to the covenant God, was viewed as the very essence of righteousness. 

4. Modern.—In modern times, and especially in the United States, the tie of filial piety is fast losing its old weight. The father, as the head of the household, is no longer regarded as the ruler, but as the confidant of his children and the protector of their rights. The tendency towards individualism is so great that filial piety is practically negligible. The weakness of the tie is shown by the failure of the children to render due respect to their parents. The divorce of property from personal influence is the cause of this, and is also the cause of the change in the conception of filial piety, as we have seen. Piety towards God is now regarded as the highest virtue, and the tie of filial piety is considered of secondary importance. 

5. Conclusion.—In conclusion, it may be said that filial piety is a virtue that is not only important in the development of the individual, but also in the development of society. It is a virtue that is based on love, and love is the foundation of all virtues. The development of filial piety is, therefore, the development of love, and the development of love is the development of all virtues.
point, however, which does justice to the individual person, involves also a transfiguration of the instinctive love of child to parent, in virtue of the definite bent now given to the filial spirit. The childlike spirit being locked upon the condition of entrance into the Kingdom of God, filial piety itself assumes a new dignity, inasmuch as love to God may manifest itself in reverential love to parent. In later generations, especially in the historical sense, as in ancestor-worship, while the autonomy of the individual is always preserved. Thus, however, arises a new problem, which, in the process of Christian development, has increasingly pressed for solution—the problem, namely, of reconciling filial piety with personal freedom. The difficulty is not so much one of the age of the young as during their adolescence and eventual maturity. In the less responsible years of children, the filial respect for the moral personality, i.e., for their child as intrinsically a child of God, excites an influence—vaguely felt at first, but with time more and more distinctly realized—upon the young mind, so that mere submission gives place to an obedience freely rendered and animated by love.

Filiation is not always of the same type. It varies, for one thing, in its relation to religion. Thus we find in its early stages an identification of the ancestor, or the head of the family, with the Deity and the human parent, and the recognition of man's ethical personality, as having the result that the liberty of the individual, expanding with the years, became a problem. Again, however, piety per se is of various kinds. It may be the immediate expression of a natural feeling of devotion to the father; or it may be the more prominent mode by which the Divine order of the world finds expression in the social hierarchy—or essentially a subordination based upon a legal establishment; it may be a phase of the belief that rests upon authority; or, finally, a spontaneous and love-begotten reverence. We must not exclude any one of these various types. The natural basis of filial piety with reverence in the Christian, on the other hand, must at length become permeated with the qualities of free affection, reverence, and devotion. As in general Christianity, and in particular in the attitude of Christ, the natural side of the relation between child and parent was often strongly disparaged in comparison with the religious interest. Christ seems to set little store by the ideal of the relation of the two parts of family life (Mt 10:37, 12:50, Jn 2:15, Lk 2:55), and it was this tendency which, ostensibly making for the disregagement of the moral and religious establishment of the father, was always present, but never asserted itself during the Middle Ages. The monk severed himself from his family, and so did the spiritual dignitary, even, as in the Copts, giving up his house and wife. Here we find the tendency withdrawing himself from family bonds in order to gain admission to a higher fellowship. At the

Reformation, however, this separation of the ethical from the natural was vigorously combated, and the moral life was once more established upon the substructure of nature. Especially did Luther urge the importance of family life, maintaining that in relation to children, parents are the representatives of God, and must as such receive due honour. In opposition to the extreme individualism of the tenets of the Reformers, moreover, he often witnessed the vigorous advance of the view that the place of every man in the grand process of human history is due to his parents, that each is a link in the chain of generations, and must so utilize what has come down from the fathers as to make it his own—a view which cannot but foster piety towards the persons in age.

The conception of piety as an expression of the universal order was likewise less prominent in primitive Christianity; for the personal relation of man to man must always take the central place where the infinite value of personality is so forcibly insisted upon. The conception in question, while in no sense repugnant to the Christian view, first won full recognition in modern times, when men began to speak of a cosmic order, whether natural or ethical. It was not promulgated, of course, in the forms given to it in the ethics of Confucius, according to which moral life is possible for man only as a member of the social hierarchy; the subjective and individual aspect is now too strongly emphasized to permit the old form of a commandment and ordinance of God; while, finally, as reverent love to God, it likewise becomes the wellspring of filial piety in the stricter sense; but the differentiation between the Deity and the human parent, and the recognition of man's ethical personality, have as their result that the liberty of the individual, expanding with the years, becomes a problem. Again, however, piety per se is of various kinds. It may be the immediate expression of a natural feeling of devotion to the father; or it may be the more prominent mode by which the Divine order of the world finds expression in the social hierarchy—or essentially a subordination based upon a legal establishment; it may be a phase of the belief that rests upon authority; or, finally, a spontaneous and love-begotten reverence. We must not exclude any one of these various types. The natural basis of filial piety with reverence in the Christian, on the other hand, must at length become permeated with the qualities of free affection, reverence, and devotion. As in general Christianity, and in particular in the attitude of Christ, the natural side of the relation between child and parent was often strongly disparaged in comparison with the religious interest. Christ seems to set little store by the ideal of the relation of the two parts of family life (Mt 10:37, 12:50, Jn 2:15, Lk 2:55), and it was this tendency which, ostensibly making for the disregagement of the moral and religious establishment of the father, was always present, but never asserted itself during the Middle Ages. The monk severed himself from his family, and so did the spiritual dignitary, even, as in the Copts, giving up his house and wife. Here we find the tendency withdrawing himself from family bonds in order to gain admission to a higher fellowship. At the
and may be compelled to recognize their liberty. This view has been extensively adopted throughout the civilized world. These conclusions become clearer still when we consider the case where piety is based upon the authority of the parents. That there is a legitimate side to this is self-evident. In relation to this view, the deocratic idea was taken by primitive Christianity, as on the one hand, it enjoined the obedience of children, even as Jesus himself taught (Lk. 18:21), while on the other, it conferred upon the adult the full liberty of responsible manhood, which Jesus laid claim to in plenary measure, and which Paul consecrated to the Christian (1 Co. 15:25). When Christianity, however, at length took the form of a religion of authority, freedom disappeared, and the parents will frequently set itself in opposition to the free development of the child, or was sometimes superseded by the power of the confessional, as specially developed among the Jesuits, who discussed caustically even the case of the parent. The fact that the Reformers were well-disposed towards the natural relationships had at first merely the result that parental authority was once more established upon the parents being regarded as representing God. But the liberation of the individual in the interests of his salvation was certain in the end to bring about the recognition of his independence re-fall, and that it is in due and timely consideration of the end involved in womanhood. More and more does the common notion gain ground as some piety must be harmonized with the status of an independent moral personality.

Nevertheless, fairly considered, it is impossible to see why women should be deemed less responsible for their conduct than men. A tyranny still inflicted in many homes upon the daughters, who, perhaps, from the excellent motive of safeguarding them against evil, are watched over like children, even when there is no temptation to violate a breach of personal responsibility; and, if such a surveillance, which as a rule does more harm than good, should appear necessary, it is a sign that our education of girls is at fault, and that it is time in due and timely consideration of the end involved in womanhood. More and more does the common notion gain ground as some piety must be harmonized with the status of an independent moral personality.

4. Modern aspects. — Filial piety is a virtue placed in the larger economy of moral life as a whole. In more recent times it is being brought under the theory of development. On the one side stands tradition, which must eventually become fully accountable, and while youth, holding a brief for the future, stands for other views than age, yet, precisely on the ground of a mutual recognition of ethical freedom, a certain mutual toleration is also possible. We must also bear in mind the riper experience of the parents, and all else that gives them a claim to the gratitude of their children. The relation of subjection which belongs to immaturity may thus pass into one of friendship, qualified on the children's part by gratitude and reverence, and, on the parents', by considerate kindliness and loving sympathy with the children's welfare and interests. Should the children feel themselves hampered by their parents, it indicates on their own part some mismeasure of that perfect freedom which is so sure of itself that it can respect views that would obstruct it, or some deficiency in that necessary breadth of view which can put itself in another's place, or in the will to follow the well-regarded counsel of those whose right and duty it is to give counsel; or else, on the other hand, there is in the parents a lack of that tolerant wisdom which is often infringed by a solicitude, well-meaning and kindly indeed, but defective in its regard for independence. Confidence on either side, and especially on the side of the parents, is the foundation of true piety. Such is the riper view, which wals piety and freedom into unity.

It would appear, accordingly, that from an instinctive attachment and dependence, an inchoate feeling of duty towards parents, which is still vaguely blended with the religious emotion, there is evolved a filial piety, which, as an unconstrained virtue, transfigures its natural foundation; a virtue which inevitably disengages itself from reverence to the Deity, and yet goes hand in hand with religion; which, precisely because of the substratum of loyalty which is the bulwark of personal freedom, itself becomes all the more vital, and which maintains personal responsibility in the face of more authority, yet without violating respect, gratitude, or reverence; and which, the more that a society is ever more expansive and ever the more intense.

A survey of the historical development of the quality shows us that piety, in the form of obedience, has been regarded as much more incumbent upon women than upon men. This seems to be so far justifiable, as the home is much more the focus of female than of male activities. Goethe has said:

"Nach Freiheit strebt der Mann, das Weib noch nach Liebe," and again:

"Dieses lerne das Weib, durch Diesen kommt sie zum Herrnchen.

Nevertheless, fairly considered, it is impossible to see why women should be deemed less responsible for their conduct than men. A tyranny still inflicted in many homes upon the daughters, who, perhaps, from the excellent motive of safeguarding them against evil, are watched over like children, even when there is no temptation to violate a breach of personal responsibility; and, if such a surveillance, which as a rule does more harm than good, should appear necessary, it is a sign that our education of girls is at fault, and that it is time in due and timely consideration of the end involved in womanhood. More and more does the common notion gain ground as some piety must be harmonized with the status of an independent moral personality.
FILIAL PIETY

the old, or in reluctance to put existent conditions to the test, but rather in the respect which we accord to the labours of our forefathers, and which really involves a recognition of a spiritual character can be mechanically appropriated: spiritual things can be assimilated only and ultimately by the individual, and must express a reverence in such a case. This is a thoroughly satisfactory view of the matter, and is precisely in this conception that true piety stands revealed, just as parental advice is really respected when it is said to be founded on the wisdom of the past, or when it is said to be informed by the experience of those who have preceded us in the path.

Moreover, though every generation has its own task, and yet fundamentally one and the same process is common to all. Each generation confronts an older, to which it owes a dutiful regard, and which it must in all reverence criticize; but it likewise begets a younger, from which it obtains a dutiful regard, and must express a reverence in such a case. This is the source of many misunderstandings between old and young may be gathered from the life-stories of nearly all great men. In the discussions which thus ensue, the young sometimes let their piety take the sinister form of humours the old, of disseminating a little with them, and passing them on, so to speak, with a show of respect. But the kind manifestly fails to do justice either to the dignity of age or to the obligation of reverence, and is justified to the state of insipient torpor, and set themselves, without sympathy or intelligence, against every new movement. It must, nevertheless, always remain the mission of every generation to produce such an understanding, as there is a much higher degree of genuine piety in a moderately expressed opposition to the opinions of the aged than in an ignorance of them altogether; while, again, the very endeavor to reach an understanding implies a partial recognition of the older view. Every single generation of men is an end in itself, a point in the history of its race, not a stage of transition to its successor. Just as children must not be treated as purely dependent beings, but as responsible personalities, who, as ends in themselves, have a specific right to free self-expression; so too are parents ends in themselves, and fail in their duty when they omit to bring—along with and in their parental love—their own standing as ends in themselves to the notice of their offspring. This prerogative, indeed, must be fully recognized by the younger generation, just in order to conserve their fill’s piety, even amid diversity of opinion and tendency. To parents is due, not only gratitude for all that they have been and done on the children’s behalf, but also respect, as ends in themselves, and as having the same claim to deferential recognition of their standpoint as the children have in regard to theirs. It is precisely the profound sense of the worth of personality that begets the mutual recognition of the right of unfettered judgment, while this again carries with it the true piety; so that the young who possess this quality still recognize, amid all zeal for their own convictions, the equal right of parents to theirs, since, as a matter of fact, had the parents not possessed such convictions, the children could never have won their own, and this recognition, moreover, they naturally combine with sentiments of gratitude and reverence.

In this discussion, the individual factor must certainly not be ignored. In the first place, human beings do not all develop at the same rate, and the transition from simple obedience to spontaneous piety is by no means a natural process. Again, men are variously constituted by nature, some having a predilection merely to carry on what has been begun, the young people, on the other hand, often thinking of the ancient and the traditional, others being naturally inclined to criticism, or gifted with creative power. Now, the former class, as compared with the latter, will discharge the duties of piety all but instinctively, simply because the development of a spiritual character can be mechanically appropriated; spiritual things can be assimilated only and ultimately by the individual, and must express a reverence in such a case. This is a thoroughly satisfactory view of the matter, and is precisely in this conception that true piety stands revealed, just as parental advice is really respected when it is said to be founded on the wisdom of the past, or when it is said to be informed by the experience of those who have preceded us in the path.

The genuine piety will be the fruit of a high education. Nor must we demand the same outward manifestation of piety from both types of character. The withholding of the requisite liberty or of a large-hearted confidence will be much more keenly felt by some than by others. The more diffident spirit will sink to a state of mere servitude, while another will avoid too harsh an infringement of piety by resorting to insincerity, or will ruthlessly assert his liberty and become totally estranged. From the moral point of view the right policy in the former case is to intensify the desire for freedom without diminishing his piety, and in the second virtually to emancipate him, so that his candour may be preserved, and that he may see his parents a corrective influence, disposing him to discretion. The piety of the one will show a proclivity to self-assertion, while the other will tend more towards a free recognition of the parents’ personal worth. The former must temper his bias towards dependence by his sense of what personal responsibility involves; the latter, on the contrary, seeking his bent towards liberty by keeping his dissident views apart from his personal relationships, and by habituating himself to yield the same respect for others’ opinions as he claims for his own.

A specially trying situation is brought about when the children, with a wider experience of life, grow out of their parents’ circle of thought and pass beyond their spiritual horizon. In this case piety may manifest itself more in the form of gratitude, adjusting itself in word and act to the mental perspective of the parents, so as to yield them all affection, yet without insincerity. Here, if anywhere, a certain indulgent treatment of the old is necessary, such as could not be vindicated were parent and child at the same stage of culture and intelligence.

Again, piety is variously estimated according as the particular family in which it is manifested inclines towards the aristocratic or the democratic point of view. In the one case, piety preferably expresses itself as a recognition of family traditions; in the other, it can have no support but freedom, the enforced honouring of one’s parents. The aristocratic type of piety tends to find its object in the family and the family bond, while the democratic centre rather in the individual. The former tends towards an exclusive family pride more readily than the latter; it is prone to become egotistical and illiberal, as it ignores the due limit of family interests. For family piety in so sense implies that we shall think less of those who are not our own kith and kin. Such a spurious family pride sometimes asserts itself very unpleasantly in marriage, e.g., when one of the parties belongs to a family whose piety has degenerated into mere arrogance. A high appreciation of one’s own lineage has an adequate warrant in the ethical obligation under which a man stands to his family, and to his parents in particular, as also in the natural relationship which manifests itself specially in personal attachment; but neither of these can readily avoid justification for the disarrangement of other families.

These considerations go to show not only that piety may be modified in various ways in virtue of individual conditions, but also that it has its limits,
since it must neither violate the freedom of fully responsible individuals, nor detract, through exclusiveness, from the respect due to persons or families of one's own kindred.

The contrast between the older and the more recent conception of piety may be gauged from the circumstances that, whereas formerly the faith and customs of the fathers formed a kind of rallying cry, it is now a common practice to describe an objectionable view as 'behind the age.' This change in attitude is in reply due to the spread of the evolutionary idea. Nowadays men often lament that piety is on the wane. Such a complaint, however, would be justified only if the personal relations towards parents, or towards superiors generally, were wanting in dutiful regard, or if respect for what has been bequeathed to the older generation were becoming extinct; but it is not justified by the mere fact that the younger generation strives to assert its independence, even in a critical spirit. On the contrary, a radical criticism is the condition of all progress. If, nevertheless, owing to the inability of the older generation to sympathize with the innovating tendencies of the day, conflicts cannot always be avoided, piety still demands that the young should temper their behaviour towards their parents with all due reverence and gratitude, and strive to mitigate the inevitable differences between them that a rupture may be avoided, wherever possible, without any sacrifice of conviction.

Lastly, as regards the filial relation to God. If all hope of preserving to Deity, that of sonship is susceptible of various interpretations. We may conceive of it as implying the dependence of a child who yields a trustful obedience. Divine sonship, as such, would consist in a man's renunciation of his own will, so that in perfect trust he may obey the Divine commandments alone. But the question arises, Whence do we derive our knowledge of these commandments? If we depend in the last resort upon an infallible revelation, with either the Scriptures or the religious community as the channel thereof, it is obvious that we are not yet of age in spiritual things. It is a commonplace of history that the theory of authority has found acceptance even in Christendom. But, if no such blind acceptance is required, then the sacred book or the community does no more than provide the stimulus towards personal experience and personal thought, and, accordingly, we do not evade the duty of examining the commandments we are required to obey. In this way the Divine sonship passes into its voluntary form: the man to whom it is vouchsafed is exalted by his knowledge thereof to a position of freedom, nor does the reverence before God which is conjoined with this knowledge collide with his sense of moral freedom, just because the Divine sonship harmonizes with his inmost nature, and because the Spirit of God, far from destroying his personal activity, rather anneals it to the highest issues. Thus is brought about a coalescence of theology and autonomy, of the desire to do God's will and the desire to know how we must act, of the knowledge of Divine law and the knowledge of moral obligation. Our freedom reaches its perfection in our sonship: our spirit, apprehended by the Divine Spirit, and in no other way, is raised to a state of concord with all of the world, and full self-activity, and in its own worth and responsibility feels itself enlarged to the utmost. One who is animated by this spirit of Divine sonship will act in harmony with the needs and exigencies of others, and of one's own kindred, and without surrender of his independence.

See, further, the art. on ETHICS AND MORALITY, esp. 'Chinese' and 'Japanese.'
and otheritious beings, and (c) mortifici rites. In 1858, Matti Wallenius published a work on the life and death among the Finns, and taking cognizance of all that has been written on the Finno-Ugrian peoples, and three years later another work on the life and death among the same peoples, in his honour. The term "hauk," "ghost," was taken over from the Lithuanians (Lith. hauke, "one under the earth"). Most of the Finnic names for the dead have been borrowed from Teutonic, and the names for the dead are mostly Teutonic. The Teutonic terms for the dead are "sean," "one dead;" "seanak," "one dead;" "isenak," "one dead;" "sauke," "dead man;" "luhke," "dead man;" "puhke," "ghost;" "pepelke," "ghost;" "evils of the dead;" "fulke," "ghost;" "fulkar," "ghost;" "skaikar," "ghost;" "fulke," "ghost;" and "lawke," "ghost;" (cd. Germ. Kehle), etc.

FINNS (Ancient). — 1. Sources. — Bishop Matthew Agricola, the reformer of Finland, in the preface to his Finnish translation of the Psalter (1561), composed in verse a list of the deities worshipped by the Finns in heathen times. This list was emended upon the catalogues of classical muses and other deities given in the vernacular grammars of the Middle Ages. The idea of giving an account of the ancient Finnish deities, however, arose independently in Agricola's mind, and had no connexion with the attempt of Johannes Magnus to construct a Scandinavian mythology, as found in his Historia, published two years after Agricola's book. In the 17th cent., Agricola's list was translated into Latin, Swedish, and German, and until the middle of the 18th cent. was repeated, as far as a few meagre notices from medieval times — the only sources for Finnish mythology. But a new and singularly copious source was discovered by O. C. Gaarder, in 1850, and published in 1851, under the title of "Deum et Actuum Finnorum praecipuorum maiorum scriptores," dealing with the mythological names in alphabetical order, and this was reprinted and issued in a German edition in 1852 (J. H. Rosenberg). The "Annales" of the "Deum et Actuum Finnorum praecipuorum Kynniaenis der litthlischen Sprache," xiv.

After the publication of the Kalevala, compiled by Elias Lönnrot from Finnish folk-songs, in 1835, and of the fuller recension in 1847, this great epic was used as the principal source for Finnish mythology. The names of the gods and other deities used by Agricola were now set aside as less credible and for a considerable extent unintelligible. But the recent study of the Kalevala, inaugurated by Julius Krahm, has created a new interest in this field, leading to the printed editions of the epic, scholarship has turned to the manuscript drafts of the songs in their manifold variants, and the folk-songs have been critically studied with reference to their geographical distribution. These investigations have made it clear that the epic and magic songs of the Finns are largely of mediaval origin, and that their mythological elements, as in the case of the Edda, are permeated by Christian ideas. A further result is that nearly all the names given by Agricola have received a satisfactory philological explanation, and that the value and truthfulness of his evidence regarding the actual paganism of Finland — which forms the subject of the present article — have been recognized and appreciated.

2. The objects of worship. — (a) The dead. — The cultus of the dead, which is found among all the Finno-Ugrian peoples, is, as elsewhere in this race, the earliest traceable form of religion also among the Baltic Finns.

The Finnic language has retained words which, according to E. M. Bezjak (Phaln. sp. Forsch. sii. 175, 1917), go back to Finno-Ugrian times for the following: finn. bauk, "spirit;" finn. sau, "spirit;" and even to roots common to Finno-Ugrian and Samoyed, such as seman, "corps;" grave," "spirit of the dead;" "death." The Finnic. mansa, "mortal;" "a dead person," was borrowed from some Indo-Iranian language in the Finno-Ugric period (Brr. mantsa). In the general sense of "bed," "soul," "spirit," the term bauk, "ghost," was taken over from the Lithuanians (Lith. bauke, "one under the earth"). Most of the Finnic names for the dead have been borrowed from Teutonic, among which the word se, "one dead;" "isenak," "one dead;" "sauke," "dead man;" "luhke," "dead man;" "pepelke," "ghost;" "skaikar," "ghost;" "lawke," "ghost;" (cd. Germ. Kehle), etc.

Agricola refers to the Finnish worship of the dead as follows: "food was taken to the tombs of the departed, and there the people mourned, wailed, and cried. Likewise the Memmingenians [cd. Germ. Memmingen] received their obligations when the widows married again." Moreover, in keeping with the Finns in Ingria observed the practice of placing in the tomb a vessel filled with peace, flesh, bread, butter, and the like. Among the Karelians of the Greek Church it is still the custom to take to the grave on certain anniversaries, and to entreat the dead in mournful songs to partake thereof. After a while the food is distributed among the beggars who happen to be present. In Lutheran—formerly Roman Catholic—Finland, the so-called feast of Kekri was held annually on the 1st of November. In the dwelling-house, on the eve of the celebration, a table was spread, as at a funeral feast, in honour of the former master and mistress; the bathing-house was heated and supplied with all requital for washing. Sometimes a dressed straw doll with a painted mask was set up in the corner where the stove stood. According to Agricola, Kekri 'promoted the growth of cattle.' The word Kekri is also used in the sense of 'ghost,' but it has not yet been explained etymologically. Long before the festival of Kekri came to be formally connected with All Saints' Day, it was associated with an indefinite period in autumn, as appears from the Finn. name Muratveku, 'month of the dead,' for November, and the Est. Hingaaju, 'month of souls,' for October. Moreover, in keeping with the Scandinavian ideas, but more especially in West Finland, visits from the dead were expected also during the Christmas season.

(b) Household spirits. — As a further result of Scandinavian influences, the worship of local guardian spirits, which sprang from the cult of the dead, became diffused also among the Finns. The Finn. word halajja (from halaja [a Tent. loanword], 'to rule over'), corresponds to the Swed. râdande, 'to be able.'

The talonkahtijla, or guardian spirit of the home, usually represents the person who had been the first to kindle a fire, or, by other accounts, the first to die in the house. The two views are combined in the statement that the first fire was made by the earliest representative of the family; it is often said, indeed, that the talonkahtijla is the spirit of the first master or mistress of the house. The appearances of this domestic spirit usually precede a death or other misfortune; it is kindly disposed, interested in the welfare of the house, and does not like to be startled.

From the domestic spirit is to be distinguished the capricious tomtus (Swed. tomte) — who, according to Agricola, controlled the household — although the two are often confused. The tomtus must be brought from the churchyard, and a special apartment with a well-provided dining-table must be prepared for him. In the matter of offerings he is exacting, but he enriches the giver with corn and money. Besides the tomtus, Agricola mentions the kâvitsi (O. N. kvâvitsi), who 'took care of property,' and who is recognized more particularly in the East of Finland, where he is also called pusuk (O. N. pulluk), twikend, 'fiery tall;' 'shooting star;' and piskuhaan (cd. Swed. tomtse-bus). A special type of the domestic spirit among the Finns, and likewise of the East-Indian origin, is the butter-bringing pâra (Swed. björa).
From the household spirit must also be distinguished the earth-spirit, maamahattia. When a house is to be built, the consent of the latter must first of all be obtained from the god or divinity. The people then make an offering to him by planting a tree, with which he thereafter maintains a special connection.

When the custom of burying the dead in the vicinity of the dwelling-house gave place to interment within and around the church, a tutelary spirit of the church or churchyard was found in the kirkkohattia, or the kirkkohamahattia, the first person buried there, with his subject spirits, the kirkkojousii, or 'church-folk.'

Hiisi, or the guardian spirit of the sacrificial grove, is also a guardian spirit of the bathing-house, the granary, the threshing-barn, the stable, and the cattleshed, some being called hattia, and some tonu.

The smithy likewise may be provided with protective spirits, the pojossii, 'smithy-folk,' especially by bringing thither a little earth from the churchyard.

8 Forest-spirits and water-spirits.—The guardian spirits and the 'people' of the forest (metasamahattia, metasamamahattia) and of the water (vedenhamattia, vedenhamatia) are the localized spirits of the dead. They have the same form, the same character, attributes, and functions as the latter, and are occasionally even called monasalaitia, 'those under the earth.'

One of the forest-spirits designated by Agriola is Ikhekkii, 'the flaming one,' who presided over plants, roots, and trees; he was the soul of a child who had been buried, and to this spirit appeared as the ignis fatuus. Hiisi, who 'bestowed victory upon those dwelling in the forest,' is mentioned by Agriola in the sense of a place, viz., a sacred grove, and the word still bears this meaning in Estonian. As the sacrificial groves occupied the site of ancient places of habitation and burial, Hiisi is also identified with the Puori-paikko, the mountain-god, and, topographically, with the mountain itself. The 'people' of the mountain, the suuruswaki or kallionwaki, are of the same type as the 'people' of the church, the forest, and the water, and belong to the group of localized spirits of the dead; the idea that mountains were the abodes of the dead was taken from the Scandinavians.

Finally, under the influence of Christianity, Hiisi came to bear an evil repute, being personified as the Devil and localized as Hall. From a diminutive form of his name, viz., hittu, is probably derived the word kilttas серева, signifying the spirit that 'brought hares out of the thickets' (Agriola).

The word Tapio, denoting the deity who 'provided prey' for the hunter, was, like Hiisi, applied originally to a locality, probably to the hunting-ground; as a spirit, it is invoked, together with the metak, 'forest,' in the magic poems. Viron-krami, who 'guarded the oats,' is akin to Viron-kula, the Lappish goddess of hunting. And, as regards his name, it is merely a tree-stump (kanto) combined with a smare (virke). Nyker, again, which is 'supplied squirrels from the wood,' is neither more nor less than St. George (Jyrni). The metasamai of Western Finland is represented as a forest nymph, beautiful in front, but hollow behind, and with a golden chain in modern times. The bear, on the other hand, the worship of which is closely connected with the worship of the dead, is a very ancient divinity of the forest.

As regards water-spirits, Agriola makes mention of Vedon smo, 'the mother of the water,' who 'guided fish into the net,' and Ahni, who 'brought fish out of the water.' Probably Ahni likewise is not a propitiation, but a guardian spirit, since it may be applied also to the spirits of the forest and the earth (metasamahattia, maamahattia). To the class of water-spirits must also be assigned Poiskamies, the 'fishing songs.' The word viscus signifies the still water at the mouth of a river. The gift of music and poetry is generally assigned to the spirits of the dead, and especially to those who inhabit the water (of the Swedish Nåcka, which is well known also among the Finns (Nideki)).

(c) The dwelling-god and other agricultural deities.

—Of the agricultural deities the most important was the god of thunder, whom the Finns found both among the Litu-Slavs (as Perkunas, Perun) and among the Scandinavians. The Finnish names Perkola and Piru now denote the Devil, but in an Estonian dictionary of 1660 the expression Perkun sool is given as equivalent to 'thunderbolt.' The Esth. Kõik, Kõik, 'thunder,' must be regarded as cognate with the Lith. kabalepseis, 'thunderbolt,' and O. Prus. kas, 'deivis.'

The battle of the Finns against the Scandinavians c. 1900 was Tarabitha, 'Tar-hep!' which points unmistakably to the Norse Thor. According to Agriola, the god Turis, 'father Tur,' conferred victory in war. As a rule, however, the Finns considered the thunder-god by their equivalents of the Swed. termas Gogubben, 'good old one,' and Gofar, 'little father,' 'guner,' viz., West Finn. Jaisen, 'little father,' East in the Viives, 'grandfather.' The Finn Aijo, 'the old one,' likewise was formerly used as the name of the thunderer, as appears from the Esth. di, 'thunderer,' 'deivis'—the latter sense being retained also in the Finnish songs.

Of the worship of Ukko among the Eastern Finns, Agriola gives the following:

'Ukko's goblet was drunk at the sorting of the spring seed; Ukko's chest was also brought, and then maid and wife drank, and to excess, and, moreover, many sham festivals were there, as was both heard and seen. When Rainui, Ukko's wife, razed, Ukko brushed vessels; hence from the cornerstone (from the North), and this brought thunder-showers and the year's harvest.'

A still extant petition from peasants in E. Finland, written in Swedish and dating from Agriola's time (1845), mentions the fine exacted for drinking Thordes gilthe. A reference to Ukko ev, 'the chest of Ukko,' is found in an ecclesiastical inspection held in 1670. Vestiges of this sacrificial feast have been noted within modern times. According to one account, the best sheep was selected from the flock, and slaughtered on a given day. Its flesh was boiled, and a little of this and of various other kinds of food was put in chests of birch-bark, and carried to the sacred mountain of Ukko (Ukko ev). The vessels, together with a large quantity of beer and spirits, remained on the mountain overnight. Such portions of the food as were found there in the morning—Ukko being supposed to have taken a share—were eaten by those who took part in the festival, but a little of the various liquors was poured upon the mountain, to the intent that the summer might not be too dry.

According to another account, the people, when they thought that the drought had lasted too long in spring, placed vessels, filled with beer, on the roof of the dwelling-house of a particular homestead selected by lot. The god was supposed to know why this was done, and caused it to rain, so that the grain might be moistened. This was then made into malt, and beer was brewed therefrom. The day of prayer in June—the time of drought—was celebrated out of doors. All the
men and women of the village, and especially the older people, assembled at the homestead. The people partook of the beer, and of various foods, and there was a great deal of weather required. No one who came to the festival of the *Ukko vaahä*, 'the feast of Ukko,' brought provisions for himself, as it was considered an honour to supply the wants of the guests. The weather should be fair, and the clouds should hold there. Lots were cast at the close to decide where the feast was to be celebrated the following year.

The various acts of exposing to the rain the corn from which Ukko's beer was brewed, of making a libation of beer on Ukko's mountain, and, according to Agriola, of drinking beer to the stage of intoxication, were all devised as magical devices for bringing thunder-showers in the time of drought.

To Rawen, the consort of Ukko, whose name occurs in the songs as *Röönnäkkä*, corresponds the Finn-Lappish *Róznis*, to whom were consecrated the berries of the mountain-ash. In Sweden-Lappish, in fact, *rúss* denotes the mountain-ash, and, as E. N. Setälä has shown, it is a Scandinavian loan-word (cf. Old Norse *róss*). The Finns also regarded the mountain-ash in their courtyards, and especially its berries, as sacred. The idea that Ukko and Rawen were husband and wife and finds its explanation in the relations which of both Tenents and Litu-Slavs believed to subsist between the god of thunder and the oak. In all likelihood the worship of the oak pertained properly to the sorcerors, which in remote times had served as human food.

At the Ingrian festival of Ukko, songs are sung about a deity called *Sipma* or *Pellervo*, who is first of all raised up—though to no purpose—by the son of Winter, and then at length brought hither by the son of Summer, so that he may speed the growth of the corn. In Finlanding the god was represented as being conveyed from an island—sleeping upon a corn-field, or dollying in a coloured sledge, with his mother as his wife. These ideas seem to be derived from the Scandinavian cult of Frey, which found its way also to the Lapps. The term *Sipma* (a Tent. loan-word (Germ. *Sima*, *Seme*, *brulsh*)) signifies a species of fodder-grass (*Sesamum typhina*), the woodclub-root, which forms the spring, which is gathered for the cattle when the snow melts, and the roots of which are readily eaten. In Finlanding, Pellervo is a word which was used as equivalent to *pellava*, 'fleece,' although it may possibly be derived from *pellu*, 'field.'

Among the gods of the various kinds of grain, as confirmed by Agriola, *Rámudeden*, 'who gave rye,' is to be identified with the Rámkasteen found in the songs as the god of rye; the name occurs also in the abbreviated form *Rámo*; it is a Tent. loan-word (cf. Germ. *rij*, *rye*, and OE. *ryg*, 'fleece'). *Pellervo Pekko*, 'the Pekko of the field,' who furthered the growth of barley, is still recognized among the Ethnians of the Greek Church. A large wax figure, bearing the name *Peko* and belonging to the village as a community, was kept in a corn-shed and entrusted to the care of a peasant chosen every year, and was invoked at seed-time. The name *Peko* is to be traced to the same Scandinavian word from which *Rámo* or *Rámo*, the name of Frey's servant, and the Swedish *brøgg*, 'barley,' are derived. The etymology of the name *Espis*, denoting the deity 'who created peas, beans, and turnips, and brought forth cabbage, flax, and hemp,' is uncertain. The name of turnips called *Apró* has quite recently come to light among the Greek-Orthodox Finns on the Russian frontier. This name is given to a turnip—latterly also a potato—formed of two that have grown together. With feigned difficulty such a root is carried on the shoulder to the storage-pit. The bearer falls three (or ten) times to his knees or at full length, saying, 'I cannot carry it, holy Agrí, it is too heavy for me.' The prayer to Agrí is in these words: 'Holy Agrí, provider, cause to grow hundreds and thousands of the same sort; bring as turnips as thou comest to the pit.' According to another account, Agrí is entreated to bring the worshipper a certain quantity of turnips from the storage-pits of others.

Still another agricultural deity is mentioned by Agriola, viz. *Kendös*, who made 'reclaimed lands and titled fields.' According to E. N. Setälä, the name is derived from a Finn-Ugrian word meaning 'seed-corn,' 'grain.'

(c) Deities of the air and the sky.—*Ismarinen* (from *Isæ*, 'the air'), who, according to Agriola, 'gave calm weather and bad weather, and furthered travellers,' is to be regarded as a Finn-Ugrian god of the air. The name *Ismar*, applied to the supreme deity of the pagan Votaks, corresponds phonetically to *Ismarinen*. But the position assigned to Ismar is to some extent due to the influence of the conception of deity current among the neighbouring Christian and Moslem Finns. Ismarinen, again, can hardly be without some connexion with the Scandinavian *Njord*, who reappears with Thor and Frey in Lappish mythology. The figure of *Ismar*, 'the god of calm weather,' has been found, together with that of the thunder-god, on the magic drum of a Finnish Lapp.

The Finnish word *Jumala*, which is found in Islandic literature as early as 1026 (Jóamali), and is now used by the Finns not only of the Christian God, but for 'god' in general, is supposed by some to mean 'beaver,' being explained either as a Finn-Ugrian root conjoined with the Samoyed *Nuuw*, or as an Indo-Iranian loan-word (cf. Skr. *yama*, 'clear'). Others, again, regard it as connected with the Vogul *ymáze*, Hng. *yjö*, 'good.' *Jumala* would in that case signify the possessor of the good, of happiness, i.e. 'the blessed one' (cf. Skr. *yaj!, 'God,' and *yajt*, 'rich'); also Skr. *yaj*, and, applied originally to the 'blessed' dead, would come to denote deity in general, and at length, under the influence of a higher religion, to serve as the specific designation of one of the major gods. *Jumala* is the name of the god of the sky, and the source of all the other names of the deities of the various parts of the heavens. Agríola refers, finally, to the worship of 'many others—of stones, stumps of trees, the stars, and the moon.' But the statement that Pelervo is a name used for the purposes of his scheme. Among the Finns there is as little evidence for the worship of the heavenly bodies as for fetishism. There is no trace here of the sun-worship which the Lapps adopted from the Scandinavians. Agríola's references to the moon, viz. that *Bakkio*, 'hoar-frost,' 'makes the moon black in parts;,' and that *Koppe*, the 'animals,' 'ate up the moon,' simply reflect popular notions regarding lunar markings and lunar eclipses.

3. Sacrifices.—It has been asserted that the Finns did not practise blood-sacrifice; but this is a false inference from the circumstance that such oblations are not mentioned in the epic and magic poems. There is evidence to show that about the end of the 12th cent. the Ethnians were in the habit of sacrificing oxen, goats, dogs, and even human beings. The Karelians, who were governed from Novgorod, were in 1534 formally accused of sacrificing oxen, sheep, and birds, and even of immolating their children in secret. Until quite lately the Greek-Orthodox Karelians at a deity of oxen and turnips called *Apró* used to perform communal sacrifices of oxen and rams beside their churches, these celebrations having been described and portrayed as recently as 1891. In the most northerly part
of Russian Karelia it is the practice, on the 15th of August (O.S.), to bring a number of votive workmen from a fairly large surrounding area to the village church. In the woodland before the church a fire is kindled early in the morning; a cauldron is secured, and water poured into it. The alchemy is driven from the sheep, a fire is lit beneath the penthouse, in the flooring of which there is a hole with a lid, and presses the animal’s neck upon this hole. Then, calling on an assistant to hold the sheep fast by the feet, he runs his knife into its throat, and lets the blood flow down under the flooring. The animal is next fished outside the enclosure. The blood into the sheep thus slaughtered is burned. The boiled flesh is put into large boxes of birch-bark, and carried outside the enclosure. The broth is made into a gruel with peeled barley collected from the villages, and into this the fat of the animal is stirred. The people then hold united prayer in the chapel, and the sacrificial feast begins. First of all, the meal, which has been fumigated with incense, is eaten. Every donor of a sheep brings a loaf with him, and the villagers also contribute. Meanwhile the potage is ready, and is put into similar receptacles of birch-bark. Only the men — with heads uncovered — take part in the ceremony, the women and children being present merely as spectators. Bones and broken fragments of meat are gathered up and placed in a covered box made of knee-pine chips, and this is bound with rope to which a stone is attached, and cast into a deep pool, not to be eaten, for nothing must be left to be eaten by the dogs.

4. Magic. — Another popular but equally erroneous idea is that the magic of the Finns rests upon the power of the "word." As a matter of fact, our earliest record of a Chudic magician — in a Russian Chronicle of A.D. 1071 — tells how he summoned up spirits while lying drunk, i.e., in the sacred state. The sacred priest of the Estonians passed beyond this primitive shamanistic stage, and (c. A.D. 1200) became what the Latin Chronicle of Henry the Leicht speaks of as a harioes. The practice of divining by means of a horse — by observing what foot it lifted first, as described by that Chronister — was adopted by the Estonians from the Latvians or Lithuanians. The heathen priests of the Karelians are called orvii (orviis, 'one who knows the art of casting lots') in the official Russian libel of 1554. A specially popular practice among the Finns, even in recent times, was divination by the sieve, which came to them by way of the Scandinavians and the Russians. Finnish magicians probably uttered prayers at their sacrifices even in heathen times. The sacrificial prayer of an Estonian priest of the thunder living in 1844, and the Ingram song of Ukko which tells of Sampai, may perhaps date from the heathen period. But it was only under the influence of the medieval spells of Christian origin current among the Scandinavians that the Finnish magicians composed and elaborated their magic songs.

LITERATURE.—The main sources are indicated in § 3 and in the art. FINNO-UGRICANS.

KAARLE KOHN.

FIRE, FIRE-GODS.—The discovery of a method of making fire may be described as the most important event made by the human race. To dilute upon the obvious reason for this description is unnecessary. The history of fire-making alone would fill a volume. Consistent with its cultural importance is the voluminous mythology and ritual concentrated upon fire in early civilization; the modern anthropological literature of the subject is scarcely less voluminous.

Previously to the advent of the 19th century, the general view was that fire-making, together with all culture, was a quite recent achievement of mankind. Stories of contemporary savage tribes to whom fire-worship is still discussed as possessing a possible foundation in fact. But recent calculation places the knowledge of fire-making as early as the Second Inter-glacial epoch, approximately more than 400,000 years ago. The Krapina men possessed the knowledge of fire-making, and there is no reason to suppose that the early Paleolithic period failed to evolve the art. In all likelihood the first suggestion came neither, as Posech thought, from volcanic fire, nor, as others have thought, from forest fires or trees struck by lighting, but from the fire. The sparks produced in the manufacture of flint implements produced by the fire.

1. Fire-making.—The chief primitive methods are frictional, percussive, compressive, and optical. The modern is chemical. Many barbarous peoples of to-day the frictional is the most used; the compressive method comes next. The percussive — probably the oldest — lasts the longest. Many mechanical inventions making it efficient were responsible for its remaining in use till a century ago. Optical methods have been rare, as is natural; chemical, methods are but experiments.

(a) The simplest frictional method is the stick-and-groove. A blunt-pointed stick is run along a groove of its own making in a piece of wood lying on the ground. The stick is pressed the fire by the friction... Among the South Sea natives. The Central Australians employ it as well as the "fire-drill." Hard wood is used for the moving component, soft for the stationary. In the Arunta tribe two men will sit down opposite each other, holding a shield steady on the ground between them by means of their feet; then taking one of their spear-bow runners they will each of them, holding on to one end, pass it vigorously it and forthwards with a sawing motion over the shield, the surtace of which will become marked by a groove. The fine powder, which is separated off very soon, often in less than a minute, begins to smolder, and then by careful blowing a flame is soon produced by the friction between the two.

A variation is used by the Warramunga tribe; in a cleft stick of soft wood a hard stick is smartly rubbed.

The fire-drill has a wide range: Australia, Tasmania, Malay States, Kamchatka, ancient India, Ceylon, Europe, Africa, Central, South, and North America. It is a generally usual method, and no doubt it was independently evolved by various peoples. Captain Cook described its simplest form as used by Australians:

"They produce first, and spread it in a wonderful manner. To produce it they take two pieces of dry soft wood, one is a stick about 8 or 9 inches long, the other piece is flat: the stick they shape into an obtuse point at one end, and pressing it upon the other, turn it slowly by holding it between both their hands, as we do a chocolate mill, after shifting their hands up, and then moving them down upon it, to increase the pressure as much as possible, in about two minutes they get fire in less than two minutes, and from the smallest spark they increase it with great speed and dexterity."

As with the fire-saw, so with the fire-drill, two workers are essential. The latter method is even more laborious than the former, and its wider prevalence is due chiefly to mechanical improvements. The Australians cut a notch extended to the edge of the stationary wood, to admit the twisted stick and to allow the powdery particles to be blown out. Knowing that the twirling must be absolutely continuous, they always employ two men who...
resemble each other. This familiar ‘fire-stick,’ twirled between the palms of the hands, is the predominant form of fire mechanism in art and myth.

The principle of the carpenter’s brace is a simple improvement, possible with a bent or elastic stick, and no cost by the simple action of pulling the stick. The operator presses one end of the stick on his breast and the other (which is pointed) into a hole in a piece of wood, and then rapidly turns the curved part, like a carpenter’s centre-bit.

A cord wound round the drill is still used in India. The method is varied to particular people from the Beakimos to the Moors. A cross-piece is used to keep the spindle steady and in its bearings; this is held by a second person, or the operator holds it in his teeth.

To substitute for the mere thong or cord a bow with a loose string, is a still further improvement, for one hand now does the work of two in driving the spindle.

Ancient and modern peoples used this method for driving holes. The North American Indians employed it for fire-making. A variation is the pump-drill, in which the cross-piece moves up and down, whirring and re-winding the cord. This is found in Samos, in a few South Sea Islands, and among the Iroquois.

In Borneo, Sumatra, and parts of Eastern Asia, fire is occasionally made by striking together two pieces of split bamboo. The allusive coating makes this possible, but it is a precarious method of fire. The Fuegians strike sparks with flint upon iron pyrites. The method is attested for 8th century Britons. 9th century Saxons and Scandinavians, and is used today in a ritualistic principle. The Japanese carried their fire with them on the march. The Russian peasants used to store the fire in a bag. 10th century Japanese used to store the fire in a bag. 11th century Japanese used to store the fire in a bag.

(c) Comparative and optical methods have never been commonly employed. A tube closed at one end, into which a packed piston is sharply forced down the tube to a close-fitting, is used in Malaysia and Burma. The use of a lens was known and practised in ancient Greece and Italy; China and Japan to-day is familiar with it. The Spanish accounts of the Peruvians of lighting the sacred fire by a lens, as also of the virgins of the Sun who guarded the fire, are at least doubtful, owing most of their details, as Tyler has shown, to Pitarch’s account of the Vestal Virgins of Rome and the sacred fire of Vesta.

There does not seem to be any regular course of evolution in fire-making implements. The use of the fire-drill does not necessarily precede or lead up to that of the flint and steel. Nor does the simplest frictional method lead to any of the other economic values. The ‘fire-saw’ and the ‘fire-plough’ are merely extensions of that method.

The cord, centre-bit, and pump-drills are applications to it of simple mechanical expedients. But there is a tendency for drills to predominate in dry, hot climates; flint and steel are limited by the presence or absence of suitable percussive minerals. Savage life shows that fire is rarely made, for it is very easy to secure a permanent supply.

Social regard for fire. The myths of the invention of the art are numerous. The process is one to appeal to the imagination. Their chief characteristics are the ascription of the invention to a bird or bird-hero, and the personification of the implement. Thus in China a myth recounts how...

a great sage went to walk beyond the bounds of the moon and the sun; he saw a tree, and on this tree a bird, which perched as it and made fire come forth. The sage was struck with this, took a branch of the tree and produced fire from it, and thence this great personage was called ‘Juy-sin.’ Juy is the fire or the spirit. Juy-sin is the first person who procured fire for the use of man. 1 The Samite name for the assuaptis, prasamata, is probably connected with the name of the Greek fire-giver, Prometheus. 2 The magic of the Hebrews was to cause fire to be stored the fire stolen from heaven is repeated in savagery by the stick or rod whose dry wood forms the lightning. 3

A simple form of regard shown in maintaining fire, to avoid the inconvenience of re-making it, is connected, directly or indirectly, with the religious cult of the perpetual fire. 4

The Tasmanians never let their fire go out. 5 The homes-fire, as in Korea, is never extinguished. European possession, as the North Americans and Scandinavians, devotes the rule into a ritualistic principle. The Israelites carried their fire with them on the march. 6

The Russian peasants used to store the fire in a bag, to their new house, where he deposits it, saying: 7 ‘Welcome, grandchild, to the new house.’ 8 The old Romans used to march round the land with fire, claiming the area they could walk round carrying fire, from street to street to six in the evening. 9 Various tabus have been enforced in early culture upon the tending and carrying of fire. These follow the lines of similar regulations. 10

Two poles of sentiment are fear of the destructive power, and gratitude for the comfort and usefulness, of the element. An extensive series of myth and metaphor is evolved from these. The general importance of fire in human life is shown by the way it enters into social symbolism and nomenclature. There are Fire places, Fire priests, Fire totem. 11 Fire is placed on the grave to warm the dead. 12 The Calabrians take an oath by nipping a flame between the fingers and swearing by ‘the light of God.’ 13 Australian boys at initiation receive a fire-stick, ceremonially presented by the mother of the future wife. 14 Fire and sunshine are permanently connected in the social imagination.

Both are avoided by persons and especially girls during their first menstrual period. Impreg-

nation by fire is a common notion connected there-
with.1 Cirrocansion among the Australians is per-
formed by means of a fire-stick.2 It is the newly
initiated boy is placed by women on a fire.3 Here
we approach the purificatory idea. A connexion
with the principle of rites of passage is shown
in the formal extinction of fire on a death, and
the making of new fire on certain occasions of
social crisis and change.4 In the Warnamungu
and Marsa tribes of Australia, the co-operative
totem system is applied, one moiety making fire
and handing it over to the other.5 The idea of
fire—a purifier is universal.6 Connected with this
is the power to expel evil or to bar its approach.7
Many peoples throw food and drink to the fire
before meals.8 Fire tends to develop sacred
associations.9

3. Fire-ritual. — Fire-worship proper will be dis-
cussed below in §§ 6 and 7. The ritual of per-
petual fire can hardly be regarded as fire-worship.
Sacrifice by fire, and various ceremonies in which
fire is used, show it as a means and not as an end
of the rite. Frazer's theory of the common origin
in the Greek pyrætis and the Italian temple of
Vesta, from a pre-historic custom of the tendering
of the common fire in the chief's round house by
the chief's daughters, involves the general principle
of the temple is a position of religion upon custom.10
Farnell objects to this theory, and maintains that
optical methods were employed at Athens, the
primitive fire-sticks being used only at Rome, and
that the Roman system in historical times, was excluded
from the pyrætis.11 He accordingly regards the
Ruman ritual of Vesta as not secular but religious
in origin.

The Danomu of South Africa possessed a ritual of the
perpetual fire well developed, though not so
notable nor religious. The fire was tended by the
daughters of the chief—an anticipation of
the Vestal Virgins in appearance if not in evolutionary
fact.12 When the Danomu build a new village, the fire
was supplied from that of the old one.13 The
extinction of the sacred fire at Rome was regarded by
the superstitions as a national calamity, as the
extinction of the village fire in any
easily community would be regarded as at least an
inconvenience, mortally.14 A sacred perpetual fire, sacred to St. Bridget, is said to
have been in use in the 13th cent. at Kilbride.15 The
perpetual fire of the Irish and Hottentots was in all probability later
inferior in ritualistic observance to those reported of Mexico and Peru.16 At Cusa the daughters of the Inca tended the fire.17 In the 12th cent. in Mexico there was, it is said, a
sacred perpetual fire before each chapel. In all these Central
American cases, virgins were the keepers of the fire. Chastity
was obligatory; infliction of the rule was punished with
death.18 The Michoacan fire was tended by a woman ministering in cold weather by fire-sticks. The Spanish chroniclers certainly have
expressed their astonishment in order to enhance their claim for
the new world to be a sacred land. No house had a fire.

The ritual of purification and sacred burning
is linked to a sequence of very widely spread
and influential ideas. The simplest of these, though
4. Spencer-Gillen, 368.
5. Spencer-Gillen, 368.
7. Spencer-Gillen, 368.
8. Spencer-Gillen, 368.
10. T. G. F. Riecke, Die duft. in beraubtigen reizen, Haarlem,
1917, p. 224.
1864, p. 283.
12. Frazer, Telemus, II, 118.
Greeck colonies took with them a share of the sacred fire of the motherland.
1851, p. 161.
20. As argued by Taylor, 205 f.
21. W. M. Rees, The Argyll Household, London and Melbourne,
1876, p. 48 f.
22. Apparently complex, may be found in savage cere-
monies of renewal and removal of old things. The
kindling of the new fire follows the expulsion of
evils and the putting off of the old life. In
the mere instinct for change and renewal we may
find the key to many rites on occasion; yet with fire
plays a more or less literal rather than a symbolic
part. Such rites often include a formula of social
reunion.

The Hopi of the Central American tribes is an elaborate
service of regard for society. Its central feature is the Fire
Ceremony. Women and men dance round separate fires.
There is a naturalness of constructive licence, the taboo being
relaxed one by one. Large torches are carried, and a pole, 20
feet high, the westerly, is a central object whose function is
doubtful but possibly is merely centralisation. The principle
of the ceremony is well brought out by the way it is
performed upon private relations. Two men who have quarrelled
previously now light it out with flaming sticks, after which the
ill-wishing is never resumed. A general notion concludes the
ceremony; part of this is sexual, men and women
attacking each other.

From such conceptions and realizations it is no
longer easy to elaborate the philosophies of
Iamblichus, who held that fire burns all the mortal
parts, leaving the immortal behind, or to the
practice of burning the dead, and the connected
principles of burnt sacrifice. In ancient theory,
burning made its patient divine.6 The remarkable
series of fables on the passage of children through the fire is probably due in part
to these ideas, and is paralleled by the Greek
stories of burning children to render them
immortal.7 The remarkable series of fables on
which the figure of Ceres is based is a proof
how in Asiatic and Semitic religion the idea of
burnt sacrifice dominated the imagination of kings
and priests. In the 19th cent. often the bodies of
Rabbits were still burned at Maron in Galilee.8 In
the 20th cent. the Catholic Church retains the
belief in the purificatory fires of Purgatory, and
the eternal fires of Hell. There can be no doubt
that the fires of the astra deae were kindled in
consequence of a theory of purification by fire.
They were thus the agni sacrum, a word which ranges
notations which retain their harmless realization in
the fire-festivals of European peasants.

4. Fire-gods. — The fire-deity often reported for
uncivilized communities is generally a vaguely
envisioned daemons hardly emerged from fluid
animism.9 In all cultures the fire-god proper
appears to be an exception, and not a regular
member of the pantheon. The history of religion
practically includes only two genuine fire-gods—
Agni of Hinduism, and Atar of Zoroastrianism.10
Fancy everywhere locates the source of fire in
various natural objects, as the sun, or the
kangaroo (Austral)11, or the oak, or any material
from which it may be artificially or naturally pro-
duced. The divine person who invests himself
with fire, or reveals its secret to mankind is no fire-god
necessarily, but a culture-hero. Such was
Prometheus. Nor can even Hertha-Vesta be claimed as a fire-goddess.
Farnell has shown reasons for regarding her essentially as a heathen-goddess—
the personification, not of the fire, but of the
hearth-stones.

Fire-worship may be practised without any hard
and fast personification of the element. A case
in point is the comparatively modern cult of the
natural fires at Bakur, whither pilgrims resort
and make expiation for sin. Similar was the ancient
worship of natural fires in Cappadocia.12

5. Fire in Hebrew. — Mention of fire and fire-
ritual is remarkably rare in the Hebrew records.
2. Frazer, Adonis, 116; Iamblichus, de mystère, V, 12.
3. J. T. London, 1864, p. 283. For
Greeck colonies took with them a share of the sacred fire of the motherland.
5. Another class is represented by the current belief
above the Moor. This is no fire-god, or even heathen-
god (K. Taylor, To the East, 1870, p. 651).
though the principle and practice of burnt-offering are ubiquitous. The man who was *gathering* (wędźień) sticks probably intended fire-making by friction of wood. A possible reference is the ‘two sticks’ in the Mesopotamian legend that the fire-drill was given and the method explained by Jahweh to Adam and Eve. Flint and steel are mentioned in 2 Sam. 11:5, and the fire-sticks (brzegi) was used in historical times.

Fire for domestic use was forbidden on the Sabbath. In common with earlier culture, Hebrew ceremonial law stated that fire was created on Monday or the Sabbath eve; when Adam was overwhelmed by the first darkness, the Holy One gave him two 'bricks' for the production of fire. These he rubbed together, and fire came forth. The holy fire of the Hebrews was of Divine origin. From this domestic fire spoke to Moses.

6. Fire in Brahmanism.—Fire is the first of elements; it was produced from the Sat or Brahmam. Māra held that it sprang from water; the Vedas declare that the Sūtras say it produces water. Gold is its first-born. In union with air it warms the ether. Its subtlest component becomes the speech of men, and man's breath is merged in it. The Upanishads speak of the seven tongues of fire. Fire resides in the right ear of the god, the right hand of a Brahman, in water, and in kESA. The digestive process is identified with the action of fire, satadhvam. Philosophy elaborated the cosmic relation of the self to Brahman by means of fire and its seven emanations. The UpASanas are to one another as individual souls are to Brahman. The self is compared to fire produced by the two anu-sticks. The process of fire-product from the anu-sticks, the 'charming of fire,' is an act of generation; the drill is male. In the theory of the 'three fires' these are the three worlds. A trace of primitive magic is seen in the account of the āpikātāra, fire-offerings, in the SātAsattva Brahmanam. If these are not offered, the sun will not rise. In the Jaina Sūtras there occurs the curious notion of 'fire bodice.'

'Some belongs, of various birth and origin, come forth as fire, born of creation or abode or fire, or from invisible creatures.'

The rules to be observed in connexion with the sacred fire are numerous. Sacred fire was kindled at weddings. At funerals the sacred fire for the burning of the body was carried in the procession to the cremation, or 'burning ground.' A heap of fire-wood was piled, and the leader of the ceremony kindled three sacred fires. The spirit of the dead person, invested with its incombustible sublimate frame, was supposed to rise along with the smoke to heaven. The household rekindled his fire when religious rites were performed. The clay hearth was termed gānyā, household fire, and was sufficient for all domestic ceremonies, sādāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsाथ

—FIRE, FIRE-Gods—

A more elaborate arrangement was used in the *home altar*, or room for fire-rite. Here fire was kindled in three different receptacles, each fire having a different name, *Ākāśa*, *Gāthikā*, *Dukkkhā*. Each morning the family assembled round the fire, saying: ‘We approach thee, O fire, daily with reverential adoration in our thoughts.’ It was then ‘fed’ with bits of consecrated wood, *sāmāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsāsाथ

The daily fire service is the *home ceremony*. The *Fire-god Agni*.—The god Agni is the most perfect instance of a divinised personification of fire, and perhaps the only genuine instance. The three great Vedic gods—the Fire-god, the Rain-god, the Sun-god—were born respective from the earth (Agni), the air (Indra), and the sky (Sūrya), one representing each of the three worlds. Agni was the god on earth, and more accessible. He took precedence over all others in sacrificial ceremony. His triple form was of terrestrial, celestial (lightning), and solar fire. Agni was maintained by the creation of the two pieces of the sacred *ṣaiva* tree called *Aśvaghosha*, and consequently always to be found at hand. He was visibly present in every household. He was men's domestic friend, the leader of the sacrificing nation, mediator between men and gods, the bearer of hymns and prayers from the very handy altar up to the highest hearth. He is a sage, priest, king, protector. His origin is threefold—from air, water, and the mystic double *ārāni*. He is the giver of immortality, and pereg from sin. After death he burns away the guilt of the body, and carries the immortal part to heaven, to dwell with the righteous. Fire is male, and water female. Agni is lord of the elements, and is all the deities. He is the god of the house, and of the clan. As priest he superintends his own sacrifices. The focusing of religious sentiment about Agni is well illustrated in the *Vedic hymns*: 

1. Agni *Padāśana*, the other fires are verily thy branches, O Agni. In thee all the immortals enjoy the light which is the centre of human settlements; like a supporting column thou hastest men. The head of heaven, the naval of earth is Agni; he has become the steward of both worlds. The gods have espoused, O Padāśana, to be a light for the Aryas.

The hymns and the *SātAsattva Brahmanam* have the fullest account of Agni. The sun first appeared when Agni was born. He had long remained hidden, till the gods discovered him and led him on. Agni is the essence of earth, secluded from earth. He is produced by attrition by ten young women, the fingers. Firewood is his food. One is associated to him, and his offerings are cakes and better. The bricks of the fire-altar are his limbs; he has three heads and seven rays (or reins). He is the object of the daily worship of the fire (ājās, or jōta, fire as the element). To poke the fire wounds him, and is sinful. To spit before the fire is a sin. Generally he is the protector against evil; he repels the *Ākāśa*, and wards off evil from both gods and men. He is, further, invoked by lovers, to produce magical intervention in their love. Women belong to the menstrual blood of women is Agni. Men invoke him for virility.

FIRE-WALKING

Sometimes Agni is theriomorphic, identified with the white horse led in front of him. At another extreme he is the object of the Brāhmaṇa's meditations as the universal purification deified by Brahman. 7. Fire in Zoroastrianism. — The two chief differences between Indian and Persian fire-worship are (1) the abhorrence in the latter of burning the dead, and (2) the impression of Āta-rā atonement as compared with Agni. Some deny that fire is personified in all Zoroastrianism. Whereas the worship of Agni and the ancient ritual have been degraded in Hinduism, one Brahmāṇa sect alone keeping up any appearance of the cult, the modern Parsees practise a very conservative form of the ancient fire-ritual.

Fire is the earthly form of the heavenly light, the eternal, infinite, divine. The life of all creatures is vital fire. 4. Fire is the son of Ahura Mazda. The infant Zarathushtra was taken out of fire, like King Arthur. Ahura said his Fire and Mind protect Zarathushtra. 5. Fire is diffused through the six substances. 6. It is the "Good Diffuser" in men and animals. It is of five sorts: Ahriman mingled darkness and smoke with it. 7. Signs from the holy fire are invoked by prayer to Ahura. Āta-rā asserts Ahura in his conflict with Ahriman Mainyu. Āta-rā also fights against Ahriman. 8. Āta-rā fights against Ahriman with Āta-rā. Again the Fire Vāzist fights the demon Apātōk. There is also the Fire Frōba. The Pravash of fire is worshipped. 9. The Ávosta and the Fāvāvā texts reiterate the duty of worship, simpler in details than the Vedic ritual. 10. The priests are the protectors of the sacred fire, which may not be extinguished. 11. To allow it to be extinguished is a sin. 12. For the sun to shine upon it is a sin. 13. Before the ashes are removed they must be cold. 14. The Persian notion of the contamination of death, the Vēritā, was introduced into Hinduism by Brahmāṇas. 15. Man or dog died where the holy fire was, the fire had to be removed for nine nights in winter and a month in summer. Death was the penalty for causing a corpse, or even cow-dung, into the fire; even for breathing upon it. 16. No offering might be made without looking at the sacred fire. Three times in a day the unhurried form an assembly in the fire-temple. The prayers and the morning service resemble the Vedā, 17. but throughout the tendency is towards a somewhat impersonal realization—à la any rate, a much less anthropomorphic realization than was the case in India.


A. E. CRAWLEY.

FIRE-WALKING. — This is an ancient as well as a modern rite, and is practised in various parts of the world. It is ostensibly an exhibition of supernatural power, and may be either an act of devotion or an ordeal designed to test the purity of a woman, the truth of a sworn statement, etc.

Its earliest application may have been magical, to make the sun-fire shine in spring-time. The Semitic rite of passing children through fire, though sometimes connected with 'fire-walking,' is really sacrificial, since the children were offered to Moloch; whereas in fire-walking the object is to pass through fire without loss of life. As fire is a natural means of purification and is regarded by most savages as a defence against evil spirits, one of the early forms of fire-walking was probably to ward off and cleanse from evil, such as the evil of drought, impurities and misfortunes. The fire-walker's soles would easily unite with that of aiding the sun to shine. Yet a distinction should be made between the mere kindling of fires and walking through fire or over fire. The former is not necessarily implying the rite of coming into bodily contact with fire.

The earliest recorded case of fire-walking is from India; but here the object is to establish the superior holiness of a priest. In the Tātrīya Brāhmaṇa of the Sāmkvada (c. 900 B.C.) it is said that two priests walked through fire to prove which of the two was 'the better Brāhma'; and of Vata, the successful candidate, it is reported that 'not a hair of his head was burned.' This story, however, is still more ancient, as a brief allusion to it is found in one of the Śaṃkhitās (of the Taṭṭīrīya, c. 1200 B.C.). The case forms also the basis of the later (c. 300 B.C.) legal enactment that, when a man and a woman is doubt as to the truth of a witness, she shall undergo the same test, or a modification of it, in holding hot iron. Another early case in India is that recorded by the Pāndeśa, acting as judge to the Brāhmāṇa, after appealing to the fire-god to attest her wife's innocence by not injuring her, Sītā passed through fire and was not burned. A passage somewhat similar is recorded by the Sāmkvada (Aryavāra, ii. 12) as evidence of the fire- ordeal is doubtful; but a hot-iron test is spoken of in Chāndogya Upaniṣad, vi. 16, though neither of these implies walking through. If a passage through fire is still practised in India, to exhibit 'control of fire.'

In Europe, in classical times, the Hirpi, or 'Wolf clan,' of Mount Soracte walked through fire to propitiate the goddess (of fire or of wild beasts) called Feronia. The god within the performer is said by Lambeth, in his statement as to fire-walking (see A. Lang, Magic and Rel. p. 289), to guard the walker from harm. Strabo (xii. 2) mentions a case where the ceremony was performed by women.

These instances from antiquity are corroborated by modern practices as found among savages and even civilized peoples, as illustrated also by the usage of European rustics in leaping over fires as a ceremony. Thus, in the last century, a family in Spain possessed the 'hereditary power' of walking through fire unharmed. The Natives of Bulgaria dance in the hot embers of a fire and utter prophecies. Savages of the Pacific islands and elsewhere are wont to walk over red-hot stones to show their power. In India, China, Bulgaria, and some other places, the practice is connected with vernal observances—a circumstance which adds weight to the theory that it may originally have been a rite to induce sunshine. A number of instances of the modern practice have been collected by A. Lang (see Literature below), who has shown that no artificial preparation for the feet of savage fire-walkers is necessary. As practised in Mauritius, Fiji, the Society Islands, etc., the rite consists in walking deliberately and unashamed over an oven of hot stones, 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. For comments on the texts, see ib. p. xxxi.}

1. It is interesting to note in this connexion that, when, according to Paréi etymology, the earth shall be covered with modern metal, 'all men will pass into that melted metal and will become pure; when one is righteous, then it seems to him just as though he walks continually in warm milk; but when wicked, then it seems to him just as though he walks continually in boiling metal' (Bundânalong, xxx. 13. 14. 15. 22. v. [1890] 155).
FIRST-BORN (Introductory and Primitive) — 1. Special rites at birth of first-born.—Among both savage and civilized races the birth of children is associated with many rites, the main purpose of which is to protect them or to free them from the taboo incident to such a crisis in life as that of birth (see BIRTH). There is some evidence that these rites are more carefully observed in the case of the first pregnancy, the first confinement, the birth of a first child; or that certain ceremonies are peculiar to these events. This is only natural, since anything occurring for the first time is apt to be considered of great importance, and in many quarters a certain sacreity attaches to the first child, to the sacredness of the sacredness of the hour of birth, and so often happens, sometimes taking the form that the child is unlucky either in itself or in its relation to others.

In Molokai (Hawaiian) there are special feasts and rites after the birth of the first child, and visiting the houses of the village. The child is rocked and fed at the house for 30 days and decorated themselves differently from the others. The birth of the first child is marked by special rites (PL. xxj. 1:10) 60. In Molokai a little bow is put in the child's hands, and the mothers' brothers shoot at it with blunted arrows. Then the father's sister holds it with arms straightened till they tremble, repeating a verse regarding the future of the child and its wife (R.). Among the Southern Mestizo (New Guineans) the umbilical cord of a first-born is placed in the mouth of a leaf growing near the base of a banana. The produce of this tree then forms the material of a series of feasts given, only in the case of a first child, by the maternal uncle. In each case the female remains in the house for 30 days, and must abstain from certain foods, nor must he touch the child until it is about 8 months old, also in the case of each of his brothers. A first-born is called hauhe (the others are called hauhe), and certain foods are forbidden to him until he is 3 months old (Hauhe, Neighbours of Brit. N. Guinean, Damb. 1910, p. 468 f.). Among the Kalingas (Philippines) 50 years before the birth of the first child, but not in the case of other births (8, 704). A Kalinga wife must leave her husband a month before the birth of a first child. She must be born in the house of her parents, and must not live with other wives. In the case of a first-born, the child is known to the child's parents and remains with them; they also receive the dowry in the case of a first born (PL. xj. 1800 f.). Among the We-
FIRST-BORN (Introductory and Primitive)

and daughters). Ezek 16: 20; Mio 6: 2. Fraser considers that behind the Passover rite lies an ancient practice of the first-born, mingled with the custom of redemption, but apt to recur sporadically (GB 452: 4). There is, however, no evidence that the later instances were connected with the Passover rite. Rather were they adopted through imitation of similar Canaanite (probably Phoenician) sacrifices in times of danger and under false notions of what was pleasing to Jahweh (cf. König, Gesch der altesten Rel., Gütersloh, 1912, p. 225 f.); the Hebrew customs regarding the first-born are the subject of a separate article. Here we discuss the evidence for the sacrifice of the first-born elsewhere, since upon it the theory of the early Hebrew sacrifice is sometimes based. It should be observed, first of all, that in some instances there is no sacrifice, but mere killing, usually for some superstitious reason associated with a first-born. 

In New South Wales first-born children are said to have been slain and eaten by the tribe as part of a religious ceremony, because in any case there is no sacrifice (Brough Smyth, Aborigines of Victoria, Melbourne, 1877, ii. 311). A custom common among the adult oldest son is reported from Khashim, China; but no reason is assigned for it, and it is probably mythical (see Eadg. Rel. System of China, London, 1895, ii. 39). In Tibet it is reported that a man eats his son in battle in his wife's mourning, the first-born after the marriage is killed, and this is generally eaten without the body being removed. Probably it is regarded as the property of the dead father. In Uganda many cases the birth of a first-born is a solemnized as a feast because of the birth of a boy meant that the false god would die. Hence, if a male, it was not strangled in the middle, when it was then, the child was eaten, thus ensuring the child's life (Roscoe, Agincourt, London, 1911, p. 54).

We next turn to cases where a child born to a woman hitherto barren is devoted to a god for life or occasionally sacrificed to the god. In the latter case the reason is that, by the willing sacrifice of what was granted by the god and what is obviously his, the woman will henceforth be fruitful. Thus, when an Obot negress has prayed to a fetish for a child, the fetish is considered the property of the fetish and is owned by the fetish. Thus, the fetish owner is not the mother of the child. The child is not actually sacrificed to the fetish, but is given to the owner of the fetish. (Roscoe, J. F. 52, 111, 1905, 427, 428). Among the Bwes, when a child is born as a result of prayers to ... of the Eathgods. If it is a girl, it is married to the priest's son; a boy must serve the priest until his mother has borne a girl. (Spika, Dig. Oceania, Berlin, 1909, p. 438). In Uganda, parents who prayed to the god for children presented them to him if he granted their request. If a girl was born, as soon as she was old enough she was brought to the home of the priest and there she became a maid-servant to the god (Roscoe, 276). Many Hindu women prostitute the deity by various means, one of which is the sacrifice of the child to the deity. This is done at the time of the first-born. Such cases as the green uniform during Muharram, when they have a child, and the other child takes the place of the child's father. Such cases are recorded in the Mahabharata, and it is likely that such customs existed among the early Aryan people. The custom of sacrificing or dedicating a child to a deity by a promise made and the removal of barricades must be a usual one, to judge by a Hittite cycle, of which there are a large number of parallels. In the case of King David, incidents usually reflecting what had once been customary (see MacCulloch, GB, London, 1895, p. 410 f.). Cf. also the sacrifice by the Romans in the Aftertimes, where Halkhundra prays to Varuna for a son, promising to offer him as a sacrifice. When the child is born, he/she eats the promise for life and becomes a sacrifice to the deity or the child (cf. Baudissin, Adonis und Ermna, Leipzig, 1911, p. 60), or for the gift of fecundity to the parents, as in the sacrifices just considered.

The custom occurred sporadically in the American continent. Among the Shiloh Indians of British Columbia the first-born was sometimes sacrificed to the sun for health and good fortune to the family (Roscoe, 65). The Indians of Florida sacrificed their first-born child to the sun or to the child as a child of the god (Grachev, Hist. of the Ave. into Virginia Brittanica, ed. London, 1846, p. 67; Miller, 60). Among the pre-people of Quito, the sacrifice of the first-born was a common custom until it was abolished by the last royal dynasty (Miller, 236, 277; Valsaco, Spanish American, 1900, p. 159). Probably it is regarded as the property of the dead father. In Uganda many cases the birth of a first-born is a solemnized as a feast because of the birth of a boy meant that the false god would die. Hence, if a male, it was not strangled in the middle, when it was then, the child was eaten, thus ensuring the child's life (Roscoe, Agincourt, London, 1911, p. 54).

In India, first-born or only children were sometimes enclosed in walls or foundations to prevent the building from falling (PB 174; EFLR 1881-1886)—an example of the wall or foundation sacrifice like that perhaps adumbrated in 1 K 19: 14, he laid the foundation thereof in Abiram his first-born. Among older races the heathen Russians are said to have sacrificed their first-born to the god Perun (Mose, in Fraser, GB 65). Of the human sacrifice to Cromul Cruadh in pagan Ireland, elsewhere exaggerated, the Didnaddnach relates that they included "the firstlings of every issue and the chief scions of every clan" (ROCH xlvi. 1895) 36. Certain branches of the Semites sacrificed their children, either as a regular custom or on occasions of public danger, but, it must be realized that the first-born is expressly stated to have been the victim. The analogy of Mio 6: 20 and Ezek 20: 6 has, however, suggested that the first-born was the usual victim, being at once the most sacred, the dearest, and perhaps the most difficult to part with, and therefore most calculated to appeal an angry god. Among the Amorites and their colonists the Carthaginians, child sacrifice was so common as to excite horror in the Greeks. Forpyrph says they sacrificed one of their dearest (probably the first-born) to Baal (du Abst. ii. 50). Phii of Byblus (frag. ii. 24) relates that the native Phoenician Kronos once in time of danger offered his only-begotten son in sacrifice. Kronos is here euhemerized into a king, but the evidence is none the less valid. Of Mose, king of Moab, it is said that in face of defeat he offered his eldest son as a burnt offering, but this is only reported by Baye (TSTA lb. 1359, Rel. of Ain, Egypt and Beb., Edinburgh, 1809, p. 69 f.) claims that the earliest text proves that the first-born was sacrificed for the life of the child. But his translation has been controverted (Ball, PSHA xiv. 1891, 169; R. C. Thompson, Semitic Magic, p. 14). and does not appear to refer to human sacrifice. There is no certain evidence

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For human sacrifice (q.v.) among the Babylonians and Assyrians. The beheading of Baal is now seen to be not Sippur in Bab., but a cultic custom. While the sacrifice of children is an ominously widespread custom, it cannot be said that the first-born is the only one, as it is only occasionally that this is stated to have been the case. Inference may suggest it in other instances, but we can deal only with actual facts.

The Greek view is, or was, that in some instances (certainly not all) it was, explained by a prevailing theory that the father is re-born in the son, and consequently should cease to live. He would then re-share his father's life, and hence should be put to death (Westermarck, II 160; Harland, Primitive Human Customs, II 222). This is supported by the fact that, in those instances where the son is actually thought to be identical with the father, the son is supposed to die at his birth, and funeral rites are performed in the 5th month of his mother's pregnancy (Koen, VII 187). For similar antecedents among the hylobatids, see the Gorilla "birth" of the child, as in the old age of the mother, the child's descent, and its place in the family (see N. B. S. Sjöbo, Studier av L. N. A., 1801, p. 96). The idea of the death of the father in his son is supposed to die at his birth, and funeral rites are performed in the 5th month of his mother's pregnancy (Koen, VII 187).

Right of succession of the first-born: primogeniture. Among peoples with whom descent is connected with males, property is not inherited by the sons, but as a rule by the father's brothers or his sister's sons. Yet even here the natural superiority of the eldest is seen in the frequent practice of making him the principal heir (eldest brother or eldest son of eldest sister) (Ellis, Tshu-speaking Peoples, London, 1887, p. 256; M. H. King, A Fr. Study, 1907, p. 483; f. Besman, in Pinkerton, 1901, p. 191). Hence the Teutons, who were not so far removed from the first-born, etc. (Proctor, Pinkerton, xvi. 591). In India, the eldest son is supposed to be the principal heir, and funeral rites are performed in the 5th month of his mother's pregnancy (Koen, VII 187). For similar antecedents among the hylobatids, see the Gorilla "birth" of the child, as in the old age of the mother, the child's descent, and its place in the family (see N. B. Sjöbo, Studier av L. N. A., 1801, p. 96).

In the Teutons, primogeniture did not exist, except among the Teutonists, with whom the eldest son inherited all but the warhorse, which went to the bravest (cf. Teknor, 32)." But there was an approach to it in the case of the eldest son of the home (the household property as apart from the communal property), which was the joint-property of the father and sons, the eldest son succeeded to it when his father died, but the brothers might build dwellings upon it, forming a house, or other form of property. The eldest son was not divided in this respect (Meine, 298; Lavelay, De la Propriete, Paris, 1874, p. 96). In India, the great object of a man being to have a son who would inherit his estate. In the case of the eldest son, the first-born has always been regarded as peculiarly sacred; and after his father's death he was the natural head of the family, while even before he was manager of the whole property (Manu, ix. 105 (SBE xxv. 346); cf. Family (Hindu)). The earlier law-books announce that the property should be divided equally, a method adopted in Avesta, 6, 14 ff. (SBE II. 133) — or that the whole should go to the first-born, while he should support the rest as a father (Gandhara, xxviii. 11. (SBE II. 302 ff.); Manu, ix. 104 ff. (ib. xxv. 345)). The division of the ancient Hindu law was more a headship than an ownership (West and Bührer, Hindu Law of Inheritance, Bombay, 1884, p. 28). In the case of the eldest son, the first-born has always been regarded as peculiarly sacred; and after his father's death he was the natural head of the family, while even before he was manager of the whole property (Manu, ix. 105 (SBE xxv. 346); cf. Family (Hindu)). The earlier law-books announce that the property should be divided equally, a method adopted in Avesta, 6, 14 ff. (SBE II. 133).

In this case the eldest son of the home (the household property as apart from the communal property), which was the joint-property of the father and sons, the eldest son succeeded to it when his father died, but the brothers might build dwellings upon it, forming a house, or other form of property. The eldest son was not divided in this respect (Meine, 298; Lavelay, De la Propriete, Paris, 1874, p. 96). In India, the great object of a man being to have a son who would inherit his estate. In the case of the eldest son, the first-born has always been regarded as peculiarly sacred; and after his father's death he was the natural head of the family, while even before he was manager of the whole property (Manu, ix. 105 (SBE xxv. 346); cf. Family (Hindu)). The earlier law-books announce that the property should be divided equally, a method adopted in Avesta, 6, 14 ff. (SBE II. 133) — or that the whole should go to the first-born, while he should support the rest as a father (Gandhara, xxviii. 11. (SBE II. 302 ff.); Manu, ix. 104 ff. (ib. xxv. 345)). The division of the ancient Hindu law was more a headship than an ownership (West and Bührer, Hindu Law of Inheritance, Bombay, 1884, p. 28). In the case of the eldest son, the first-born has always been regarded as peculiarly sacred; and after his father's death he was the natural head of the family, while even before he was manager of the whole property (Manu, ix. 105 (SBE xxv. 346); cf. Family (Hindu)). The earlier law-books announce that the property should be divided equally, a method adopted in Avesta, 6, 14 ff. (SBE II. 133).
strict primogeniture (Mayne, *Hindu Law and Usage*, Madras, 1906, pp. 731, 733). Maine points out that, 'wherever public office or political power devolves at the death of the landholder, the succession is nearly universally according to the rules of Primogeniture' (*Anc. Law*, 233). In Muhammadanism all sons inherit equally, but in the case of failure of all male line the succession usually proceeds to the female, if he is fit (Hughes, *Di*, London, 1885, p. 129; cf. *Law* [Muhammadan]). In China, property is divided among the sons, the eldest being the natural pre-eminence of the first-born becomes an accepted fact, whether he is made sole or principal heir or not. Hence certain privileges become his. Even sons who are not the eldest are sometimes given such an estate that the eldest is left in possession of a part of the estate. If the eldest son is not the heir, the younger sons, if they are competent, are given a share of the property (see below, § 5).

Since neither Greeks, Romans, Teutons, nor Celts had a system of primogeniture in the sense of the eldest son succeeding to property, it is a curious fact that the system of the Roman Empire, this system should have appeared and spread so rapidly. Maine has traced it to the system of 'beneficium' or grants of Roman land given to the leading chiefs on condition of military service. These gradually became hereditary, the rules of succession being various, but ultimately regarding only the eldest son. The reason for this was that the property had not descended to the eldest son, the administration of family government did, or had recently done so. The same was the case with the vassals during the great ages, and tenth centuries, may be considered as a patriarchal household, recruited, not as in the primitive times, by Adoption, but by Inheritance; and to such a union of the two systems by Primogeniture was as a source of strength and durability.' Meanwhile the lord invested with the inheritance had no advantage over his brothers and kinsfolk in occasion of war, and so on. But Roman jurisprudence 'looked upon uncontrolled power over property as equivalent to ownership.' Thus the eldest son ultimately became legal proprietor. Probably the sacredness attaching to the eldest son, his position as head of the family who took the father's place in looking after the interests, was the bond which performed the ancestral worship, all also had their place in establishing this new rule of succession, as they had in savage societies where primogeniture ruled. Unquestionably, now, it was better before the law person should succeed to the rights and duties of the tenancy (see Pollock and Maitland, *Hist. of English Law*, 3rd ed., 1899, p. 274).

The custom of the youngest son inheriting all or some important part (e.g. the homestead) exists as a fossil usage where primogeniture is not well established, e.g. in Kent ('borhgue English'), in Armagnac Brittany, and Picardy ('fougerette, malgaret', in Flanders, Aachen, Switzerland, Württemberg, Westphalia, Finland, Estonia, Livonia, etc., and it is the custom with some savage peoples—Bororhians (Herod. iv. 5, 6); R. Chud. Notes of E. Ind. Inst., Hus, Mirs of Arawak, Kikis, Kayongs, and some Eskimos. Many explanations of the custom have been offered. Possibly it dates from the time when the matrilineal was giving way to the patriarchal, the youngest son being sometimes chosen as heir because he was nearer his father in time, especially if the eldest son had already disappeared. 1 In more settled societies, it is said, the last would have the natural pre-eminence. This is suggested by instances where eldest and youngest obtain more than intermediate brothers (Shingo, Baraka, hill tribes of Arakan). The custom has given rise to a multitude of riddles in which the youngest son is the heir (see 'Crott de jurassique,' *La France judiciaire*, vi. [1882-3] i. 312; *Lyon, Origins of English History*, London, 1895, p. 108; Lottermoser, Property, in *Origin and Development*, 213, 215; MacCulloch, *Ob.,* ch. 15, 'The Clever Youngest Son').

5. The rights of the first-born. — As soon as the patriarchal form of the family is well established,

1. Of the Zulul belief that the first- and second-born sons should not inherit because they are sons of the womb (Arbournet and Durnan, *Exploratory Tour, Eng. Tr.,* Capetown, 1869, p. 169).
FIRST-BORN (Hebrew).—The term בֵּיתוֹדֶר (bēthoṭer), which is applied to the first-born of men and the firstlings of cattle, is from the same root as בֵּיתוֹדֶר (bēṭot, 'firstfruits' (q.v.), and בֵּיתוֹדֶר (bēṭotāh, 'the early fig.'). The technical phrase פָּרִים כְּדוֹרִים (parim kerdorim), also applied to the first-born of men and cattle, is from the root פָּרִים (parim), 'firstfruits,' and is opposed to פָּרִים (parim), 'firstfruits,' and כְּדוֹרִים (kerdorim), 'the early fig.' The first-born of men is also applied to man and beast (Ex 12:11 sq., Nu 18:24, Ezk 20:26), standing sometimes in opposition to תָּם (tam) (Ex 13:2, Nu 3:2), and בֵּיתוֹדֶר (bēṭotāh), the first and best (LXX ἐρυγων, erugōn), is commonly limited to fruit and grain, but occasionally used of the first-born male (Ge 48, Dt 21:17). The בֵּיתוֹדֶר, or right of the first-born, entitled the eldest son of Israel to the privileges of which he was not to be dispossessed. He received a double portion of the patrimony (Dt 21:17). It was, indeed, always in the father's power to take the birthright from the first-born and bestow it upon a younger son (Ge 43, 1 Ch 5:1, 1 K 1:15-28), but custom did not approve of the passing by of the eldest son, and the Deuteronomist seeks to guard against the abuse of the paternal prerogative, enjoining that the first-born of a 'hated' wife is not to be disinherited in the intake of the later-born son of a 'favourable' wife (Dt 21:17-19). To despise and better one's birthright, as Esau did (Ge 25:28-34), or to be deprived of it for misconduct, like Reuben (1 Ch 5:2), was a deep disgrace. The first-born was the highest title conferred upon Israel (Ex 4:21-23) and Ephraim (Jer 31:1). The Jews interpreted 'first-born' in Ps 89:4 as a designation of the Messiah, and quemque vocavit, the LXX equate ὑπάρχον (hyparchon), 'he is raised to Christ in the same way as the first-born were raised to holiness in an intensified degree. Their supernatural qualities or associations made it unsafe to use them for common purposes. There was originally no thought of offering a gift or tithe to the Deity; the firstlings were sacrificed, and eaten for the purpose of strengthening the bond of kinship between Him and His messenages (see Numbers). Similarly it is surmised that 'all the prerogatives of the first-born among Semitic peoples are prerogatives of sanctity; the sacred blood of the kin flows purest and strongest in him' (W. R. Smith, § 3). After the settlement in Canaan, when Jehovah came to be regarded as the שד, or lord of the land, and the old idea of holiness as a tabo became unintelligible, the firstlings were sacrificed as 'the expression of thankfulness to the Deity for fruitful flocks and herds' (Wellhausen, Hist. of Israel, Eng. tr., Edinb. 1885, p. 88), with the added idea of sanctifying all subsequent births from the same animal (Dillmann, Er. und Lev., Leipz., 1897, p. 139). Philo describes the firstlings offered to God as the 'blood of the fruitful flocks whether already enjoyed or expected' (de Prumatis Sacris, Mangev, ii. 233). The claim of the first-born sons for Jehovah (Ex 13:21-22, 24-29) has a history which is somewhat difficult to trace. Wellhausen (Hist. 88) regards it as 'merely a later generalisation which, after all, resolves itself merely into a transference to an animal offering and an extension of the original sacrifice.' It may, however, go farther back, and be rooted in the primitive conception of the sacredness of all animals. It is difficult to believe that the law, 'the first-born of thy sons shalt thou give unto me' (Ex 22:28), is unrelated to the ancient Semitic practice. It is certain, on the one hand, that human sacrifice was always repugnant to Jehovah, the distinctive religion of Israel, and that the prophets were right in denouncing it as a mere heathenish horror. But, on the other hand, it is unquestionably the custom among many uncivilised peoples to sacrifice and eat the first-born (Frazier, G. P., 1900, ii. 51 ff.); the practice not improbably existed among the Hebrews before their separation from the common Semitic stock; 1 the numerous skeletons of jar-buried infants

1 This does not imply that at one time the Hebrews sacrificed all their first-born sons, but only that, if sacrifice was to be made, the first-born were 'the best and finest, because the holiest, victims' (Rel. Sem. ii. 238).
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recently found in Palestine indicate that the old Canaanites were in the habit of sacrificing their children, perhaps their first-born (Driver, Schweizer Lectures, London, 1908, p. 85; Marti, Hal. of the OT, London, 1907, p. 104), and in the last days of the Hebrew monarchy, when ordinary means seemed too weak to appease the Divine wrath, recourse was had to the sacrifice of first-born sons (Mic. 6:6). "Thou shalt set in thine heart and in thine ears, unto Jehovah all that openeth the womb: (Ex 13:2) " (for V VV, the verb (בְּאָמַה) is the term regularly used of devoting the first-born of children by fire (2 K 19:17; 21:23 & al.), and in reference to human sacrifice Ezekiel (20:3) uses the words "in that they ceased to pass over" (LEV. caused to pass through the fire) all that openeth the womb," The Hebrew law, based on prophetic teaching, thus seems to stand in pointed contrast with the old Semitic practice, to which the nation, in imitation of the Phoenician or Canaanitic ritual, was faithlessly revertirg. The same antithesis is skilfully embodied in the story of the offering of Isaac, where an animal sacrifice is accepted in lieu of a human.

As often happens in the history of religion, there is a "substitute" for an old practice which has now become impossible, whilst in theory the old still remains v. 190, p. 292). While the Israelites devoted their first-born as truly as any of their heathen neighbours (e.g. Mosaic, king of Moab, 2 K 3:2), how much more reasonable and natural their service ultimately became! When the historical origin of the practice was forgotten, or seemed no longer credible, "is the theological explanation" (Driver, Enr. Camb. 1911, p. lvi) was found in the thought that it was because Jehovah slew all the first-born of the land of Egypt (Ex 13:19; 13:17). In the Priestly Code this theme was complicated by another prismatic section, to the effect that the Levites were taken by God in lieu of the first-born of all the tribes (Nu 3:18). It was the view of later Judaism (Targ. on Ex 24:4; Maim. Zebah. xiv. 4) or self, the dedication was for the Temple-service, but this was a wide divergence from the ancient idea.

Lemmern.-In addition to the authorities cited in the text, see art. "Pandie u. Sib bei dem Hebräer" (by Benziinger) [2:19, p. 789; 2:29; Rieger]; "In Weimar, Schweik., and Rieden; W. Nau er and L. Benziinger, Hal. Archäologie, Freiburg i. B., 1894.

JAMES STRAHAN.

FIRST CAUSE. — Every real entity is a cause, and every entity—the First Cause alone excepted—is also an effect. It is with the conception of cause that we are here concerned, and that conception implies an Agent which is the possessor or the vehicle of force, activity, or power. The efficient cause is outside of the effect, while it really contributes to its production. Indeed, to make a thing or effect actual is the very end and function of an efficient cause. Philosophically to define cause is a matter of proverbial difficulty, but the best idea is probably that of producing, wherein something real passes from the efficient cause into the entity of the effect. Indeed, the cause passes into the effect, which stands over against it; this, in virtue of the causal relation being one in which the same fact appears, now as cause, and now as effect. The existence of the causal link is a fact we perceive, and yet it does not admit of demonstration. Therein lies the trouble; it is seen by reflection rather than established by argument. To ask for proof of a first principle is absurd. Minds so different as those of Kant and Herbert Spencer have taken causality to be such a principle. The causal concept becomes an entire and different when it has relation to spiritual beings, the First Cause being thus the supremely difficult instance. Active power or force is presupposed in the cause, so that the cause is independent of the effect, and, qua cause, is prior to it in respect of nature. It does not follow from this that causality need be successive in time, for cause and effect may be simultaneous and synchronous. The effect is the immediate result of the cause. To describe the precise nature of the causal influx is quite another thing from affirming the evident fact. The effects of causation are continuous and inevitable, and the need spontaneously arises to postulate some adequate Source or Ground of ourselves and the world. We are deal with the metaphysical idea of cause, not with the scientific tendency to treat causes as mere antecedents. All science is based on the belief in variable and orderly sequence. Real causes are known to science, which, in reality, deals only with opportunities; causations are to science only transformations. It is, however, no impeachment of the causal principle that it has thus no place in the scientific realm, for efficiency preserves its validity and worth in its own proper, non-phenomenal sphere. In the phenomenal sphere, a First Cause would be inconceivable, no interruption of the sequence of equivalent changes being admissible.

Scientific method, then, excludes all notion of a First Cause, and demands that the system of the universe be demand the postulation of a First Cause, the exigencies of science can meet this demand only by breaking away from its own method, which is confined to change and causation, to the cosmical result to which they unitedly give rise is one which demands another and deeper kind of cause than that which science is able to supply. That true—and, indeed, only real—conception of cause is will. That deeper cause, as the cause of all inferior or secondary causes, is the First Cause, to which, by the law of causality, we are ultimately, but nowise arbitrarily, driven. God, as the First Cause, is the Ground and Cause of all secondary beings or causes, without whom those could not subsist or be. God is the First Cause, all things craving His immediate causality. The quest for such First Cause is, we have seen, but the logical process to the world in toto, as a unity, of the law of causation. But the cause of the universe, as actually existing, can, qua cause, by no possibility exceed or transcend the effect—the universe itself. Because the effect so measures the cause, the universe as an effect cannot, in its finitude, yield us the First Cause. Hence the chief defect in the presentation of the First Cause argument, especially in the hands of British and American philosophers and theologians, has been the frequent and persistent tendency to rest in what could be inferred from the law of causation as applied to the phenomena of the universe, and the failure to pass from the dependent or contingent character of these phenomena to the postulation of an Absolute Ground. The argument is really drawn, as Leibniz properly divined, from the contingency of the world, which reveals, in its dependence, a Primal Power, or Cause, on which it so depends. If the First Cause were finite, there would then be an Infinite Uncaused beyond it. Belief in a First Cause rests on the fact that there is a necessity of thought, in view of the world's contingency.

It is an inaccurate mode of speaking to say that God is the Cause of Himself. God is His own sufficient reason, and all that we can say is that He is self-existent. The First Cause argument is, properly, not an
inference from effect to cause—since this would never take us beyond the really finite—but from effect to effect. But in the favourite form of seeking a First Cause, the cause has taken a Deistic character, with the need of showing that the world had a beginning, and the result of leaving it in a condition of dependence. The issue for Theism could be only very partial and incomplete. The attempt in this connexion to think an absolute beginning, or First Cause of all things, was a futile or impossible one, and was strangely unperceived to be so. In the long chain or process of cause and effect, the First Cause was antecedent to this process, without its being perceived that thus it really stood outside the process, and that the leap to it was illegitimate. In other forms of the argument, such as from the contingent to the necessary, or from the finite to the infinite, we do not escape the necessity of a leap at last, for the conclusion is infinite, which the data never can be. But the appeal may here be deeper—to the necessity of thought or reason.

There must be a sufficient reason for every existing thing, and for the universe as a whole. Such reason our argument seeks. Everything is, in the fullest sense, a substance, and made what it is by its relations to other things. The number of its relations is indefinite, and the concept of substance is even more abstract and incomplete than we yet find out. While an underlying nexus of forces makes everything also causal in its turn, yet there is no trace of existence, independent and non-conditional Absolute. All that we know as existent, as we know being. Parts of existential phenomena, everywhere throughout the universe, depend upon other parts not less dependent in their turn. Not a single casual argument has taken a form that bears the stamp or mark of self-subistence, and the same thing is true of our personal and finite existence. No aggregation of such finite agencies and existences can possibly make an independent and unconditioned universe. Clearly, a universe so finite and dependent must have its Cause or Ground beyond itself. And what must have an independent, self-existent Cause, as the necessary correlate of its finite. Even by those who take the creation of matter to be eternal, such a World-Ground is felt to be. And the same holds true if the world be but one of an endless series of universes—an eternal and ununitary Ground and Cause is necessary as explanation of the vast successions of phenomenal changes and dynamic activities that make up the universe. Yet, needful as explanation of their persistence, no less than their cause. Matter may well be the eternal effect of an eternally producing Cause. Even if matter be taken as eternal, the question still remains whether it has in itself—or from without—the principle of its existence. The Cause or Ground is, in such a case, related to no past creative activity, but is claimed as the centre and soul of present cosmic reality. What, however, does exclude anything of the nature of real effective causation is a merely pantheistic evolution. What theistic philosophy does postulate is that, in respect of all causational effects, a spiritual being, free in His self-action; that His activity in the use of causational power had no need to be eternal, however the power of such causative action might be eternal.

The more assured conclusions and better established theories of science alike point to the finitude and dependence of the universe. But, if we assumed no First Cause as the Source of transcending causal energy to the world, science itself would be reduced to illusion. For no link in the infinite chain of secondary causes would then originate but only transmit, and that would—the First Cause being wanting—be no causality to transmit. To deny a First Cause would be to deny all sequence and the reign of causation within the sphere of experience. The need for a First Cause, in the sense of a self-moved Mover, has been felt from Plato to Hegel and Martineau, and may, for all practical purposes, be taken as universally admitted. But the need is even more pressing for a First Cause which is the present Ground and Cause of the whole concretion of causes now at work in the ordered universe. Underlying all that has been advanced is the principle that what does not exist as of absolute necessity is merely contingent, else there would be a violation of the principle of causality, and we should have existence without cause. The same violation would likewise result if the cause were not adequate or proportionate. It may be here observed that the argument, taken in the customary form as being from effect to cause, can infer existence of the First Cause only so far as it is a cause; for the world, and conditioned, could never give a cause infinite and absolute. An efficient cause may conceivably exist, as being or entity, without a first cause it would not then, of course, be the Efficient Cause, since nothing had been caused or created, but would be the absolutely necessary Being. The weakness of the argument for the First Cause, in the customary form of inferring it from effect to cause, is lack of some clear and valid explication of the sense in which an extra-mundane Power can be a cause. For the casual presentation makes the world, as created by the First Cause, something separate from, and outside of, the Creator. But, if outside of Him, then He is finite. And, if the First Cause and the caused world be not so separated, then there is pantheism. We are not, therefore, driven, as Boyle and others, to make the Creator or First Cause 'identical with His products.' Why this inability to grasp the really inspiring truth that Deity transcends His own works—as we transcend our—while He immanently lives in them? The weakness in the whole case is escaped only by allowing the principle of causation, in its quest for an ultimate, to rest in an Absolute World-Ground. Otherwise, the principle of causation, taken strictly as such, can never conduct us from the world to God. For the argument therefrom is clearly one from the world as the physical effect to a cause as the physical correlate. But the whole force and value of the argument to a First Cause lie in another direction—in an ascent from the swift successions and changeful phenomena of Nature as fate to an ultimate and self-existent Ground and Cause, in which these all find possibility, reality, and permanent base or support. Strictly taken, our principle—that of Causality—does not undertake any categorical affirmation as to existence, either of its subject or of its predicate. It is content to affirm, conditionally, that, if contingent being exists, its Efficient Cause must exist. But, inasmuch as the world is taken to exist as contingent being, it proceeds to set forth its argument for the world's necessary and sufficient First Cause. So doing, it seeks not a mere foundation of Being in the abstract, but a real, actually existing, primitive Ground (Urground) of all reality. It could not possibly find satisfaction in any form of First Cause whose relations to the world should be mainly antecedent to the world, or, for the most part, separate from it. It seeks, through all sequence and dependence of phenomena, some
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continuous and persistent dialectical core of being, and rests not till it finds it in the \textit{en realismus}—the Absolute Life.

No attempt will be made within the limits of the present article to deal with the subject in its historic developments. It must suffice to point out that Kant's modern and has moved far from the position of being content with any First Cause conceptions that treated God as a mere supernumerary spectator of the world-machine's operations, instead of the present and ultimate ground of all things.

The all-destroying Kant is chiefly responsible for the death of the First Cause conception. For he gave men to understand that the causal principle could not carry us beyond the sphere of sensuous experience, and that a First Cause was reached only by a final and unsurmountable leap from the last link in the infinite chain of intermediate causes. It ought to have grown much more evident than it has done how weak the Kantian procedure is, for the essential point in the argument to a First Cause is that the whole chain of causes, and every single link in the chain, are contingent, and depend on self-existent Being or Cause without and beyond them—this, though the First Cause is immemorial, while thus transcendent. The creative process is not only conditioned by God, but by Him; yet He, as the Absolute, Unconditioned Reality and Ultimate Cause of all things, is more than the universe, and for ever transcends it. For transcendence in Deity is what the First Cause argument, in its true and general form, gives: it is a recognition that Deity, on whom the world depends, is more and greater than the universe. Absolute can be or the Deity's knowledge of the world He has called into being, what good reason can be suggested why He should not yet distinguish Himself from the world He so powerfully knows? Bengal and the intuition from the world as \textit{in toto}, a known effect to a World-Ground as its First Cause is a rational and necessary one. This persistent demand of rational thought for an adequate Cause of the world's phenomena has not been at all invalidated by Kant's criticism, which was sharp but not deep. The mind's quest for Primary and Ultimate Cause is satisfied only by the postulation of God as the First Cause, or present and perpetual Ground, of all things finite, in their dependence and contingency. Of course, the postulation of a pure Ground or Cause depends on the compelling power or assertion of Reason, but what we necessarily think we cannot but accept as true. It is this necessitated thought, or inherent necessity of reason, that gives the argument its egocentrality, carrying actuality in its bosom, Kant not withstanding. By such necessary truths—truths of reason—to which we owe the origin and foundation as we do, in the subject and in the object of experience, the objects of experience must conform to us, or existence is no longer rational, and the universe no more determined by universal reason. Such truths of reason are part of our nature, axioms that cannot be resisted; they are such grounds and supports of our thought as make them the criterion of truth.

Of course, a necessity of thought does not mean a necessity of existence, but the refusal of such a necessity of thought as we have here remains absolute and irrational scepticism. Such a causal judgment carries for us, necessarily, objective validity because of the incomensurability of the opposite; wherefore the judgment is affirmed because we cannot do other than in virtue of what we feel to be the truth. Even Kant himself does not pretend to find a full explanation of phenomena in natural causality; he says: "Phenomena must lie in their predicate in the transcendental elements that is, in recognizing the relation as one of real depend-
ence—Kant and Schopenhauer must be allowed to have shown deeper insight than Hume and Mill. Spencer is himself obliged to admit that our conception of the "Unknown Power" is fashioned after that of our own mind's causal activity. The efficient power presupposed in the Cause of all phenomena becomes intelligible only as so conceived, and absolutely necessary in the sense that it is not a fact, and a determining fact; that we recognize the effect as a fact—a fact determined; for only misconceived error can be the result of the denial of causes, or of their identification with effects. It must be remembered that the identity principle is not confined to Neo-Hegelian philosophers. But it is an idle postulation, of purely mechanical and abstractionist character, when reality is reduced to a First Cause which is absolute existence, not, Spencer-wise, to unknown force. Spencer's position in relation to the First Cause is far from self-consistent; for, admitting causation in Nature, he yet assumes absolute power or force for which there is no antecedent cause, although he has himself said that he admits anything uncaused is to take away the need to assume a cause for anything. In speaking of the Absolute Force as unknowable, Spencer fails to perceive that an existent cannot even be thought as unknowable, unless it is either known or continuous with the known. Thus the existent, being something for knowledge, cannot be unknowable existence. The nature of knowledge saves real existence from being unknowable. Spencer's First Cause is an 'Incomprehensible Power,' of which he will not allow us to know anything; but, such Power must be taken as the First Efficient Cause, it can be no other than a Supreme Mind or Intelligence, since of that it is the First Cause is a cosmos—not blind and brute chaos. Mind in experience always goes before matter or mechanism, building up our knowledge of the latter. It is unthinkable that anything save Supreme Mind, as First Cause, can precede the world's vast and interminable mechanism.

Certain of the more extreme forms of Idealism expressively disown the idea of First Cause. Because first of all, the First Cause is far from the mind of the world to be, in the end, a metaphysical explanation, or a metaphysical condition of things. God is, to such forms of Neo-Hegelianism, the only metaphysical principle or cause, and anything like real or distinct causality is denied to individual men. Causation is for such forms of thought, according to Royce, 'a very subordinate idea in philosophy'; and this, apparently, despite all it has been for the history of philosophy (J. Royce, The Religious Aspect of Philosophy, Boston, 1886, p. 477). Now, one may very well be idealist enough to maintain the world to be, in the end, a metaphysical explanation, or a metaphysical condition of things. But we are not allowed to hold the world of reality to be such an active and honest world as is involved in its causal determination of our discriminating and constructive consciousness. To divest the Divine mind of all causality, and to throw it, in Royce's fashion, merely upon perfect correspondence of its consciousness with things as they are, is to exhibit it as a monstrosity of reason, and a paralytic in will. The finite is, in Neo-Hegelian thought, taken up organically into the Infinite, and finds, in this undifferentiated unity, not a cause in time, but a ground of all that happens, or is supposed to be 'given.' The real objects of Nature are, on this view, resolved into mere modes of our conscious thinking, and the element of causality or dynamic energy disappears from things and selves. But this whole assumption of a unity of experience is to form no solution of the world-problem, the world being a real and concrete system, with mighty causal energies whose efficiency rests at last upon the relation of cause and effect. The problem is to apply to such a world which, with its increasing tendency to drop the causal element, have found so much favour in the recent history of science. This dynamical accord, of the universe is still a quasi-metaphysical one, with which the view of First Cause, as here presented, is believed best to agree. What, of course, is most immediately given is the changeableness of the world and its unsatisfying character, but intelligently we soon reach far beyond this. If it be said that the universe cannot be taken as an effect unless it can be an influence, it is beginning, it is then to be remembered that causal agency can be inferred without the need of being observed, and that a Ground of existence, not a mere prior in time, is our real need and quest.
universe may wear the character of an effect, and, indeed, the increasing knowledge of it by science makes it always more certainly known as an effect. Even its ordered character implies its dependence. Everywhere in the universe seem to make for change, as geology and astronomy remind us. The whole world is seen to be in a state of change; in the world of appearances a mechanical connexion is everywhere observable; the self-sufficiency of the world is only apparent, and the cosmos is surely advancing towards a state in which its energy will be transformed into heat, and its life and movement will cease; thought necessarily concludes to a single ultimate Cause, which grounds and regulates the whole world-connexion, imparting to it order, law, and control, and on its own that is, and on its own the phenomena running through the whole world of modern science, in virtue of which we see the change from cause to effect to be one of form rather than of substance. No rational foundation for a philosophy of Nature seems possible save with the Being of the Absolute as a primal datum. Not even Spencer got beyond the need of a First Cause as a datum of consciousness, and no scientific hypothesis, however ultimate—whether primordial energy or ether—can take us to a beginning of things that is really self-explanatory. This, in reality, nothing synthetic in our postulation, for such a First Cause can never properly be reckoned a term among causes that began to be. Indeed, the principle of causality is thoroughly applied to the world, with its explanation of the world for over incomplete, suggest or point to some deeper cause—present to, and in, creation—than any open to the eye. And, indeed, the hypothesis of a cause that can account absolutely and adequately for a condition that is beyond the power of science to explain, is to a degree an illusion, which is simply a conditioned series in time, clearly lies in our claiming any right to attribute absoluteness—absolute initiative—to any particular term in the causal series; and hence rational insight finds itself driven, as we maintain, to ground the causal series in relation to an absolute or transcendental Ground. Without such a single ultimate Cause, which eternally grows and develops, evolutionary process, the entire chain or chain of the developmental series must clearly appear as no better than a series of accidents. Thus we leave behind the old difficulty as to Deity working upon a Nature external to Himself—a conception that made the Infinite power finite, both because there was something outside of it, and because its working on the external must be conceived as subject to law or conditions.

On Efficient Cause, science does, and must, remain soundly agnostic. When, to the considerations already offered, is added the fact that science has no manner of solution, from powers or qualities of matter known to it, for free self-conscious beings, a new demand arises for a First Cause that shall be free, intelligent, and self-conscious. For, between the effect and its cause there must be neither inadequacy nor disproportion. So, though the effect not only may, but must, be different from the cause—else there were no causation—yet the Primal Cause must be such as can produce the total course. Hence we see why the First Principle of all things cannot be, as the monists wish, impersonal. No impersonal cosmic processes can possibly furnish a World-Ground for such a being as man. The First Cause must be at least personal as we are, however much more He may be. This is an inexorable demand of our thought, which absolutely refuses to be content with a Being endowed with plenitude of ethical life, intellect, and will. For God is not the First Cause in the ordinary sense of cause, whose relation to effect is properly physical, not ethical, not necessary, free. In this strict sense, the world is not an effect; and no cause, in this sense, can form the rational of the world. More than its First Cause, in this aspect, is God: causality is an element in His relation to the world, but causality cannot be the principle of thought respecting One who is its free
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Originator, the self-determined action of whose will will take the place of the once God. The laws of Reason and of Morality, found in the world, must be accounted for, since neither the universe nor the human mind can be their cause. These laws of Mind and of the universe are themselves conditional that they cannot be conceived otherwise than as true and existing, were there neither universe nor human mind; hence an argument for a First Cause has sometimes been founded on these necessary truths alone. Their cause can be nothing either irrational or non-moral, and so there arises a call for a First Cause or Moral Intelligence, divine from the world and man's mind, in whom they are grounded. The First Cause is First Cause of an ordered and intelligible world, with harmony in its causes in relation to their effects, and that First Cause must be not only the Supreme Intelligence—Universal Mind—but equally the Ground of all things in virtue of its critical moment. This the best metaphysical thought now fully realises. The First Cause or Ultimate Ground of all reality must be uncassed, and such Cause or Ground can only be One Eternal Mind or God whose will all things are. To such unity of the First Cause we are led by the principle of Parmenides, which would make more than one unphilosophical, and by the unity of the mind alike the laws of the universe and the necessary laws of reason. Thus is met the demand of those who, speaking from the scientific side, insist that

the principle of the First Cause cannot be judged from the mode of action of any secondary agencies. One mode of action is as much another, so far as any welcome to a First Cause are concerned. The intelligence of the First Cause can only be realized by the principle of the cosmos. The Ontologicals of Science the World's Framework, London, 1880, p. 285.

While the scientific view must restrict itself to the actual universe, it is yet a thought suggestive and creative, bringing forth the world out of His own potencies, cannot be allowed to be an arbitrary resting-place, but is a truly rational ground, of thought. For the ontological basis supplied in the essential Absolute Being or Absolute Being is not taken as something standing by itself and indeterminate, but something whose objective activities, as the true First Cause, world-phenomena are, and whose nature there be born to be expanded. Thus we preserve and maintain the First Cause argument in deeper form than the old Aristotelian mode, in which the search for the Prime Mover had relation only to the contingency of motion in matter; our argument goes deeper, being concerned with the contingency of being or matter itself. Neither motion nor causal power can be conceived without itself; both are grounded in the necessary, ultimate, and self-existent Cause of all things.

LITERATURE—J. Lindsay, The Fundamental Problems of Metaphysics (contains a very full Bibliography, both historical and systematic), Edin. 1910; (with an Appendix, 2 vols. London, 1907); (tr. of the Warren Professor of Philosophy, N.Y. 1891); (tr. of the Philosophy of Religion, N.Y. 1897); (tr. of the Philosophy of Religion, 3 vols., London, 1906); A. Caude-Kiał, Philosophy of Religion, N.Y. 1897; F. R. Fisk, Thesaurus, new ed. 1900; A. C. Fraser, Philosophy of Religion, N.Y. 1892; B. F. Bowra, Studies in Theism, N.Y. 1892; W. L. Davidson, Theism, London, 1882; J. H. Stringer, Philosophy and Theology, N.Y. 1882. [JAMES LINDAY.]

FIRSTFRUITS (Introductory and primitive).

Although a purely practical purpose was perhaps primarily involved in the use of firstfruits (see p. 4), it may be taken as an axiom of primitive thought that all which is new is sacred, tabu, and hence not to be touched by man until certain ceremonies are performed by which the tabu is taken off and the whole is set free. This is analogous to the doing of anything for the first time, or the first occasion of any series of events, or the entering upon a new state of life, e.g., manhood or womanhood, marriage, entrance into a mystery association. These states are sacred, dangerous, and involve a tabu condition, primarily because they are new states. For this reason they are accompanied by rites which serve to remove the tabu and to carry off the danger with which the persons concerned are charged. We can thus understand why it is that the new over, the new vintage, the first catch of the season, the first-born of domestic animals and even of man, are regarded as taboo or tabu, to be cut or gathered or dug up or used until certain rites have been performed. The nature of these rites reveals another axiom of primitive thought—that the whole may be fully represented by the part, so that, by setting aside a part, the whole is

set free. In the case of the crops or the vintage, that part is known as the firstfruits. Similarly in the case of the chicken or the pig, the first animal or fish caught is also set apart in some specific way, thus giving liberty for the hunter or fisher to continue his profit in safety. And the first-born of domestic animals is often sacrificed or set free, because it is invested with a peculiar sanctity, and by this act the future progeny is, as it were, made usable (see FIRST-BORN). The rites by which the corn or the vintage is set free for ordinary use are of different kinds. Thus the firstfruits may be sacrificed to a god or spirit, or to the dead. They are sometimes eaten in a solemn manner and, so to speak, sacramentally; or there may be a combination of sacrifice and ritual eating. Again, they may be given over to the priests, who, sometimes performs upon them or with them certain ceremonies. Firstfruits are sometimes part of the crop which has been sown specially for this purpose. Frequently the firstfruits ceremonies are very elaborate and lengthy. They often terminate with a feast, or are the occasion of a kind of saturnalia; or they form a kind of festival of beginnings, a New Year, when also new fire is kindled and distributed to the community. And, where the new food is eaten solemnly, it is similarly prepared for by fasts, or by fasting or by swallowing emetics, in order to make the body ready for the reception of the sacred food (see FASTING, § 4). It is unnecessary to give examples of these in all parts of the world. It will be sufficient to cite a few typical ones with references to similar customs in other localities.

1. Sacrifice of firstfruits.—(a) Offerings to gods.

—The ancient Romans offered a sacrifice of firstfruits of orchards and gardens with pigs, fowls, etc., were offered to the gods, and it was death to the owner if they were not thus acknowledged (Elias, Polygnotus, Researches, London, 1831, i. 350). Firstfruits were offered to the god Tani in the Society Islands, with the words, 'Here, Tani, I have brought you something to eat'. (Tyrman and Bennett, Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute, London, 1831, i. 284.) Such offerings were general throughout Polynesia. The Baganda offered firstfruits from a new garden to a divinity, asking its blessing on the future crops (Roscoe, Baganda, London, 1911, p. 428). The Baasotes do not touch their corn after threshing, before boiling some, casting it upon a fire, and saying, 'I thank you, gods; give us bread again to-morrow.' The bulk is now pure and fit to be eaten (Casalis, Les Bassetons, Paris, 1858, p. 285). The Ewe tribes offer some of the new yams or maize to divinities. In the case of the yams, some have been specially planted for the goddess to whom they are offered. The offerer says, 'When I dig mine, grant that I may have plenty,' and then proceeds to dig (Speth, Die Ewe-Stämme, Berlin, 1906, pp. 344, 785). In ancient India the drpa-rasat, or offering of firstfruits, took place in early summer (barley) and in autumn (rice). Cakes were made of these, or the grain was boiled, for Indra and Agni, for the Visv Devas, and for heaven and earth. Thus the plants were rendered wholesome and faultless, for myth told how the gods had first offered this sacrifice to free the plants from the poison of the Asuras (SBE vii. 1900) 191, xii. [1892] 209 ff., cf. xix. [1892] 95, 196; cf. the And Mahayana tribes in the first of crops, of wine, and oil is made over to gods or spirits; and, as in the N.W. provinces, this is done that the god may preserve the crop from insects and rats (Crooke, P.R., 1890, i. 105 ff.; Roman-Ordo Journal, Lahore, iii. [1880] 11; Moorcroft and Trebeck, Trav. in Himalayan Provinces, 1832, London, iii. 187; Shaw, Asiatic Res. iv. [1807] 56 ff.). In Borneo, when the rice is ripe, bunches of it are placed round an altar. A two days' feast takes place with dancing. At the conclusion the corn is also given (St. John, Forests of Far East, London, 1863, i. 191). Examples like these from the lower culture might be multiplied indefinitely. In the Semitic area the principle that the gods, or some of them, were lords of the cultivated land was well recognized. To them, therefore—in return for seasonable rain and sunshine, growth, increase, and fruitfulness—a share of the produce was given. Thus, in Babylonia the harvest festival was a well-established custom, and to the gods were presented firstfruits of all produce, since the latter was their property (Sayce, Rel. of Ancient Egypt and Bab., Edinburgh, 1902, pp. 496 ff., 473; Jastrow, Aspects of Rel. Belief and Superstition Bab. and Assyria, New York, 1911, p. 343). This was also true of the Canaanites. The bethnim caused the fruits of the earth to increase, and men presented to them the firstfruits of their crops. In inscription mentions a seven days' festival marked by an offering of firstfruits (de la Saussaye, Manuel d'hist. des religions, Paris, 1804, p. 184; for Hebrew firstfruits, see next article). In Egypt, Min was the god of the generative power in Nature. To him harvest festivals were dedicated in thankfulness. Firstfruits were offered to the male divinity or to the local divinity. The new king also celebrated a festival to Min, offering sacrifice, and cutting a sheaf of new corn which he strewed before the bull sacrificed to him. This was also true in all parts of the world. There is an offering of the firstfruits of his reign (Wiedemann, Rel. of Anc. Eg., London, 1897, p. 127; Erman, Life in Anc. Eg., do. 1894, pp. 66, 245, 273).

The ancient Romans attached great importance to the offering of firstfruits of the grain harvested; and Snorri speaks of three annual sacrifices, one of which was in connection with harvest (Grimmel, Teut. Myth., London, 1880-8, pp. 39, 42; de la Saussaye, 695). The ancient Roman husbandmen offered a sacrifice of firstfruits of all the various crops to those of the divinity of the household, and with their welfare: the first ears to Ceres, the first vintage to Liber. Pliny says that neither new corn nor new wine was tasted until the priests had offered the prerequisite (INN. 2: 2: Festus, s.v. 'Sacrina'; Wisowa, Rel. and Kultus der Römer, Munich, 1902, p. 345). In the festivals of the State religion traces of these offerings still survive. From May 7 to 14 the Vestales prepared the mola soles made from the first ears of the standing corn, and offered these at the Vestalia in June. At the Vinalia in August or April the flames Dialis plucked the first grapes (auspicatio vinendam) and offered prayer and sacrifice for the preservation of the whole vintage (Varro, de Ling. Lat. vi. 10). Wardle Fowler has connected the custom of offering tithe (decemvaria) of various things at the yearly rites of the ara maxima with an earlier offering of firstfruits, these suggesting or even developing sporadically into tithe (W. R. Smith, 245 f.; see § 6 below; W. Wardle Fowler, Roman Festivals, London, 1889, p. 146; cf. also his remarks on pp. 207, 212; see also FIRSTFRUITS (Greek)).

In China the IA Ks describes how the husbandman presented the firstfruits of wheat and millet in the first and second months of summer respectively, and the grass or rice tribes the first of the crops, of wine, and oil is made over to gods or spirits; and, as in the N.W. provinces, this is done that the god may preserve the crop from insects and rats (Crooke, P.R., 1890, i. 105 ff.; Roman-Ordo Journal, Lahore, iii. [1880] 11; Moorcroft and Trebeck, Trav. in Himalayan Provinces, 1832, London, iii. 187; Shaw, Asiatic Res. iv. [1807] 56 ff.). In Borneo, when the rice
in the south, where no one might gather the millet till the chief had offered some to his ancestors (Theal, Records of S. E. Africa, viii. [London, 1901] p. 237). With the Kayans of Borneo, who believe also in the soul of the rice, each person is ceremonially touched by the priestess, and then all eat for a few grains, after which the feast begins (Nieuwenhuijsen, In Centreslal Borneo, Leyden, 1900, i. p. 156). This ritual eating is also found in India. In Bihar, when the crops are eaten, some of the new grain is left for home use and eaten with certain ceremonies (Grierson, Bihar Peasant Life, Calcutta, 1886, p. 338). Among the Coopers the reaper of the first rice is chosen by an astrologer. Each one takes a hot bath and then repairs to the rice-field, where this reaper eats some rice. Of this a cake is made by him, together with other ingredients, of which mung beans are one (Govor, Folk-songs of S. India, London, 1872, p. 105 f.). Old men among the Ainus eat the new millet ceremonially before the people can eat. At the same time they worship the living spirit of the millet or the 'soul of the rice' (see EBE i. 248).  
Ceremonial eating of new fruits, yams, etc., is found among many African tribes. Among the Kaffirs the king himself placed the new food in the mouth of each one, and death would have been the punishment of any one who had eaten before the rite (Grout, Zulu-land, London, 1887, p. 108). Speckmann, Die Herrnmsburger Mission in Afrika, Herrmannsburg, 1878, p. 150 f.). The king first partook of new fruits among the Matabeles. Many oxen were sacrificed, and, on the fifth day, new crops were distributed among the people by a medicine-man. No one might eat until all these ceremonies were over, under pain of death (Decle, Three Years in South Africa, London, 1898, p. 157 f.). Among the Onitsha the medicine-men place part of the new yam on the lips of the person, who then eats some of the first-cooked. Neglect of this would cause the anger of the gods. Her husband then jumps over her, after which the beans may be eaten by all (Roscoe, 425). Many American Indian tribes ate the new corn ceremonially, usually after fasting or drinking an emetic (MacCuney, 5 BBE 1887, p. 222 f. [Seminoles]; Speck, Eth. of Yuchi Indians, Philadelphia, 1900, p. 90 f.). Among the Natches the 'feast of grain' consisted of a ceremonial eating of the new corn which had been specially sow with a certain ritual. If the chief 'saw Sun' appointed a day for the rite, new fire was made, and, after the grain had been cooked, the command was given to eat it (Bull. 43 B.E, Washington, 1911, p. 115 f.). For survival of such customs among the peasantry of Europe, see Frazer, OGB pt. v. vol. ii. p. 50 f. (6) Sometimes the chief or king alone eats the new fruits. This was a common custom among West and South African tribes, no one being allowed to touch the food until the chief had eaten; while the occasion of the W. African yam 'customs' was marked by human sacrifices and wild saturation (Ellis, Talking Peoples, London, 1887, p. 229 [people fast before eating]; Ramsey and Rhodes, Four Years in Abomos, London, 1875, p. 147 f.; Werner, Brit. Cent. Africa, do. 1906, p. 271 [Bantu chief tastes ceremonially before the people can eat]); Macdonald, J.A.I. xiv. (1890) p. 386 (Pondos and other Bantu tribes). In Burma some of the paungyi fruits were taken to the king, who ate of them. No one might eat before this (Bastian, Die Paungyi des Maha Maung, Leipzig, 1886, ii. p. 105). In other cases, as in Samoa, firstfruits must be offered to the chief, else calamities will follow (Turner, Nineteen Years in Polynesia, p. 297). Or, as among the Sedullo (Mada-
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gasaar), firstfruits form a part of the royal revenue (Shaw, in *GB*, pt. v. vol. ii. p. 116). It may be observed that wild food-stuffs are eaten ritually before the bulk can be touched. Some Indian tribes of British Columbia eat the shoots of the wild raspberry. When they are ready, the mother, or wife or daughter is sent to pick a bunch. These are cooked, and the chief bests the spirit of the plant to grant them a good supply. Then the food is distributed to all present. A similar ceremony is performed when the berries are ripe. The ceremonies were intended to propitiate the spirit of the plant, in order that a bountiful supply might be vouchsafed. If not properly carried out, there was danger of offending the spirit (Hill-Tout, *JAI* xxxiv. [1904] 230 ff.).

3. Sacrifice combined with ritual eating.—Among the Naskapi, the women of the family place a basketwork of the new corn to dry. Some drops follow upon the fire; and, if it explosio, this is a sign that it is accepted by the spirits of the dead. A few days later, porridge is made from this grain. Some is daubed on walls and roof, and some placed in the mouth by all present and then spat out towards the east. The head of the family holds some in his hands and prays for health and milk, etc. (Holli, *Nandi*, Oxford, 1909, p. 46 f.).

The Ewes have elaborate ceremonies, in which new crops are offered to the gods and a meal follows (Spiesch, *Die Ewe-Stimmung*, p. 504 f.). The tribes of the lower Congo throw part of the first crop of maize, peanuts, and beans towards the rising sun, and say: 'We are eating them for ever' (Weeks, *FL. XX.* [1900] 311). The Musuakake Indians at the 'Green Corn Dance' make a burnt-offering to the god Manah (or Makoko Manh) for the increase of fertility. Thereafter corn is cooked and a ceremonial feast follows (Owen, *Folk-lore of Musuakake Indians*, London, 1905, p. 52 f.). Similarly, in a ceremony whatever is carried before the ancestral images, cooked in pots reserved for that purpose, with prayer for a good annual crop, and eaten (Glaucone, *L'Anthropologie*, viii. [1897] 48 f.). The Baganda of the Milgirt Hills make the grain of the first sheaf into cakes which are offered and then eaten by the family (Harkness, *Properties of Land* in *Afr. Arc.*, London, 1832, p. 56 f.).

The central rite of the great Pongol festival of S. India consists in cooking new rice, some of which is offered to Ganesh, the remainder being eaten by the family (Gover, *J.R.A.S., new ser.* [1871] 91 f.; Wilson, *Essays*, London, 1882, ii. 169 f.).

In N. W. India firstfruits are offered to the family gods, and then part of the offering, mixed with milk and sugar, is tasted seven times by each member of the family (Elliot, *Hist. of N. W. Provinces*, London, 1868, i. 197 f.). Among the Chama, firstfruits gathered from a sacred field are offered to Po-Nagar, goddess of agriculture, and afterwards eaten. Not till then may the fruit of this field as well as the ordinary fields be reaped (Aymonry, *IRR* xxv. [1891] 272 f.).

4. Origin of firstfruits.—In some of the instances cited it has been seen that the food-stuff is believed to be tenanted by a spirit, or to be divine. For this reason it is not eaten in all cases, for the reason that in all cases where firstfruits are eaten ritually there is a sacrament or communion with a deity, or at least a symbol of divinity. The symbolism of these observances is, however, well known to the people who practice them, and they hold that by eating the firstfruits they are able to communicate with the gods. This belief is also expressed in the worship of the firstfruits, and the practice is continued as a religious observance, even when it is not believed in. The reason for this is that the firstfruits are believed to be the sacred portions of the harvest, and are therefore to be eaten with special care and reverence. They are therefore offered to the gods as a token of respect, and are regarded as a symbol of the power and beneficence of the gods. This belief is also expressed in the worship of the firstfruits, and is continued as a religious observance, even when it is not believed in.
FIRSTFRUITS (Greek).—It is a natural thing for those who believe that the gods meddle in human affairs to dedicate parts of that which they
The Athenians sent the firstfruits to Delos in their sacred ship, and other States sent firstfruits regularly to Delos and Delphi; while the shrine at Eleusis was supported by firstfruits sent thither from all parts on the command of the Delphic oracle. The firstfruits or tithe was sometimes symbolized by a permanent offering, a model in metal of the sickle and basket. We find golden ears of corn dedicated (θυριά χειμωνία), golden olives, wine, perhaps silphium; Pliny mentions a golden radish, a silver beet, and a load turnip. The same meaning may be given to the numerous images of gods or domestic animals, especially those in characteristic attitudes: as hare, deer, stag, duck, cock, sheep, cow, bull, mare, stallion. Specimens of the groups are a brood mare suckling a foal, a man milking a cow, a stag brought down by hounds. A model of a ram dedicated at Athens is inscribed θύριον (θυρίον) αναμίμητος τερών. From the practice also developed the organized agricultural feasts, but the customs of the country folk, which doubtless kept their old simplicity throughout the history of the Greek race, and still survive in some form, may be seen from the descriptions in the novel of Daphnis and Chloe.

Firstfruits are often offered to a hero; the Athenians offered them to the Maianепωρχος, in the custom of the city. Drimakos, leader of the Chian slave-revolt, who was heroized after his death, no doubt this custom also is primitive, as firstfruits are offered now in many places to the ghosts of dead heroes. But they might be offered to any deity who should have helped the worshipper, as Demeter, but the favourite deity of the countryside was Artemis, the hunter, Pan and the Nymphs for the farmer or breeder. The hunter hung up head and horns (if any) or skin upon a tree, or even dedicated these as a shrine of Artemis (as at Lonti in Arcadia), who was angry if she did not receive her due. Pan and the Nymphs were worshipped in caves—its sign of primitive worship. Homer speaks of these: and we have a record of the same thing about 500 B.C. in the case of Vair (βαίρα) [N. (μαραθοιας και Ἀρμακτρός ἀνδρῶν], besides mention of many others. In bk. vi. of the Iliad, Pan receives 34 dedications—more than any other deity. Other deities who get firstfruits are the Mothers in Sicily, Cybele, and Hermes, Aphrodite, Priapus, Bacchus and the Satyrs. Fishers dedicate the first tunny of a catch to Poseidon; they also dedicate firstfruits to other gods, as to the 'gods in general,' to Pan, to the Nymphs, to Artemis. Firstfruits of work (θυριά, χειμώνια) are mentioned, and are recognized by Isaeus (vi. 42) as of regular occurrence. Occasionally we seem to get the craftsman dedicating his first work or 'master piece'; Lytynus states this of himself: 'ισιάνειν ἀντὶς ταν' Αρματιὸς καὶ ὑπαθλοῦς; and a pot found on the Acropolis is called 'firstfruit of work.' We cannot tell if this was a common thing, but there are many records of artists dedicating some of their own works.

Literature.—W. H. D. Rouse, Greek Vetica Offerings, Cambridge, 1905. ch. ii.; Daremberg-Saglio, s. v. 'Donation'; P. F. Winck, s. v. 'Αποταμον. W. H. D. Rouse.

Firstfruits (Hebrew).—The term θύριον (θυρίον), which is cognate with Heb. 'θψχ', 'first-born' (q. v.), 'firstling,' sometimes denotes first-fruits (including cereals) in general (as in Nah 3:19 fig. trees with θυριά돈, often a smaller but choice portion of the first-fruits which is offered to God (Ex 23:20 etc.). The festival (θυράριον) denotes the first of the fruit (Ex 23:20 etc)., of harvest (Lv 23:39), of grapes (Dt 18), of dough (Lv 23:14), of wool (Dt 18), of all one's increase (Lv 23).

Many savage peoples (see Firstfruits [Intro. and Primitive]) have the custom of eating new corn, rice, and other products of the field sacramentally, for the purpose of partaking of the Divine life which is supposed to animate the fruit of the earth (W. R. Smith, Rel. Dem., 1894, p. 242; Frazer, G. F., 1900, ii. 318 ff.). It can hardly be

1 Thuc. iii. 66.
3 Procris, 159, 190, ii. 343 E.
4 1 Cor. 15: 20; cf. Theocr. vi. 154 ff.; Ath. Philol. vi. 258.
5 Dios. iv. 44; 1 Pet. v. 35, 35.
6 Quoted in Darebem-Saglio, s. v. 'Donaison,' 1904. 11.
7 Cf. i. 226, etc. 1 Pet. v. 19, 19.
8 Pumian, 1897.
9 Cf. i. 226, etc. 1 Pet. v. 35, 35.
10 Darm. I. 571; cf. 2 Pet. v. 19, 19.
11 Cf. i. 226, etc. 1 Pet. v. 35, 35.
12 Cf. i. 226, etc. 1 Pet. v. 35, 35.
13 D. xxi. 577; Aesch. fr. 577 (fr. 266, etc.).
14 Cf. i. 226, etc. 1 Pet. v. 35, 35.
15 Croesus (I 226, etc. 1 Pet. v. 35, 35).
16 Schoen. on Aristoep. Phusia, 226.
17 H. 24. 80.
18 Herod. s. v. 'ςόνδα: θριά; IG ii. 398; Rouse, Greek Vetica Offerings, p. 94.
19 Paus. x. 51; 1 Pet. v. 35, 35.
20 Mus. Ital. ii. 277; from Crete.
21 1 Pet. x. 27; from Crete.
22 1 Pet. x. 27; from Crete.
23 Pitrax, von Olympia, xiv. 210, 290.
24 A. C. H. xiv. 537.
25 See Rouse, op. cit. 43 ff.
said that any distinct trace of this primitive conception is to be found in the Hebrew peasant religion, though Ferdinand ingeniously suggests that the name of the corn for the seed of the year to come (Exposition, Nov. 1909, p. 459 f.) is certain in that in the second of its corncrop, and its conception from the Canaanites among whom they settled, an intrinsic sacredness attached to all firstfruits. Just as the whole produce of a new orchard during the first three years was 'meat-cummed,' and not eaten, while all the fourth year's fruit was consecrated to Jehovah (Lv 19:31-32), so the fieldfruit of every year, and the tithe of all the remaining store-corn possessed and uncashed ate alike throughout the year. This, therefore, is quite a different thing from the consecration of animal sacrifices, for in the latter case the whole flesh is holy, and only those who are clean can eat of it (cf. Ezl. 421).

Marti (Red. of the OT, London, 1907, p. 115) finds in the firstfruits a trace of primitive Semitic polytheism. He supposes that they originally belonged to the spirits of the field, for whom it was also the custom to leave the outermost border of the field as a sacred place (Lu 19:33, where the prophet gets the benefit of what was once meant for the spirits). When Animism faded in the strong light of Judaism, the destination of the firstfruits was, of course, completely changed.

The law regarding firstfruits is not the same in any two successive codes. (I.) The Book of the Covenant contains the archaic enactment, "Thou shalt not delay thy fullness and thy thickening (Ex 23:20 EJ), where the LXX paraphrases the substance of the phrase by "the abundant of thy fruits, and of thy liquor." The parallel reference to firstlings in the next clause makes this interpretation plausible. 'Thickening' ( חודה, 'thy fear'). RV seems to denote the newly expressed juice of the grape, perhaps also of the olive. The two other forms of the enactment, consoled in more ordinary language, are found in Ex 23:29-30. 'The firstfruits of thy labours' (v. 29), which stands in apposition to 'the feast of harvest,' commonly called the 'feast of weeks,' seems to be less comprehensive than 'the firstfruits of thy ground' (v. 39), which probably includes the later grape and olive harvest. The provision in v. 29 would thus be exactly parallel to that in 23:20, and Driver (Koschel, Camb. 1911, p. 296) suggests that the two laws, having originally belonged to two distinct collections, were preserved on account of the difference of their form. 'The first (new) of the firstfruits' (Ex 23:29 34), or Es 44:9) denotes either the earliest (Greenius) or the choicest (Koschel) of them; the rendering, 'the best, (even) the choice of the firstfruits' (v. 29), suggested by Benzing and others, is less natural. In all these primitive laws the amount to be offered remains indefinite, being a detail evidently left to the free will of the individual. There is as yet no thought of dues in the strict sense of the word, but only of offerings determined by custom.

(ii.) In Dt 26:1-11 the Israelite is directed to take a basket of firstfruits to the public sanctuary and present it at the altar, making use of a liturgical form expressive of gratitude for delivery from Egyptian bondage and possession of a fruitful land. A joyful feast then followed, in which the offerer and his household were joined by the Levite and the stranger (גֵּר). The relation of the Deuteronomist's firstfruits to the tithe (14:22) is a question of great difficulty. Wellhausen (Hist. Eng. Jr. tr., Edin. 1885, p. 157) and Benzeiger (ED, 491) hold that the two are identical, the firstfruits having been gradually fixed at the proportion of a tenth. This amount is not paid into the sanctuary as a dues, and it is maintained that the directions for the use of the tithe (14:22) and of the firstfruits (26:1) evidently refer to the same domestic feast. W. M. Smith (p. 244 ff.) thinks, on the other hand, that the tithe and the firstfruits were quite distinct, the former being a fixed tribute, comparatively modern in origin, and used to provide for the public banquets at the royal shrines (see Tithe (Heb.)). The question is further complicated by the ordinance of Lev 19:33, which states that the firstfruits are to be given to the priest, which seems so inconsistent with their destination in 26:11 that it is generally regarded as a later insertion, though Driver ('Deuteronomy,' 1CC, 1887, p. 290) suggests alternative ways of reconciling the two passages.

(iii.) Ezekiel demands for the priests the first of all the firstfruits of everything, and also the first of the dough (44:25). (iv.) In the Law of Holiness (He) it is ordained that a sheaf of the firstfruits of the harvest is to be waved before Jehovah; and, until this is done, no bread, parched corn, or fresh ears are to be eaten (Lv 23:10). Seven weeks later two leavened wave-loaves are to be offered (Lv 23:20). (v.) In the Priestly Code it is enacted that 'all the best of the oil, and all the best of the vintage, and of the corn, the firstfruits (יִשָּׂרָה) of them' are to be given to the priests, as also 'the first ripe fruits (בֶּן כֵּיתֶר) of all that is in their land' (Nu 18:11). The יִשָּׂרָה is apparently the raw fruits, while the בֶּן כֵּיתֶר are the prepared corn, wine, and oil (cf. Neh 10:37, 12:7). A meal-offering of firstfruits consisted of parched corn in the ear with oil and frankincense, part of the corn oil and all the frankincense being burned with the fire. (vi.) A distinction was finally drawn between בֶּן כֵּיתֶר and וֹסָרָה (וֹסָרָה, oblations), and two tracts of the Mishna, bearing these names, are devoted to the subject. The בֶּן כֵּיתֶר were drawn from the 'seven kinds,' i.e. the seven products mentioned in Dt 23—wheat, barley, vines, fig-trees, pomegranates, olives, and honey. Those who lived near Jerusalem offered fresh fruits, while those who came from a distance brought them dried. Philo and the Mishana describe the picturesque ceremonial which accompanied the presentation (Schurer, HUP, 1885, II. 1. 257 f.). The וֹסָרָה was a payment in kind for the support of the priesthood, an impost levied upon every species of fruit, whether of the ground or of trees. The amount to be given was not fixed, but the person who gave נְכָנָה was counted liberal, while he who gave נְכָנָה was thought somewhat stingy (id. 259 f.).

**FISH, FISH-GODS.—see Animals.**
FLACIUS.—Matthew Flacius (a Latinization of Flactus) is conspicuous among the German Reformers of the second generation. As a Churchman, he was the ablest and most uncompromising of the Saxon Lutherans who opposed Melanchthon and the later mediating doctrines and practices. As a scholar he was not only the author (with collaborators) of the first, and for long the unexcelled, Protestant Church History, but also the pioneer of modern Biblical exegesis. As a theologian he was the unfortunate propounder of a doctrine of original sin which was rejected by friend and foe alike as a revival of Manichean, and which made him the latter part of his life tragic.

Born 3rd Mar. 1520 at Albona in Istria (hence surmised of Bugnus), Flacius lost his childhood. In early youth he was able to profit by the instructions of the humanist Baptista Eggius, in Venice, but, being still a devout Roman Catholic, he resolved, in his 17th year, to enter a monastery in order to pursue sacred learning. He therefore begged his uncle, Baldo Lupetino, provincial of the Franciscans, to receive him into his Order, promising him in return the half of his paternal estate. This pious and learned man, however, being in sympathy with the Reformation, diverted him from his purpose by directing his attention to the work of Luther, and compelling him to seek an academic career in Germany. The advice proved to be the determining factor in Flacius' life. After studying for some time at Basel and Tübingen, he finally turned his face (in 1541) to Wittenberg, the metropolis of the Protestant faith, where he was welcomed by Melanchthon, and came under the decisive influence of Luther. From the time when he entered Germany, humanistic studies failed to satisfy his awakened conscience, and he spent three years in spiritual darkness, often verging on despair; from which, however, he was at last delivered, chiefly through the wise instruction and tender sympathy of Clausen and Luther. The personal experience which he thus had of the truth of the Evangelical doctrine of justification by faith alone became at once the basis of his theological reformation and the impelling motive of his life-long labours, always sincere if not always dispassionate, on behalf of the Lutheran Church and the purity of its faith.

In 1544, Flacius was appointed Professor of Hebrew in the University of Wittenberg; in the following year his marriage was granted by the presence of Luther, whose own life was now nearing its close; and a happy career seemed to await the brilliant young scholar. But he was soon drawn into the whirlpool of ecclesiastical politics. In May 1549, Charles V. announced upon the Empire the Augsburg Interim, a doctrinal and ceremonial compromise which was to be imposed until religious controversies should be settled by an Ecumenical Council. This formula was essentially Roman Catholic, conceding to the Protestants merely the marriage of priests and the cup of the laity. It soon led to another compromise, the Leipzig Interim, enacted (December 1548) by the Elector Maurice, with the help of Melanchthon and other leading Lutheran divines, for his Protestant dominions, where it was impossible to put the Augsburg Interim into operation. This second document preserved the essential of the Protestant creed, but...

From the disposition of Melanchthon and his friends to treat these ordinances as indifferent or non-essential (ἀνδιάφορα), his party came to be known as the 'Interimists' (see art. 'Erbk. Interim,' p. 80). The 'Flacianists' conquered the 'Philippists'; and Melanchthon, who, in the beginning of the controversy had regarded his young opponent as a renegade— "alaminus in sima serpentum"—wrote to him in September, 1556, offering, for the sake of unity, to confer with him in a friendly conference. Hence, as a process of reconciliation, they met at Leipzig in 1559. At this conference, 1562, a compromise was come to, which is known as the 'Form of Concord.' It was framed by Georg Major, a pupil of Melanchthon, and from 1539 Professor at Wittenberg, declared acceptable (in 1552) that good works are necessary to salvation, and anathematized everyone who taught otherwise. Flacius had recourse, as usual, to tracts for the times, in which he...
and the gallowes, made the salvation of children impossible, confounded the gospel with the law, and weakened the power of Christ's death (ib.); op. cit. 270). Major himself ultimately recanted.

The doctrine with which the name of Flacius is associated, has come out of the Synod of Chalcedon. Having been appointed Professor of NT Theology at Jena in 1557, he soon found himself sharply disputing with his colleague Victorinus Stahel on the question of the operation of the will in conversion. Having a profound conviction of man's corruption and consequent inability to do any good of himself, he went so far as to affirm that original sin is not an accident of human nature, but is involved in its very substance—"quidem substantia in homine"—man having ceased at the Fall to be in any way the image of God, and having become the image of the devil. He was warned in vain that by the use of such language he would provoke a charge of Manicheism, and, as he too much of his energy was devoted rather than to modify his doctrine, many of his former friends fell away from him, some of them even joining the ranks of his bitterest enemies. While he was pointing strong passages from Luther which seemed to favour his extreme view, it was instinctively felt that there was a lack of sufficient proof of Flacius's volitional utterances and the theologian's deliberate dogmatism. The tide of opinion rose swiftly against Flacius, who (10th Dec. 1551) was deposed and excommunicated; and he, with his numerous family—he had 12 children by his first marriage and further issue by a second—was henceforth only a life of wandering and poverty. Scarcely any one of his earlier books sold, the latter were not even sold. His labours and persecutions, his scheme of founding an academy at Regensburg came to nothing. Strasbourg tolerated him for a few years, but cast him out in 1574. He found a last asylum in the convent of White Ladies at Frankfort, where he fell ill in the end of 1574. The City Council gave him notice to quit on May 18, 1574, and in the spring term of the year (11th March), death had released him.

Some of Flacius' most important services to Protestantism still remain to be mentioned. Though his main work was spent in controversy, he was essentially a scholar, and his literary output was as remarkable for its value as for its extent. In 1556 he published a Catalogus Testium Veritatis, in which he repels the charge of novelty which the Roman Church constantly brought against the Protestant, and proves that every Christian age had its 'witnesses' who combated the Papacy and its errors. To this book John Foxe was largely indebted for materials in compiling his Acts and Monuments of Christian Martyrs, of which the first edition was dated 1563. Flacius next conceived the idea of writing a Church History, in which it should be set forth, in certain order and sequence of time, how the true Church and its religion gradually fell away from its original Apostolic purity and simplicity, and how this process, with all the consequences of its teaching, varied from the wickedness of the ungodly; in which it should also be shown how the Church was ever again restored by some genuinely pious men, and how the light of truth now shines more clearly, and was again more or less obscured by the darkness of error.

In order to carry out his scheme on a grand and worthy scale, he formed (in 1553) a society which had its head-quarters in Magdeburg, but he himself remained the soul of the enterprise. Thus, there appeared in 13 folios (1559-74) the Magdeburg Centuries, each volume comprising the events of a century, a magnum opus to which all later Church Historians were consciously or unconsciously indebted (see Barres, Die Epochen der kirchlichen Geschichtschreibung, Tübingen, 1895). To this epoch, added a similar epoch-making work

in the department of Biblical exegesis. In Regensburg he began his Glæiae Scripturarum Sacrarum, which was published in 1657.

'Through this work, which consists of a Bible Dictionary, with Essays, to which the principles of exegesis are laid down, with the abler of Biblical Hermeneutics' (Pitl., PEB. ii. 357).

These principles he applied in his Glossarium Compendium in NT (1670); that to the OT was left unfinished.

For centuries the name and fame of Flacius, the opponent of Melancthon, and the Manichean heretic, remained under a cloud. At Arminian (in 1644) was the first to do him justice. His honours were finally vindicated and his work appraised at its true value in W. Freger's mastery biography, Math. Flacius Hilprenus und seine Zeit, 2 vol.; Erlangen, 1539-61. He had the faults of his qualities, and it is sometimes difficult to distinguish his zeal from fanaticism, his firmness from intolerance. It may therefore be admitted that 'his hard fate was not wholly unmerited' (Pitl., op. cit. 506). Yet Keling (PBE. ii. 415) is scarcely wrong in numbering him among that cloud of witnesses of which the world was not worthy.'


JAMES STRAHAN.

FLAGELLANTS.—The great outbreak of publican scourging which produced the brotherhood of Flagellants occurred in the middle of the 14th century; but this was only an abnormal intensification of a practice which had existed in Christian circles for centuries, and at least one previous epidemic of self-scorching had swept over Europe a century earlier.

Voluntary flagellation as a form of penance is as old as history and almost as wide-spread as religion itself. It does not appear to have been practised in the early Christian period or even in the early days of monasticism, though scourging, inflicted by superiors, was often used in monasteries as a means of correction. But, as the spiritual value of asceticism became impressed on the consciousness of Christians in the 16th and 17th centuries, men who burned with a passion for holiness of life resorted to flagellation as a means of subduing the 'soul's evil yoke-fellow,' the body. It came into especial prominence in the 17th century, through the practices of the monk Dominicus Loricatus (+1600) and of Peter Damian Cardinal of Ostia (+1072). The latter advised the substitution of self-flagellation for the reading of penitential Psalms, and even drew up a scale of values, making a thousand strokes of the lash equal to ten Psalms. The penitential scourgings which St. Dominico (1170-1221) practised upon himself, the passionate flagellation of the early Franciscans, and the introduction of collective flagellation into the monasteries, helped to form the mental attitude which was responsible for the first serious outbreak of public flagellation, which began in Italy just after the middle of the 13th century.

It was a time of mental tension. There was an inner circle of 'Spirituals,' who were greatly assisted with expectation that 1290 was to be the year of the new age of the Eternal Kingdom, prophesied by Joschim of Fiores; the people generally were brought almost to the limit of endurance by the woe of the party strife between the Guelphs and Ghibellines; and with a powerful epidemic of the Plague came in 1299.

Suddenly, in this same year, 1299, without any organized propaganda, the city of Perugia was
seized with a contagion of penitence which showed itself in the form of flagellation. It spread with great rapidity through Northern Italy, along the Rhine, and to the East as far as Bohemia. It affected all classes of life and all orders of society. A contemporary Chronicle (Momochi Patacinius Chronicon) records that even little children of five years, entirely naked, joined these processions. All the flagellants carried scourges made of leather thongs, and lashed themselves until the blood ran down their bodies. All sorts of sins were confessed, enemies were reconciled, vails were removed, and, prepared themselves as for a new spiritual stage of life. Salimbene (1231-88) writes in his Chronicle: "Through the streets of all cities the small and the great, the nobles and men of the people, scourged themselves naked, in procession through the streets, with the Bishops and men of religion at their head; and pence was made in many places, and men restored what they had unlawfully taken away; and they confessed their sins earnestly that the priests had scarce leisure to eat in their monastic chambers. The voice of sinners was as the voice of a multitude." (Momoch. Hist., i. 230 fol.)

The still more famous pious outbreak of the contagion of penitential scourging, which led to the formation of the Brotherhood of the Flagellants (often called the Brotherhood of the Cross), came in the year 1449. Germany being the country where the movement showed its greatest power. It has generally been supposed that the outbreak was occasioned by the fearful devastation of the Black Death, but the investigations of Hunger (Der schwarze Tod in Deutschland) show that, in the incipiency of the movement, the Flagellants preceded the appearance of the Black Death. As rumours came along the South of the Flaggle from the East, bands of penitents formed, in the hope that God would spare Europe if there were a sufficient measure of repentance. These bands of Flagellants next spread westwards, gathering volume and power until all Christian lands were touched by it; and in England it appears to have assisted in spreading the very plague which its organizers were striving to avert.

In its early stages the movement, though penetrated with enthusiasm, was well organized under the control of leaders. Whoever joined the brotherhood was bound to promise obedience to a captain, who was assisted by two lieutenants; to have a layman to pay for his expenses; to have the sanction of his wife, if he was a married man; and to give assurance that he was reconciled with all men. The members of the brotherhood were forbidden to converse with persons of the other sex, to enter any house without invitation, or to beg for anything, though they were free to accept lodging and meals—but not for more than two days in any one town—if the hospitality were offered; twice in the day, dripping to the waist, they lashed themselves with scourges, sometimes knotted, and sometimes supplied with iron points which embedded themselves in the flesh. They believed that their blood would mingle with the shed blood of their Saviour, and that this practice of painful, penitential flagellation, continued for thirty-three days and a half, would wash the soul free of all the sins of the world. As these ideas came to strengthen consciousness in the minds of the Flagellants, they began to feel that the means of salvation were in their own hands, and that the mediation of the Church and its priesthood could be dispensed with.

As the fervour of the movement increased, the idea of treading on the body of Christ assumed a very important rôle, as it had probably also done in the earlier movement of 1290, and vast processions marched through the cities and the country districts as well, singing hymns which aroused popular enthusiasm, and feelings of penitence for the sufferings of Christ and the Mater Dolorosa, and gave the movement a great marching power. These Flagellants had a far greater permanent influence on religious singing in the Christian Church (see Cloesner, Strasburger Chronik; Bartsch, Germania, xiv. [1680] 40 E.; Burkner, Kata, II. 301). Under the mental tension of the times, the bodily pain inflicted by flagellation, and the general social upheaval, it is not at all strange that considerable numbers, in a variety of fonts, appeared. Some of the Flagellants, in their consciousness of spiritual power, undertook to cure diseases, as well as to destroy devils, and woe to them that die the dead. One of the most curious signs of hysteria was the appearance within the group of a letter of Christ which an angel was said to have brought from heaven, promising that all who should scourge themselves for thirty-three and a half days should be partakers of the Divine grace. This letter was read in many places by the leaders of the procession of Flagellants as a genuine celestial document, and produced a profound impression among the highly-wrought populace.

The Church authorities were not slow in discovering that its greatest power contained many seeds of danger. In its first bursts of contagious power, when thousands in a single city were swept into it, little could be done; but the enthusiasm of the Flagellants spread to the East. The movement travelled rapidly westwards, gathering volume and power until all Christian lands were touched by it; and in England it appears to have assisted in spreading the very plague which its organizers were striving to avert.
PLEECE (Greek and Roman).—At a primitive stage of culture, flesces were used as raincoat or covering. In antiquity we find (frequent traces of this use (Paus. iv. 11. 3, viii. 5. 38. 3; M. Bemler, in Darmenb-Saglio, s.v. 'Pelles,' ii. 571 ff.). The Lybians were known to make their coverings, garments, and shoes out of goat's hide. It is not clear what the term 'Hippokrates' means (Pliny, xxx. 118), in which case the warmth of the hide had a soothing effect. It is difficult to draw the line between rational and magic uses; they appear under the name of the animal it belonged to. It is difficult to state, in each case, how far the belief in the magic power of a sacrificed animal's skin is姚in account (AEW xii. 1810) 491 f.; Kroll, ib. viii. (1906), p. 40. Often the healing power of a hide was a perfectly natural one, as when fresh sheep-hides were laid upon bruises (Pliny, xxx. 118), in which case the warmth of the hide had a soothing effect. It is difficult to draw the line between rational and magic uses; they appear side by side, as is customary in popular medicine. The hide is used in many ways: a stag's hide is kept upon to quell the fear of snakes (Pliny, xiii. 161); a sleeve made of wolf's hide is worn to prevent one's being poisoned or bewitched (Pliny, xxxvii. 157); shoes made of beaver or seal-skin are potent against guilt (ib. xxi. 110; Alex. Trall. l. 661, Puschmann); the skin is dressed with fur to relieve a terror or nose-bleeding (ib. xxxvii. 61); amulets are wrapped in pieces of fur and worn (cf. Taborin, i. 116 f.): vases are cut with a scythe which has been dipped in the skin of a hyena, to ensure good germination (Geopon. ii. 18. 8; Colum. ii. 9. 9; Pallad. x. 3. 1); a vineyard is protected from all sorts of evil if the skin of a seal or a strip made of seal-skin in honey is hung over the vines (Geopon. i. 14. 3; Pallad. i. 35. 15). In order to protect a man from hail, one must carry the hide of a hyena, crocodile, or seal round its precincts, and then hang it up before the front-door (Geopon. i. 14. 5; cf. Pallad. i. 35. 14; Orph. Argon. 762 f.). A piece of the seal's skin, which protects against lightning, is always worn (Suet. Aug. 20); during a thunderstorm one repairs to a tent made of seal-skin (Pliny, ii. 146) and hangs seal-skins on the masts of ships (Lyda, de Mens. p. 181. 19 f., ed. Wünsch). Magic texts are written on hyena-hides (Wessely, 'Neue gr. Zauberpap., Denk- schriften d. Wiener Acad., 1895, p. 291. 203. 204.); Ashes of a burnt ram's hide are used (Helmh. Emp. 33. 66, p. 346, ed. Helmh.). Perhaps the strange record of Jupiter having reached heaven with the help of the golden fleece has something to do with the magic power of fleece (Mythogr. Fast. i. 24, where the text of the Vaticanus, according to O. Rosbach's kind information, is as follows: ('pellem auream in qua inivia in celum ascendit')); and it is not improbable that this golden fleece of the Argonaut legend has its origin in the same belief. That the possession of a golden fleece should ensure the knightly power and dominance over the sun's course (R. Eisler, Weltenmantel, Munich, 1910, p. 555. 6) is not corroborated by the Schol. on Hom. ii. 106, ed. Bekker (cf., however, Eur. Ed. 719 f.). The Pythagoreans altogether forbade the use of hides as coverings; they allowed only linen for that purpose (Lamblichus, Vita Pyth. 100).

Not only in magic, but also in cult, the supernatural properties of flesces become clearly evident. And here, too, we are not specific properties, but the very multiplicity of these bear evidence of the magic character in general (cf. Harrison, Proleg. 3, Camb. 1908, p. 27). Thus, when, in the cult of Zeus Akrasia, flesces from Pelion were used to attract rain (Nilson, Griech. Flecht., Leipzig, 1906, p. 5 f.), we need not conclude that the fleece was chosen...
as a simile for the clouded sky (Eisele, 90 ff.). The other testimonies which Pley (p. 21 ff.) adduces for the use of fleeces in rain-magic do not belong to the present category, or are very doubtful. The θησις of the other magic ceremonies is paralleled by the 'weather-fleece,' which, when shaken by the god, had the power of producing rain and storm (H. xvii. 683 ff.; O. Gruppe, Griech. Myth., Munich, 220, p. 383). This is not the only mention of the vassal property of the θησις. It is above all a θησις τριγυρος, a magic terror, that puts foes to flight (Schol. on H. xxv. 28). In this connexion Athenaeus has taken it over. Thus the θησις 'shield' is only a later stage of development (M. Mayer, Arch. Jahrb. vii. [1895] 196), and that the θησις is originally a 'flock of sheep' is proved by his citation of the occasional goddesses who were herself in the θησις (H. xviii. 904), and that the Roman Juno Spoita, who is clad in a goat's hide (Winsona, 117; JHS xxii. [1901] 297), is probably descended from an old Roman type of Athens (Petersen, Röm. Mitte.x. [1894] 561 ff.).

The magic fleece is used in agrarian rites under the name of θωκσόμα, which he had to do with Zeus (Harrison, 23 ff.). In the last third of the month Maimakterion there was a procession in honour of the ochronic Meilichios (Aem. ad Grec. xxii. 481, p. 133 in situ; E. Pfuhl, de Athen, pompis sacris, Berlin, 1900, p. 92; Nilsson, Ath. Mitt. xxxiii. [1898] 245), who later on was identified with Zeus. In this procession the θωκσόμα mentioned by Eust. (i. e.) was most probably carried round. Since for the same period a sacrifice to Zeus Georgios, a kindred god to Zeus Meilichios, is recorded (Prets, De sacris, Leipzig, 1896, pp. 7, 19 ff.), and in the month Maimakterion fields were ploughed and corn sown (Freller-Robert, Gr. Myth. i. [Berlin, 1894] 131, 2; G. Thiele, Antike Himmelsbilder, Berlin, 1896, p. 58), the θωκσόμα was probably borne round the tilled land, in order to protect the seed within this magic circle against all evil (cf. also Pfrengle, p. 439) and the god of the earth (cf. Nilsson, op. cit., p. 194, and the above-mentioned magic rites for protecting the farm against hail). Zeus Meilichios and the Maimakters (Freller-Robert, l. c.) have nothing to do with this festival (cf. Pfuhl, op. cit.), who, besides the reasoning, however, is not satisfactory. On the other hand, the festival Skistrophia, in which a sacred ploughing and sowing—evidently enacted in analogy to the profane ploughing and sowing at that season—was performed (Plut. Conspir. proc. 42, p. 144f.), belongs to this sphere. Here, too, the θωκσόμα was used (Suid. s. v. θωκσόμα), in the same manner, no doubt, as at the feast of Meilichios. The catholic properties of the θωκσόμα seem to have developed later out of its agrarian functions. Not only was the magic fleece able to ward off evil, but any one brought into touch with it was freed from all uncleanliness and evil influences. Therefore, those in need of ritual cleansing placed themselves or their left foot (Hesych. s. v. Δυς επισωμα; cf. Amelung, Atti della Pontif. Acc., 1906, p. 126 ff.) on such a fleece (Pley, 11; Phryn. Prop. soph. p. 9, 14 f.; ed. Borries; the 'fleece' on the scene representing the 'cleaning of Theseus' (Graec. arch. i. [1884] 322 ff.; Gruppe, p. 892. 1) is more than doubtful, and those who were submitted to the various cleansing ceremonies of initiation (Schoenhammer-Lipsius, 414, 417) had to sit or stand on a fleece (Suid. l. c.; Hesner, Röm. Mitte. xxv. [1901] 287) to obtain the blessing. The category must be assigned Aristoph. Nub. 730, c. A. Dieterich, Kl. Schr., Leipzig, 1911, p. 117 ff.). The purpose of the fleece on a 'Thracian rider' 'saddle' (Athen. xvi. [1905] 107, pl. 1, no. 4) is not clearly; it is only probable that the custom made use of such a saddle, which the Delphic omphalos, is figured in the scene in Müller-Wissler (Denkmaler, ii. [Göttingen, 1881] fig. 127, p. 98). It is not impossible that the Ridge of the Cyladonian boar shown in the temple of Atese Ales in Tegea (Pfister, 'Reliquienkult,' Rel. Ver. u. Forsch. v. i. [1895] 534 f.) may once have been used in a rite, but it is not very probable.

It has been indicated above that the magic powers of fleeces were probably in part due to the fact that hides of sacrificed animals were used. The θωκσόμα originated from the skin of an animal offered as sacrifice (Pley, 11). This signification of sacrificial animals' hides can be clearly recognized in several cases. The Iapetian mysteries of the Andianus were allowed to wear only soles of felt or of the skin of sacrificed animals (Dittenberg, Syll., no. 863. 35; Pfort-Ziehen, Leda Grœc. Sacre, ii. 1 [Leipzig, 1904], p. 72 ff., whom the name Ζύλ that were worn on his head, likewise had to be made of the hide of a sacrificed animal (Pley, 38; incorrectly explained in E. Samter, Familie festa d. Grœc. Grœc. Röm. Berlin, 1901, p. 37). Apron and strips of the supra were cut out of the hide of the goat which had been sacrificed to Panus (A.B.V. xii. [1910] 450 ff.). The special importance of wool in religious rites probably finds its explanation in the significance of the sacrificial hide.

From a similar point of view we must interpret the custom of the best man and the bridegroom sat on a seat covered with the fleece of a sacrificed sheep (Serv. ad Aem. iv. 274). But the special purport of this ceremony lies in the fact that the sitting side by side on the same fleece was to render the nuptial bond inviolable. The present writer considers it very improbable that there is any closer connexion between this ceremony and the pelias fests, on which in Rome and Athens the bride and the bridegroom sat down as soon as she had entered the house of her husband (A. Rossbach, Röm. Ekle. Stuttgart, 1853, p. 324 f.). As this custom is found also among other tribes (Samter, 101 f.), it must have an independent meaning. Probably it was a magic rite to promote fruitfulness, as the Indian parallel (Oldenberg, Fig. 2, 1853, p. 594, fig. 120, and the above-mentioned magic rites for protecting the farm against hail) shows; in this case again the fleece exerts its magic powers. We do not know the special reason why the young married couple, in Attica, were visited by the priestess of Athens, bearing the fleece (Suid. s. v. αθηνοτ,); but here, too, a magic rite may be supposed, for the purpose of fruitfulness.

In some dream-orphals it was the custom that the god who interrogated the god lay down to sleep on the hide of a sacrificed animal (Deubner, de Incub. 27; Eust. ad II. ii. 538, p. 1067, 64; for the oracle of Panus, cf. E. Hainz, Verh. ov. Technik, Leipzig, 1903, p. 172. 2). The god was understood to be moved by the fleece of the animal that had been consecrated to him to give the desired enlightenment.

LITURGIES.—The leading sources and authorities have been noted in the article. An attempt to treat the shape of the fleece in ancient cult is offered by F. Pley, 'De uraeis in sanctuarium institur,' in Rel. Ver. u. Forsch. xx. ii. [Göttingen, 1901] 1 ff. Though this does not exhaust the subject, the author's leading idea of close relationship between fleece and wool is correct and important.

L. DEUBNER.

FLIES.—See ANIMALS, BAALBEBUB.

FLOOD.—See DELUGE.

FLOWERS.—The purpose of the present article is to discuss briefly the growth of an appreciation of flowers amongst civilized peoples in ancient and modern times.

1. Jewish.—An examination of the references to flowers in the OT yields almost entirely negative results. The country in which the Jew lived was carpeted with flowers, especially in the early spring; and their variety and beauty elicited the

1 For other aspects of the subject, see art. TANIA AND PANTHEON.
admiration of travellers to-day. The flowers in Palestine which specially attract the traveller’s attention are the tulip, poppy, hyacinth, cyclamen, asphodel, Suculentia of Bechahem, cactus, mallow, and scarlet anemone. So little thought did the Jews give to their flowers that, as far as we know, they did not mention them in their common law. Thus the Heb. word א ValidationError, which is now applied by the inhabitants of Palestine to anemones, tulips, and rambouillet, is rendered in the LXX by ασφαλέω, and in Greek lilies. This word is in Ca 25:8 (Una lips are (as) lilies) suggests that both here and in the NT ασφαλέω should be rendered by ‘scarlet anemone’—one of the commonest and most beautiful flowers in Palestine (cf., however, Lw, J. E. viii. 8 f. The representation of pomegranates on the pillars of the Temple (1 K 7:24) and on the prow of the ship (Ex 25) was probably borrowed from Egypt. According to Fliuders Petra (HDB i. 299), the design of balls and pomegranates is the old Egyptian lotus-and-bad border.

If by the appreciation of flowers be meant the appreciation either of their natural beauty or of their mystical significance, apart from a recognition of their ornamental use, it would be hard to quote any passage from the Bible which would form such an appreciation. The Jew, who inhabited a country which was more or less surrounded by deserts, had a vivid appreciation of the fertility of his land (as Psalm 126:4), but the Bible says: ‘The valleys also are covered with corn; they shout for joy, they also sing’ (Ps 65:11). Its beauty and its spiritual blessings, both in the Psalms and in the latter part of Isaiah, where the prophet calls upon the trees and mountains to rejoice with him in view of God, are met with. ‘Brook of singing, ye mountains, O forest, and every tree thereof’ (Is 44:23); and, again: ‘The mountains and the hills shall break forth before you into singing, and the desert and every one of them shall flower, and it shall bring forth many fruits’ (Is 55:12). The words which immediately follow, ‘Instead of the thorn shall come up the fir-tree, and instead of the brier shall come up the myrtle tree,’ seem to show that the predominant thought in the mind of the writer was that of the glorious fertility which the blessing of Jehovah should bring to his land.

The New Jerusalem, the description of which in the Apocalypse is largely based upon the Jewish imagery of the OT, is like a gorgeous palace blended with metal and jewels, but it has no flowers. The ‘never fading flowers’ are a Christian addition to the Jewish conception of Paradise.

2. Graeco-Roman.—When we turn from Hebrew to Greek and Roman literature, we find the appreciation of flowers hardly more developed. In Greek and Latin writers we find proofs of careful observation of natural scenes, but few or no traces of a sympathetic contemplation of flowers. They were constantly used as ornaments or decorations, and the prettiest of their form and colour was recognized, but if we may judge from the literature which has survived, there was no appreciation of their glory and significance such as could inspire Wordsworth to write: ‘To me the meek flower that blooms in the valley Thoughts do often lie too deep for tears.’

Theorists and Malaezgers contain frequent references to flowers but they did not look upon them as beautiful in themselves. The only approach in Greek art to such an appreciation is in the acanthus leaves carved on the Corinthian column, but this is conventionalized and reduced to a geometrical formula.

3. Christian.—It would be impossible to find in classical or in Jewish pre-Christian literature any parallel to the saying of Christ, ‘Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow’ (Mt 6:28). This, and the further statement that not all the wealth of the world, or the gorgeous raiment which wealth might provide, could make a man as beautiful as a flower of the field, constituted a new revelation. It must have been startling, indeed, to His audience to hear one of their commonest flower recognitions that with the greatest of their kings, and to his disadvantage. How little the Jews and those to whom the words of Christ afterwards came were prepared to appreciate this teaching may be inferred from the fact that, although practically every other saying of Christ is commented on by early Christian writers, there is apparently no reference to these words for a thousand years after they were uttered. Many centuries were to pass before His followers could claim that they had obeyed this teaching of their Master.

In the 19th cent., when landscape painting was for the first time practised in Europe, flowers began to be introduced not merely as ornamental accessories, but as an integral part of the painting. Although there is something artificial and unnatural in the conception of a flower garden, which is an attempt to idealize Nature, nevertheless the development of a taste for flower gardens may be regarded as a rough index of the development of an appreciation of the beauty of flowers. Bacon, in his essay on Gardens, supplies a list of flowers which should be in bloom during each month of the year, and urges that the garden should be so ordered that ‘things of beauty’ should be always ‘in season.’ He recognizes that the love of gardening represents a higher ideal than the love of architecture. Thus he writes: ‘God Almighty first planted a garden, and indeed it is the pursuit of human pleasure: it is the greatest refreshment to the spirits of men, without which buildings and palaces are but gross handwork: and a man shall ever see that, when ages grow to civility and elegance, men come to build stately houses than to garden finely, as it gardening was the greater perfection.’

The artificiality which, after Bacon’s time, characterized English and still more French gardens, was not unknown in his own time, for he writes: ‘I for my part do not like images cut out in judasper.’

The modern appreciation of the beauty of flowers, which found expression in Goethe and Wordsworth, was an outcome of the general movement towards the appreciation of Nature and of natural scenery which dates from the Renaissance. The influence of Auguste and those who adopted him as their master had led men to associate evil with every form of manner, and made it difficult for them to regard it as a vehicle whereby the unwritten thoughts of the Creator might be expressed. One of the first English writers to express the latter idea was Thomson (1700-1748), who wrote: ‘These live and works
A soul in all things, and that soul is God.
... not a flower.
But shows some touch, in frolick, steep, or stake,
Of His unival’d soul.’

Half a century later Wordsworth wrote:

One impulse from a verseal wood
May teach you more of man,
Of moral evil and of good,
Than all the age can read.

The mystic consciousness of the Divine message which plants and flowers have to give to those who can receive it, which Wordsworth possessed, has not been shared by many who have written since his time.

4. Japanese.—Of non-Christian nations, whether in ancient or modern times, the Japanese possess by far the most striking appreciation of flower beauty. Baron Himmel, contrasting the development of an appreciation of the beauty of flowers and of natural scenery in Europe with that found in Japan, writes:
The Japanese are wonderful lovers of nature. In Europe a feeling for beauty has been developed by education. Our peasants will talk to you of the fertility of the soil, of the abundance of flowers useful for their mills, of the value of their woods, but not of the picturesque charms of the country. They are not quite entirely insensible to them, but if they do feel them, it is in a vague, undefined sort of way, for which they would be proud to account. It is not so with Japanese labourers. With him the sense of beauty is innate.

In the 9th cent. A.D. the Japanese Emperor Saga held garden parties during the flowering of the cherry blossoms, at which the literati of the day composed verses in honour of flowers.

At the present day some of the most important festivals in Japan are those connected with the blooming of certain flowers. The cherry-blossom festival is preceded by that of the plum, and followed in succession by those of the peony, wisteria, iris, chrysanthemum, and maple. Every Japanese is familiar with the ode written by the poet Motoori in the 17th cent., of which a translation given by a Japanese is:

'Should any one ask me what the spirit of Japan is, I should point to the blossoms of the wild cherry-tree basking in the morning sun.'

The lotus, the flower specially associated with Buddhism and the spirit world, and the figure of Buddha is often represented as seated on a lotus flower. Lotus flowers made of gold or silver paper are carried as Paste flowers, and lotus are decorated with them at the Festival of the Dead. Lotus leaves are also used to wrap the food offerings for the spirits of the dead. In E.F., and various arts, on individual flowers, e.g., 'Lily' and 'Rose', in the same work.

The Japanese treatment of flowers proceeds on conventional lines. In every school a very large amount of time is devoted to the instruction of the scholars in the art of arranging flowers according to traditional rules. The standard by which they judge the beauty of flowers is wholly different from that accepted in Europe, and seems to many Europeans highly artificial. The mass of flowers present in a European bouquet would not convey any pleasing impression to a Japanese. They study the growth, form and habits of the plant which produces the flower, and may great regard to leaf, bud, and to their balance and linear distribution. The art of flower arrangement is said to have been introduced into Japan in the 8th cent. A.D., and several Chinese priests are referred to in early Japanese works as teachers and exponents of this art in connexion with various religious ceremonies. The present style of flower arrangement was developed later, and was specially encouraged by a Japanese shogun who lived in the 17th century. There is a good deal of symbolism involved in the choice and arrangement of flowers, and many weird superstitions, derived from Chinese philosophy and connected with good and bad luck, are associated with the arrangement and subsequent disposition of the flowers.

Although the Japanese are the most painstaking gardeners to be found anywhere in the world, flower gardens such as are common in Europe can hardly be said to exist. The Japanese garden is a landscape garden. For nearly five centuries Japanese artists have been studying and elaborating the rules for the formation of landscape gardens laid down by their predecessors, and with fascinating results. By a careful process of selection and cultivation, few species have been reduced to a fifth part of their normal size, so that their size may harmonize with the tiny garden in which they are to be planted. The object of these gardens is to create a feeling of serenity in the mind of the spectator by an extensive landscape. The older landscape gardeners who are credited with introducing this art into Japan were Buddhist, and the elements they expressed by symbols were of sym- bolistic form ideas such as content, calm, and piety.

5. Chinese. - The Chinese cultivate market gardens with laborious care, and are fond of constructing flower gardens in which both flowers and ponds are the principal features. These do not, as a rule, contain any flower beds, but flowering plants are arranged in pots of various designs. Flowers are grown on the top China, in hanging as in Japan, and the Chinese are specially fond of those which have sweet scents. They also use flowers and their artificial substitutes as ornaments to put in their hair, but they generally have little appreciation of flowers apart from their regard for them as ornaments or as providing sweet scents.

6. Hinta (India). - In India, flowers are rare, though flowers are extensively used for making garlands to be worn on festive occasions or to show honour to strangers. As artificial flowers, however, they are generally most beautiful, and are used for similar purposes, it can hardly be maintained that their use in this way by the peoples of India denotes any real appreciation of their beauty. The Rigveda consists of hymns addressed to Nature-gods; and in the Atharvas, flowers are mentioned only in magic charms. In later Indian literature, however, lyric and dramatic poetry, as well as elegant prose literature, contains many allusions to flowers which even a real love of them, just as in later Jewish literature there are repeated references to flowers in the oral tradition, and references in Bialus' Index to Böthlingk's Ind. Spruche, St. Petersburg, 1870-78; Löve's art. 'Plants', in E.F., and various arts, on individual flowers, e.g., 'Lily' and 'Rose', in the same work.


LITERATURE. - Besides the literature mentioned in the art, see A. Biesse, Development of Japan, and CHARLES H. ROBINSON.

FETICIDE.- Destruction of the human embryo has not among any people become a social habit, as in general infanticide has done among some modern primitive communities and among the ancient Greeks and Italians. Throughout history its prevalence has been sporadic. One section of a race may practise it, while another, though continent, may forbid it, and yet another may be stated to be ignorant of its possibility. Its practice does not involve any high degree of knowledge, for the crudest methods of manipulation, coinciding at times with those accidents which produce natural abortion or miscarriage, are found among the lower races. Nor does it, at any stage of culture, necessarily imply a deprived condition of sexual morality. As often as not—for instance, among the ancient Italians in many cases, and among many modern savage tribes—the sole reason is poverty. The crime thus is parallel in one aspect with infanticide and prevention of conception.

'The same laws hold here,' says Westernarch, 'as induce savages to kill their new-born infants also induce them to destroy the fetus before it has proceeded into the world from the mother's body.'

1 So in the East Indian Archipelago (J. G. P. Biede, El sult-an brachhajee raasen, Euphr., 1866, pp. 24 (Borul), 202 (Tenamur and Zirakpur)).

2 J. 8, 503.

3 MEL. 418.
FETICIDE

Besides the hardships of wild life and the intense struggle for existence in modern civilization, there are subsidiary reasons for the practice. A perverted diathesis may induce the mother to forgo the trouble of pregnancy, birth, and rearing. More often it is in order to conceal illicit intercourse. The period of suckling, which may drive the husband to form other ties, is also a contributory factor. And the same reason applies when the mother has already a child at the breast.

Whatever be the reasons operating to induce the destruction of a new life, the crime, as already noted, has nothing in common with a social habit. The progressive evolution of culture involves the displacement of infanticide proper by feticide, and in the last century feticide itself has been largely displaced by the artificial prevention of conception.

The social attitude towards the crime has followed a similar evolution. Rude indifference to child-murder has given place to a growing culture and abhorrence, while destruction of the unborn child was regarded as venial in comparison. The whole question of ethical values is complicated by the wave of early anthropological ideas, which from the Greek period were applied to the elucidation of biological facts. Both the sentiment and the legislation, ecclesiastical and civil, of Western civilization have been largely influenced by the incidence of these ideas. A broad line, lastly, can be drawn between barbarian, classical, and Oriental ethics, the latter being more pronounced on the one hand, and the value attached to the unborn life and the rights of the individual over it.

Among the lower and the higher races alike the moral objection to the crime varies directly as the social consciousness of the duty of augmenting the birth-rate. Hence it may be laid down that infanticide and feticide tend to decrease with the passage from a natural to an artificial method of subsistence. Where agricultural and pastoral culture are established, the importance of numbers is realized. In a secondary degree the objection varies inversely as the sexual morality, dependent upon the matrimonial system of any given people. Causes of marriage, as in pagan Greece and Rome, are of little significance. An example of the direct variation may be found in the early Hindu systems, where the husband, and in the modern European peoples, including the Jews. Examples of the inverse variation may be seen in the Hindus and Muhammadans, where the results of the matrimonial system have overlaid the primary objection to feticide.

Among semi-civilized peoples it is just possible to concede the existence of the moral objection with upward progress from the natural and precarious mode of subsistence. In Samoa, for instance, artificial abortion was very prevalent. Here there is possibly an indirect influence of sexual morality. The Daekota did not regard it as a crime, though the generality of Indian tribes did regard it.

A good example is the case of the Kafirs:

"The procuring of abortion, although universally practised by all classes of females in Kafir society, is nevertheless a crime of considerable magnitude in the eyes of the law; and when brought to the knowledge of the chief, a fine of four or five bead of cattle is imposed. The accomplice acquaints the woman herself with the facts." 4

As distinguished from infanticide, destruction of the embryo involves no conflict with the instinct of maternal or parental love.

'Considering,' as Westerners observe, 'that the same degree of sympathy cannot be felt with regard to a child not yet born as with regard to an infant, it is not surprising to find that feticide is practised without objection even by persons who never commit infanticide.' His instances Sarmiento and the Mitchell Islands.

Feticide is not referred to in the Mosaic law. The omission is one indication, among many, of the intense regard felt by the Jewish people for parenthood and the future of their race. Hinduism and Islam show an inconsistency between theory and practice.

'In a country like India ... where six-sevenths of the widows, whatever their age or position in life may be, are absolutely debarred from re-marriage, and are compelled to rely upon the uncertain support of their relatives, it is scarcely surprising that great crimes should be frequently practised to avoid the results of immoralities, and that the procuring of criminal abortion should, especially, be an act of almost daily occurrence, and should have become a trade among some of the lower middles." 5

Yet the old laws forbade it and classed it as murder, placing it in the same category as homicide, neglect of the Vedas, incest, and the drinking of spirituous liquor. 6 It is one of the three acts which make women outcasts, the others being the murder of a husband or of a Brahman. 7 The word of 'the wiping off of sins' in the Atharavaveda denounces the abortionist, the bhiresakas, whose name and crime the list reveals. He who has committed an abortion the sin does not pass. 8 Buddhism naturally included it in its denunciation of the destruction of any form or degree of life. The Sikhs, who intentionally kill a human being, down to procuring abortion, is no Samana, and no follower of the Sakayaspattras. 9

In Persia, according to Polak, abortion is regularly practised to prevent illegitimate births; and legislation ignores the crime. 10 In Turkey there is the same indifference, and the practice is not uncommon.

The Avesta theorizes on the date at which the embryo becomes animatic, and its condemnation of feticide is detailed.

10 "That man does not follow the way of the Law, O Zarathushtra, who commits the Skudhovarsha crime with a damsel and an old woman," said Zarathushtra. 11 Descending the crime, the Vendidad (xxv. 152 B.) says that, if a maid who is with child unlawfully tells her lover, 'I have conceived by thee,' and he replies, 'Go then to the old woman and apply to her for one of her drugs, that she may procure thee miscarriage,' and the old woman brings some drugs or ashes, that will cause her to expel the fetus, and the man says, 'Goes thy fruit to perish,' the sin is on the head of three.

The penalty was that for willful murder. When a woman has been pregnant for four months and ten days, the child is formed and a soul added to its body. 12 The uttering of a charm is also frequently a factor, for ideas of magic naturally intrude even in such practices as this. Similarly the Greenlanders supposed that an abortion was transformed into an evil spirit, angels, which avenged the crime.

In his Eugenic proposals, Plato recommends that no child be suffered to come to the birth when the parents have passed the age assigned for procreation. 13 Aristotle, carrying on the Hel lenic traditional objection to the existence of imperfect or deformed children, recommends abortion before the fetus is animatic, in cases where the mother has

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1 M f. 413 B.
3 Sacred Laws of the Aryas (SEB xiv. 1897, 74, 541).
4 Id. (SSB xiv. 1892, 320); see Laws of Moses (SEB xiv. 1897), v. 158.
5 Hymns of the Atharvaveda (SEB xiv. 1891, 85, 861).
6 Ysagis (SEB xiii. 1891, 385).
8 BH. 18, 35 (SEB xiv. 1897), 364.
9 Bh. 20, 34 (SEB xiv. 1897), 386.
10 Bh. 20, 33 (SEB xiv. 1897), 385.
11 Plato, Philebus, v. 600 L.
already given birth to the number of children enjoined by the State. Under the Roman Empire the practice of infanticide was carried on for reasons of poverty, insecurity, or luxury, and the Senate often praised it as practiced by fashionable women in order to preserve their beauty. Lecky concludes: "It was probable that the lives of the later days of Augustus much as Englishmen in the last century regarded, on the contrary, as a certain, but so serious as to deserve censure."

An attempt was made by the Antonines to prevent the loss of children consequent upon the practice.

Greeks and Romans made a commencement of speculation as to the biological value of the embryonic life. Distinction sharply between infanticide and infanticide, they put it that the unborn child was not homo, not even infans, but merely a epos animantis. It was regarded, not incorrectly, as merely a part of the mother, as the fruit is a part of the tree until it falls.

Christian philosophy, and consequently Christian legislation, applied from the first the healthy sense of the same sanctity of infant life which so broadly distinguishes Christian from pagan societies to this more subtle form of infanticide.

Prevention of birth, asserts Tertullian, is a premeditated murder; nor does it matter whether one take away a life when the seed is yet forming. Bed nay is the child who is about to be one. Even every fruit already exists in its seed.

Empirical knowledge was combined with Aristotle's doctrine to establish a theory of embryonic animation. This, of course, is to be distinguished from 'quelling', which may commence some hundred days after conception. Aristotle held that the soul of the zygote at conception was the vegetative only, that after a few days it was formed by the animal soul, and later by the rational. His followers distinguished between the male and female embryo in the date of animation. The male was regarded as being animated forty days after conception, the female eighty days. Later the moment of animation was fixed for both sexes at the fourth month. The Roman jurisprudence adopted the latter view. The general distinction between the animate and the inanimate fetus was clearly held by Canon and Roman Law alike, and lasted to modern times. It was applied in practice by Augustine thus:

The body is created before the soul. The embryo before it is endowed with a soul is inanimate, and its destruction by human orders is murder. The embryo formatum is endowed with a soul; it is an animal being; its destruction is murder, and is to be punished with death.

Throughout the Middle Ages women guilty of the crime, which, however, was of rare occurrence, were condemned on the capital charge, as the Sixth Ecumenical Council had ordained.

There was to the theory a natural corollary that the embryo formatum required to be baptized if it would be saved. Augustine held that the embryo might share in the resurrection. Fulgentius argues:

It is to be believed beyond doubt that not only men who are come to the use of reason, but infants, whether they die in their mother's womb or after they are born, without baptism or any other sacrament, are punished with everlasting punishment in eternal fire, because, though they have no actual sin of their own, yet they are along with them the condemnation of original sin from their first conception and birth.

Aquinas, however, was of opinion that infants dying before birth might perhaps be saved. Meanwhile some Councils made no distinction between the two, pronounced the same sentence, and condemned all osticid as murder.

Interesting variations of opinion are found as to the right of the mother to abortion. Aristotle held that the fetus was merely the fruit of the womb, and that the soul was not acquired until birth. The Roman theory and practice were in many points far from clear, but the view prevailed that the father alone had the right to order abortion.

As early as the 4th cent., Gregory of Nyssa had evolved a theory anticipatory of Neo-Vitalism. He held that one and the same principle of life quickened the new organism from the first moment of its individual existence, and that, instead of the organism developing the life, the vital principle built up the organism.

Modern biology holds that the zygote is a new individual from the moment, not of 'conception' in the vague and popular sense, but of penetration of the ovum by the spermatozoa. Modern legislation holds much the same view, but is less severe upon abortion than upon infanticide. Popular sentiment has always tended to regard the life of the embryo as distinct from that of the infant. Modern Papal Bulls condemn criminal abortion as unlawful, and punish it with excommunication. Ecclesiastical influence has, until the 19th cent., been predominant in penalizing or opposing efforts against the practice. The humanitarian movement succeeded in abolishing the penalty of death. Apart from the Papal tribunal, modern legislation punishes the crime with imprisonment. Medical practice occupies a position midway between that of the classic lawyers and that of the later Christian eclesiastics. It is on the whole in favour of sanctioning the fetus whenever the interest of the mother demand such a sacrifice. General medical opinion is not, however, prepared at present to go further, and is distinctly disinclined to aid the parents in securing so complete control over the fetus in the womb, nor is it yet disposed to practise abortion on medical grounds. . . . Society itself must assume the responsibility of protecting the race.

In medical circles there has recently been considerable discussion, which Ellis has analyzed in a valuable summary, on the ethics of the question. One aspect of this is a return to the Greek view that the right of deciding upon the operation rests with the mother. Thus, though alike on the side of practice and of theory, a great change has taken place in the attitude towards abortion. It must, however, closely be recognized that the question of abortion by methods for preventing conception, facultative abortion has not yet been embodied in our current social morality.

The practice is said to be 'extremely common' in England, France, Germany, and the United States. Perhaps this estimate is too high. In France, at least, there is a tendency on the part of the law towards leniency, only professional abortionists, as a rule, being punished.

As for the eugenic aspect of the question, it can hardly be separated from the social.

'Sometimes,' says Baléstini, 'abortion becomes a social custom, it is the external manifestation of a people's decadence, and far too deeply rooted to be cured by the mere attempts to suppress the external manifestation.'

Ellen Key argues that a civilization which permits the slaughter of its carefully selected infants in war has not yet won the right to destroy deliberately even its most inferior vital.
FOKLORE

products in the womb... The blind and senseless anxiety to cherish the most hopeless and degraded forms of life, even of unwholesome and disgusting conceptions, will be a weakness, and, since it often leads to inscrutable suffering, even a crime. But... before we are entirely ended... we must learn how to preserve it by abolishing such destructive instincts. The same... are easily within our social power as civilized nations.1

Ellis well observes that 'the necessity for abortion is precisely one of those results of reckless action which the prevention tends to diminish.' The observation includes the abortion which is necessary for the saving of a mother's life, and the various applications of the practice by the licentious and depraved.

Observations.-There is an extensive modern literature, periodical and occasional, but the works cited in the article fully refer to it.

A. E. CRAWLEY.

FOKLORE.-iv. Definition and scope.-Folklore consists of customs, rites, and beliefs belonging to individuals among the people, to groups of people, to inhabitants of districts or places; and belonging to them apart from and oftentimes in defiance of the customs, rites, and beliefs of the State or the nation to which the people and the groups of people belong. These customs, beliefs, and practices are the living traditions, that almost universal desire to carry on without alteration what one's parents or predecessors performed or practiced. They owe their perpetuation not to the indifference of the people to the civilization which towers over them and which is never of their own creation; partly to certain of the people being isolated from centres of thought and culture. Some beliefs, but no customs or rites, are due to those persons or generations of persons who, being peculiarly stunted in their mental equipment, are unable to understand the phenomena of nature or the results of civilization. We may classify these two distinct branches of folklore as traditional and psychological.

2. Materials.-The tradition-founded customs, rites, and beliefs constitute by far the larger mass of the folklore which has been collected and published in almost every country, and forms the basis of the psychological beliefs are much rarer. Unfortunately, the two groups have never been kept separate from each other even by students of folklore, and arguments based upon a belief which is wholly of psychological origin may be entirely fallacious and misleading unless it is used strictly in accord with its classification.

It is obvious that tradition may carry us very far back into the past, and indeed it is one of the facts of traditional folklore, which is the most generally clear and understood, that almost invariably research leads the investigator to the very earliest phases of racial and social life. Psychological folklore, on the contrary, relates only to the present, or rather to the period contemporary with the existence of the belief. This contrast is fundamental, but it does not entirely separate the two classes. The investigator is met with a phenomenon of peculiar significance, namely, that research into psychological folklore leads not only to the genesis of each particular belief which comes under that head, but tends by analogy to the best explanation of the genesis of all beliefs. The unity of folklore exists in its origins. The

5 The purpose of the present article is to fix the definition and scope of folklore, and to indicate generally the materials for study. Further details will be found in the various articles on peoples and religions.

The original 'folklore' was coined by William John Thoms (a well-known antiquary and the founder of Notes and Queries) in a letter which appeared in the Athenaeum, 22nd Aug. 1854.
always observing their own code of life. Besides these curious people every country has its local race-types differing in the dominant race. Thus in our own country, the people of Tuscumbia in Ireland could not speak Irish, but had a language of their own which was Chaucerian English; they intermarried amongst the negroes and took on their own colors, brown and yellow, and never departed from their own customs. Connaught has always had local racial groups in its mountain ranges. The High-lands of Scotland present the same characteristics, and the Borderland was long known as the occupation ground of people whose law was the custom of theirs, not the legislation of the State. In Wales down to 1832 there were records of a curious red-haired race called Cochian, who lived by rules of their own and did not intermingle with the surrounding folk. In Cornwall there is the well-known example of the Gubbins people, of whom there exist notes dating from the 17th century. These examples are special cases of race survival; but all over the country, when for amusement or from inherited custom we admit to our house a first foot on New Year's morn, who can be only a dark man or only a fair man, as the case may be, but never a woman, we are reverting to a racial custom.

(3) Passing from custom to rite, there appears for the first time the touch of a religious sensation. The farmer who rescues his cattle from disease by burying a dead calf at the entrance of the cattle-shed is performing a personal rite of religious significance. The Maori cottage who looks for traces of a foot in the ashes of his fire-grate for the purpose of seeing in what direction the toes point—towards a death; or to the fire-place, a birth—is performing a family rite of religious significance. The 'oblations to the white bull' of Bury St. Edmunds was a local rite of religious significance. These folkcraft are racial rites of religious significance.

(3) Finally, in the division of belief, there are the same main features. Over and over again in traditional belief individuals will retain in memory and in form beliefs which they personally entertain, and which may not be generally accepted. So, too, there are family beliefs some of which are of such special character as to contain many of the characteristics of totemism; for example, the famous case of the Irish clan Connolly, who believe in their descent from a totem, the king, and are named from the totem. In local beliefs there is the significant feature of differentiation in the objects of belief in closely contiguous places.

But the section of belief has an important branch of folklore belonging to it which does not belong to the other sections, namely, the Märchen, the folk-tale or the nursery tale, which, found all over Europe and in India, has led to much discussion as to their origin and significance. Folk-tales are the myths of the race. Myths are the accounts which the science of pre-scientific ages gave of phenomena which could not be understood except by such accounts as early knowledge and observation would allow. If myths accounted for the origin of mankind, of the sun, moon, and stars, of the earth and trees, they accounted for them as creations of higher powers external to the individual. The story into which the myth is woven is not a story to those who believe in the truth of the myth. It assumes the personal shape because the personal is the only form in which the early thought of man can be expressed. It lived on by tradition, because of its original sacred character, and the impossibility of altering the deeply established myth. All research into myth confirms this view of its origin among primitive peoples. Among the higher barbaric peoples the same process of explaining phenomena which were not understood went on, and Greek mythology is a later explanation of temple-rites and ancient worship which did not command the reverence of the Greeks but which demanded explanation. In their hands all religious conception developed, and the gods of Greece became the gods of moral principle, the gods of law and order, the gods of political and social progress—mythic gods all through, but gods very real to the Greek in the earliest stages of his development.

3. Historical value.—If this survey of the materials and folklore suffices to explain in general terms what the subject-matter is with which the folklorist has to deal, it will also have indicated to the student that tradition, being the sanction of folklore, carries a weight of evidence for the past which is scarcely second in value to the historical record. History never has pretended to contain every human fact occurring at a place, on an occasion, in connexion with a personage or a people. And very often, where the historical record is faulty, the traditional record may be relied on to fill up the vacuum. Myths are not created out of nothing. A 'mere' myth, which is an expression often used by those who are not folklorists, does not exist, if by that expression is meant a story or account invented out of nothing, a mere fantasy or fiction. Myth is definitely and distinctively not fiction. It is always the covering, the shell, to a myth or a rite of a race or a tribe; it may be difficult, or impossible, to get at the truth. One authority will argue for one explanation, and others for quite different explanations; but, because modern scholastic methods of research are applied, the chronicles of the past history of the race or of the tribe are not necessarily lost sight of. Modern science or with religious accounts of forgotten ritual, it does not do to relegate the whole subject to the waste-paper basket. Scholars should frankly confess an inability to explain certain subject there, perhaps for more successful efforts by future generations.

4. Scientific treatment.—The custom, rite, and belief, which are properly called folklore, are to be found embedded in civilization—they are, as we have seen, the unrecorded factors of that civilization at its earlier stages. For this reason they are capable of comparison, first, with parallel customs, rites, and beliefs embedded in civilization of practically the same standard (as when we compare British folklore with that of Germany, Italy, Scandinavia, the Slav countries, and the Hindus), or of a wholly different standard (as when we make the comparison with Chinese or Mongolian folklore). Secondly, they are com-parable with parallel custom, rite, and belief which are alive at this day as the ordinary custom, rite, and belief of a tribe or race of barbaric or savage peoples. Savage custom, rite, and belief are sometimes classed as folklore simply because they are capable of such close comparison with folklore, but this is obviously wrong, and only raises inconvenient issues as to the regions respectively occupied by folklore and anthropology. The question of comparative folklore raises very difficult problems. It is not scientific to lift a custom, rite, or belief, a myth, or a Märchen from its civilised surroundings and compare it with the living custom. The story into which the myth is woven is not a story to those who believe in the truth of the myth. It assumes the personal shape because the personal is the only form in which the early thought of man can be expressed. It lived on by tradition, because of its original sacred character, and the impossibility of altering the deeply established myth. All research into myth confirms this view of its origin among primitive peoples. Among the higher
the traditional belief discovered in folklore belongs to the stage of the savage, with which it compares, and that this stage of culture survives in modern civilization together with the physical type of a people. Beddoes insists that types of Paleolithic and Neolithic folk survive in Britain, and European ethnologists advance the same evidence in respect of other countries. The Storks have brought their culture along with them; their descendants could have carried it on and could have passed it on to other individuals. Different degrees of ethnical evolution must be considered in the work of comparison, and it is useless to go on piling up examples of parallel beliefs, rites, and customs without examining the direction in which such parallels are leading the inquirer.

The work of the folklorist is and must be arduous for years to come. Those who collect, as the older collectors collected, without comment or with such comment as need no corrective, are supplying the bricks for the edifice which will one day assuredly be erected. The work of analysis, classification, and comparison must follow, not precede, the life-history of each item of folklore. Just as in philology the life-history of each word can be ascertained, so the life-history of each image, as so in folklore the life-history of each item of folklore can alone be the true basis of the science of tradition. The work is being gradually accomplished, and it will lead to a consideration of early national history which has not yet been attempted.

Custom, rite, and belief—these elements of folklore constitute a very recognisable phase in the religious and social life of the people of the country where they are found. It is, however, a non-Christian religion and a non-political society to which this folklore belongs, and the conclusion is inevitable that it must also be pre-Christian and pre-political. This brings us to a period, if not to a date, for the originals from which folklore has survived. It must never be forgotten that survivals are not the originals. Bits of the originals will have been broken off, sometimes to perish altogether, sometimes to exist as an independent item. Originals will have become timeworn, will, in their encounter with the State religion and the State polity, have become altered in form, if not in essential, will perhaps have attached themselves to a new phase of the people's life; and the wear and tear, the alterations, the new attachments, will prevent the true interest of the survival from being discovered. All these matters the folklorist has to study and prepare for, but it is for a great historical purpose. All the custom, all the rite, all the belief surviving in the folklore of a people, make up a considerable chapter in the pre-history of that people, are indeed the only material which exists for the pre-history outside the geological and the archeological record. Later periods in the historical range are no doubt reflected in folklore. The post-Roman Celtic period in Britain is the strongest case. The Arthur cycle has gathered to itself whole volumes of myth. It is strange that the greatest of all English kings, Alfred the Great, should have been able to attach so little of magic—perhaps it is because that life was so very great. It is not strange that Hereford and the Saxon chieftain should have gained a place in English myth. But these heroes of historic times do not create new myths. They have transferred to them ancient myths, myths formerly belonging to ancient gods or ancient heroes. And so we come to the proposition that folklore is the traditional fact of pre-historic life in contradistinction to history, which is the recorded fact of State or national life. This is a great claim on behalf of folklore, but it is a claim which must assuredly find its way into the scientific study of nations and peoples.


C. L. GOMME.

FOOD.—Not only from the physiological but also from the sociological point of view, food, the food-get, the food-supply, constitutes the permanent basis of human action. Food, as Thorold Rogers observes, is 'the raw material of labour'; it is also the raw material of the social system itself. Even in the highest stages of civilisation, social wealth can be ultimately resolved into the elementary form of food. The provision of food is the primitive form of labour; its accumulation is the primitive form of wealth. In religion and morality this relation is, of course, more or less indirect; but, more than any factor of life, man's meat even when largely realized in direct relation. The beginnings of the moral law are based on food-tabs; religion culminates in a divine meal.

The best distinction between uncivilised and civilised society is that drawn by Payne. It consists in 'the substitution of an artificial for a natural basis of subsistence.'

'... Man adopts the practice ... of saving for future consumption a portion of certain periodically recurring food-supplies; and from providing for that portion of the year during which the food-supply ceases he advances to providing for years of scarcity. Food thus accumulated obviously enables its possessor to employing his own labour and that of others, in some other way than food-provision. The food-supply, therefore, is the foundation of all non-food-producing labour; and advancement is always marked by a progressive increase in the quantity of non-food-producing labour, and by the multiplication of the class of labour of this description assumes ... but the method of procuring food from natural sources also follows, and extremely uncertain.'

The next step, the provision of food by artificial means, is affected by the simple expedient of not only abstaining from some portion of the food-supply, but converting the portion abstained from into a fresh source of increase. Instead of being merely stored, seeds or roots are allowed to fructify in the earth, and the captured young of animals are allowed to grow to maturity and become the progenitors of others. But, while all artificial production is in favour to advancement, the animal and vegetable species to which it is applied are favourable to it in unequal degree. Their value in this respect appears to be measurable by two different standards, by the recompense which they return to labour, and the stimulus which they give to ingenuity. When this principle is broadly applied to the two divisions of food-animals and food-plants, the result appears to be that, while the domestication of animals yields the greatest immediate return, the culture of the food-plants gives ingenuity the greatest stimulation. When progress is found only when cereal cultivation is combined with animal breeding. 'When this takes place, progress is accelerated, as it were, in a compound ratio.'

1. Food-stuffs.—The division of economic progress into the hunting, pastoral, and agricultural stages is untenable. But certain backward peoples are chiefly fruit-eating or pastoral or hunting. As for animal food-stuffs, apart from fish and game (the natural supply), the distribution of animals capable of artificial propagation varies.

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2 J. S. 280 f.
3 J. S. 280 f.
4 J. S. 264.
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largest number is possessed by the Old World; America, before introducing supplies, had few, Australia none. The ox, horse, ass, sheep, camel, goat, and pig are the most important. The reindeer, hare, and hare are exceptional cases.

All vegetable food-species are capable of artificial increase. Their three main divisions are fruits, roots, and cereals. Payne notes that fruits take the first place, roots the intermediate, and cereals the highest position, in reference to the order of adoption, to the amount of labour involved, both for fitting them for consumption and for converting them from a natural to an artificial basis, to their value relatively to bulk, and to the degree in which their culture assists progress. For example, "native savages subsist themselves in the fruit season and are near starvation for the rest of the year."

Though man naturally seems to prefer flesh-meals to the greater force of sustenance, and to its stimulating properties, the slight use of it in hot countries is probably not a primitive habit, but one enforced (like abstention from alcohol) by a long process of adaptation to climate; yet a composite diet alone has formed the foundation of the greatest advance. In particular, as Payne observes, "nothing worthy the name of civilization has ever been founded on any other agricultural basis than the cereals. This appears to belong to the climate. It is to the fact that the seeds of the cereal grasses are, as compared with fruits and roots, extremely rich in albumen and albuminoids, the great nourishers of the muscular and nervous systems."

2. Food-preparation. Methods of cooking are naturally even more numerous than the substances employed for human food. But the principles of cookery reduce themselves to roasting and boiling. Direct exposure to fire is universally employed; gradually it gives place to the oven. But many backward peoples use a simple form of oven, such as a hole in the ground banked with hot stones. The method of bousca or barbecue, by which food is smoked, for preserving it, is common in barbarism. Tylor has argued that stone-boiling generally preceded pot-boiling. Red-hot stones are placed in a vessel of water until it is hot enough to cover the meal. "So instantly," however, is the art of stone-boiling supplanted by the kettles of the white trader, that, unless perhaps in the north-west, it might be hard to find it in existence now. Goetz's theory of the origin of the art of pottery is connected with this development.

Three types of the evolution of the processes of food-preparation, which are not necessarily continuous, may be selected—the savage, the Hindu, and the modern French. The last is esthetic, but each has reactions upon the social consciousness, just as each is an expression of it.

As a culmination of social feeling in the alimentary sphere, applied in everyday life, as distinguished from occasions of critical sacredness, the ritual of the Hindu kitchen and of Hindu meals is signalized by:

'The kitchen should always be on the south side and should run the whole width of the building. This is the most sacred part of the whole house, and persons of a low caste must not enter it. . . . The kitchen is partly a cooking place, partly chapel, and partly dungeon.'

The mere glance of a man of inferior caste makes the greatest delinquents unstable, and if such a glance happens to fall on the family supplies during the cooking operations, . . . the whole repeat has to be thrown away as if poisoned.' (Cf. also art Food (Hindu)).

The preparation of cereal food calls for some description. Payne distinguishes seven stages, viz.: green corn torreded; ripe corn pounded into a paste; corn steeped and boiled—the usual method with rice; meal boiled in water (this porridge is the "favourite food of advanced barbarism"); paste in thin cakes at the tortilla of Mexico; griddle-cakes; paste in thin cakes baked (this is the unleavened bread 'universal in early civilizations'); finally, leavened bread.

Numerous folk-customs cluster round the care of food and its preparation. Food, according to Zoroastrian teaching, must not be thrown away to the north at night. European peasants still regard with horror the throwing of bread into the fire. The ancient Hindu theory was that the remains of food are impure.

3. Food-law and taboo. The physiological dependence of life upon nutrition is recognized throughout the entire history of human law and custom. Food is the first form of human property. The restrictions of food-laws are for the weaker members of a society in this respect no doubt may be regarded as the first of all human laws.

Among the Australians the younger members of a tribe are subject to a variety of food-restrictions, from which they are gradually released with age. In the Bushlayi tribe the unwoman, or food-tabu, was taken off a different kind of food at each Boora, until the youth was at last old enough to eat what he pleased. In the Warrungu tribe a man is usually well up in middle age before he is allowed to eat wild turkey, bandicoot, and emu.

There is little doubt that the ultimate object of these restrictions is partly to reserve the best foods for the older members, and partly to prevent shortage.

An early type of economic co-operation may be illustrated from the Australian tribes. Each individual, until a certain age, is forbidden to eat, though not to kill, a list of animals tabbed to each of the four marriage-classes. The husband, for example, lives on articles different from those eaten by his wife; both of them eat foods which their children are forbidden to touch. Thus, as Roth points out, a proper distribution of the total quantity of food available for a community is secured; and, whereas in Europe the more children there are to feed, the less goes to the parents, here the number of children makes no difference in minimizing the parents' supply.

In Central Australia it is the function of the men of a parti:

3. Payne, in Gleanings, 1897, p. 128.
cular totem to perform initiatic ceremonies, the object of which is to secure or increase the supply of the animal or plant which is their totem. Moreover, the principle is that the food-species of a totem belongs to members of another totem. Magic and co-operation are here in perfect alliance.

The wealth is ultimately reducible to terms of food, it is an interesting fact that civilized aborigines tend to minimize and partially condone offenses against property in this form.

The American Indians studied by Adair, 1 Adair saw one of the most important principles that the food-species of a totem belongs to members of another totem. Magic and co-operation are here in perfect alliance.

The wealth is ultimately reducible to terms of food, it is an interesting fact that civilized aborigines tend to minimize and partially condone offenses against property in this form.

Wattmarck has described the tendency to refrain from eating animals with which men have established intimacy. The Yunus of Brazil will not eat any animal they have bred themselves, and they caused von den Steinen for eating the eggs of owls. Such feeling may be connected with the prohibition of beef among the Hindus.

Fraser observes that the food-taboos upon priests and kings are a fortiori more numerous and stringent than those upon ordinary persons. Thus, the fetish-priests of Loango, the Somalis, the Egyptians, the kings, and some Indian chiefs are reported to have abstained from various foods. If any rationalist is sought for, that which possibly will satisfy most women may be a pre-scientific principle of dietetics. But, as Fraser points out, one explanation remains as to why the food-ego of the Hindu is broad-minded.

One or two forms of restriction are particularly important in their religious or racial aspects. The Hindu avoidance of food-meats has been motivated by various religious principles, but at the back of it is a gradual unspoken process of adaptation to climate; in hot countries a flesh-food is more or less deleterious. Beef is never eaten by modern Hindus; it is the flesh of the earthy representative of the divine Brahman. At the present day all the higher classes abstain from animal food in every form and are rigid vegetarians. But Strychnos use animal food; indeed, some of the lowest classes of that country divided and sub-divided classes eat almost anything and everything that comes in their way. In ancient times beef and other flesh were eaten both ordinarily and in connexion with religious festivals. Thus, Mann, while observing that the eating of flesh (mlech) and of fish (matya) by twice-born men is proscribed, directs that flesh-meal be eaten at certain Srdhadas; he also says:

"No sin is committed by him who, having honoured the duties and the modes, eats flesh-meal which he has bought, or which he has himself acquired, or which has been given to him by another.

The Vedas ascribe a sacrifice of cattle for the purpose of entertaining a guest. The Chororaks, the 1st cent. A.D., ordains that 'the flesh of cows, buffaloes, and hogs should not be eaten daily, but that pregnant women may eat beef, with a view to strengthening the unborn child.' In early sacrificial rites the worshippers ate the flesh. The blood was the way to the Adikumbara. In the relatively modern religion

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of the Tantras a reaction against the normal tendency of Hinduism is the keynote of theory and ritual. One of the five acts of the Śāktas is the eating of flesh-meat (māsāha); another is the eating of fish (matsya). As Monier-Williams notes, they 'have good ground for so acting, inasmuch as in the days when they are merely reverting to the practice of their ancestors.'

The view held by most Hindus, however, is comparable with that of Europeans on the subject of cannibalism. Westerners think that Hindu vegetarianism is the 'natural outcome of a system which enjoins regard for life in general and kindliness towards all living beings.' In Manu there certainly is the germ of this system, as there is that of its contradistinction, Śāktism.

'Meat can never be obtained without injury to living creatures, and injury to sentient beings is detestable to the attainment of heavenly bliss. There is no greater sin than that which man, though not worshipping the gods or the manse, seeks to increase the bulk of his own flesh by the flesh of other beings.'

A connexion certainly may be assumed between the prohibition of killing animals and that of eating them. The former prohibition is still more stringent in Buddhism and Jainism. It is also important in Taoism. But Buddhism allows pure flesh to be eaten, if, that is, it has not been procured for the purpose, or if the eater has not supposed so. The sin is upon the slayer. Ancient Egypt and Greece knew the religious form of vegetarianism, and their myths, like the earliest Hebrew, represented man as having been originally a fruit-eating creature. The Qurʾān prohibits the eating of what is dead, and blood, and flesh of swine, and whatsoever has been consecrated to other than God. The Jews and early Christians avoided the eating of blood. They also avoided the eating of the intestinal fat, and of the 'sinew of the thigh.' Still important in relation to the carefully observed rules in the preparation of 'koshered' food, is the avoidance of meat that is either 'māthāha' or 'pāthāha.' The former is that of animals dying a natural death, the latter of those 'torn by beasts.'

4. Ideas and Rituals. — The ideas which centre in food and its properties in early culture are multitudinous; but, since they have had considerable influence in the formation of social habits, they must be briefly classified and described. The native of Queensland burned all food left over from meals, to prevent 'sorcerers' from getting hold of it and injuring them thereby. The Victorian tribes believe that, if an enemy gets possession of... bones of animals they have eaten... he can employ it as a charm to produce illness. The Narrinjari call such persons 'disease-makers.' In Tanma of the New Hebrides

1 Bruckmann and Hindley, 192, 195.
3 Westerner, M.f. ii. 237.
4 A. H. Sayce, v. 46, 60, 62.
5 Westerner, loc. cit., p. 36.
7 See Westerner, ii. 236.

Among strong or magical foods the most potent is human flesh. The transmission of human char–

5 De R. Thouless, 1726, 1728, 1736, 1819, 1918, 2011, 2028, 2036, 2043.
7 De R. Thouless, 1726, 1728, 1736, 1819, 1918, 2011, 2028, 2036, 2043.
8 De R. Thouless, 1726, 1728, 1736, 1819, 1918, 2011, 2028, 2036, 2043.

This theory is of world-wide distribution. Among strong or magical foods the most potent is human flesh. The transmission of human char–
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acter by this means is at the root of religious cannibalism (q.v.).

The contagion of death is supposed to enter food by means of the vectors, among the American Indians, were not allowed to cook for themselves or others. They could not drink out of any other dish than their own. In Samoa those attending to a dead person must not handle any food, and for four days were fed by others. The Moorish custom of L-ar seems to depend on the theory of the transmission of curses by food. The food will repay is an explanatory phrase. The food eaten in such

The ceremonies of eating together are worldwide, and bring into relief the social sacredness attaching to food. Eating together is a mode of forming an alliance between two peoples, as between two individuals. Following the taboo often observed which prevents the two sexes, in particular two allied persons, from sharing meals, is the marriage ceremony of eating together. There is here the acceptance of mutual gifts, as well as the consumption of anagram food which is representative and which renders the persons 'one flesh'.

5. Food of the gods. The conception that the gods are nourished by the community involves the view that sacrifice is largely developed from the social ideas of food and its assimilation. The offering of animal and of vegetable foods to the gods is linked by means of the vital airs. The essence of food is invisible. Food is the highest of all things that can be swallowed. The Satapatha Brâhmaṇa identifies food and breath as the Arghya, which identify food and life. Food and breath are both gods, the 'two gods'. Food is the deity of the pratiṣkrama hymns, for all live when they partake of it.

Payne suggests that, in the development of language, 'not long after emotional exclamations and demonstrative names came primitive adjectives signifying "good" and "evil", applied to animal and vegetable species with reference to the purposes of food, in the sense in which the African tribes divide all plants into "food" and "good for apes" (the latter including the edible ones, the former the residue). . . . The Bible (Gen xiii.) represents the naming of food-animals as the first effort of speech; and the word and choice of food is of the substance of all its early incidents (Gen iii. and iv.) (cf. Herodotus, Bactria, ii.). Though the Tupa can only count up to 5, Von Martius gives 124 Tupa words for animals and their parts'.

Celestial food, 'bread from heaven', combines metaphor and ideas of transubstantiation. Bread as a type of Christ is an idea worked out elaborately in Jn 6 and 1 Co 10. Food the material becomes food the spiritual.

See also ART. FEASTING. SERMONS. This is truly given in the article.

FOOD (Hindu). The question of food is considered highly important from a religious point of view in India, and is elaborately discussed in the canonical books of all religions. Indeed, the various and manifold rules of caste in India hinge in the first place on food, its preparation, and the persons with whom it may be eaten. Thus eating the numerous kinds of prohibited food, or eating for a considerable period with persons of low caste or with Muhammadans, is among the most ordinary causes of expulsion from caste, one of the most

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FOOD (Hindu)

dreaded punishments in India, which involves in the first place an instant death against the instigator and his fellow-members of the caste. Though many educated Hindus eat and drink in the European fashion nowadays, there are still Brāhmans and other high-caste Hindus who refuse to eat or drink from a vessel which another person has used or on account of scorpions as to whether the birthplace of the N. W. Brāhman who had cooked it was equal in security to his own native district. Food prepared by a person of inferior caste causes defilement, and a member of the higher castes therefore always employs a Brāhman cook. Leather vessels denote, in the sense no one should cook with his shoes on. Food cooked on board a ship causes defilement, therefore native passengers travelling in a boat will sometimes interrupt their journey to cook their food on shore. The kitchen should be the most retired room in the house, so that no Sūdras may look in and thus defile the earthen vessels. It is also considered highly improper to look at any one who is eating. The women, after preparing the dishes, wait on the men, and eat what is left by them; they never sit down to eat with the men. The orthodox fashion is to eat with the fingers, the use of spoons, forks, or knives being forbidden. Nothing must ever be touched with the left hand, which is used in the worst offices, and therefore considered unclean. Before eating certain kinds of food, a person must wash his hands and feet, and recite part of the prayers. The rice and other dishes are served on a banana leaf or in small earthen vessels. Hindus take two meals a day, in the morning and evening; but widows, penitents, and the disabled are not so rigid. The remains of food are thrown to the crows and the dogs. The gods and the evil spirits are also to be given their share of each meal, with certain attendant ceremonies. If the Brāhman, expelled from his house, is no longer being over, washes his hands, rings his mouth, and gargles his throat. Many of these rules are nowadays neglected, but social estimation can still be gauged by the degree to which the food and water touched by the various castes will be accepted by others. Thus the Commissioner for the Census of 1911 circulated a report on a fivethird division of castes, resting largely on a distinction between those from whom Brāhmans can take water and those from whom they cannot. Water and pakka food, i.e., food prepared with ghee (clarified butter), generally go together, so that a man can take water or pakka food touched by a member of any sub-caste of his own caste, but he can eat aakāla food, i.e., food prepared without ghee, only when prepared by a member of the same endogamous sub-division or sub-caste as that to which he belongs. Most castes will take aakāla food prepared by Brāhmans, and many castes can take pakka food or water which has been touched by other castes; a Brāhman, on the other hand, would drink water carried in a kāla by a low-caste man, if the kāla belonged to the Brāhman, but would refuse to drink from the low-caste man's kāla. Difference of residence also operates as a bar to eating together, as in a recent case of two orderlies belonging to the same sub-caste, both of whom declined to eat even pakka food prepared by the other, because their houses were 60 miles apart. On the Bombay side will, as a rule, not take water from any but other Brāhmans, generally only from the members of the sub-caste to which they belong. As regards the eating of animals, the diet of the Brahmans is more lenient than that of non-Brahmans, and its restrictions on the subject of animal food were therefore attacked in a number of cases. The abstinence has gained ground among the lower castes. The district of Brāhman societies in many places serves as a test of the caste, and the members of the Śāktas sect, who sacrifice certain animals and eat their flesh afterwards, are held in low estimation. It is true that a Śākta cook is sometimes engaged by a family who may feel disposed to eat mutton. The Bengal Rajput, a landholding caste of high standing, eat the flesh of the goat, the deer, the hare, the pigeon, quail, and ortolan. But these animals, if not killed in hunting, must be slaughtered in a particular way by cutting the head off at a single stroke, and the flesh of animals which have died a natural death. The touch of these castes pollutes, and no Brāhman barber or washerman will work for them. Vegetables and sweetsmeats, which form the staple diet of Brāhmans and Brāhmans, are also subject to exceptions. Thus they reject garlic, onions, mushrooms, and other vegetables of a less desirable shape of a head. Turmeric, pepper, cummin, coriander, mustard seeds, and other spices are used, and impart a strong flavour to the preparation. Alcoholic drinks are also prohibited. A respectable Hindu will not touch spirits such as toddy or arrack, or any other intoxicating drink, at least in public. Drunken habits would lead to prompt and severe punishment, and it is generally in privacy only that high-caste natives of India break the law of temperance. The drunken orgies of the Śāktas are confined to a particular set, and to particular days. Water is the ordinary beverage of Hindus; curdled milk diluted with water, butter-milk, and milk are also favourite drinks. Brāhmans will not eat boiled rice, but chewing betel after dinner, according to ancient custom, is believed to be wholesome and is generally practised. Most of these rules are ancient, and may be traced in the sacred books and historical records of the principal religions of India. The prohibition of animal food and the sanctity of animal life are particularly insisted upon in Buddhism and Jainism. Thus king Asoka, who in early life had entered no scruple about the killing of thousands of living creatures on the occasion of a royal banquet, stopped this regular slaughter as he became gradually imbued with the spirit of Buddhist teaching. He ruled that only two peacocks and one deer were to be killed each day, and afterwards prohibited even this limited slaughter; he abolished the royal hunt; and he published (in 243 B.C.) a stringent code of regulations applicable to all classes of the population regarding the slaying of animals for food in his empire. With Jain ascetics, the oath not to hurt is the first of the five great oaths which Brāhmans, on the one hand, and Buddhist ascetics, on the other, are bound to observe. The oath includes not merely the intentional killing or hurting of living beings or plants; it requires also a watchfulness over all functions of the body by which anything which is injurious to life is prevented. The diet of Mann is less severe, and its provisions on the subject of animal food were therefore attacked in
Jain writings. Though not approving generally of animal food, Manu allows a Brähman to eat meat if hallowed by sacred texts and used in sacrificing to the gods or in showing honour to a guest (Manu, v. 311f.). Again, in spite of the general prohibition to eat flesh or fish, certain kinds of fish and birds are declared to be lawful food by the Brähmans (Manu, iv. 90). The worship of the iguana, the rhinoceros, the tortoise, and the hare (Manu, v. 11–18) Animal-sacrifice was a recognized institution in ancient Brähmanism, just as it is with the Sikhs of the present day. Under more recent Brahmánical texts of law, however, the slaughter of animals at a sacrifice or at the reception of guests is forbidden in the present age of the world. In medical works, the Rohita fish (Cyprinus Rohita) is specially recommended to be eaten, as a remedy in various diseases. Of plants and vegetables, garlic, mushrooms, onions, and leeks are forbidden by Manu (v. 19). One of the ancient medical texts preserved in the Bower MS contains a legend, according to which Brahmans are not permitted to eat garlic, onion; it was regarded as a sign of grief; others believe that the intention was to lay the ghost of the dead, flints and other stones from which it is possible to extract fire being said to be efficacious in vanishing the ghost from 'walking.' (JAI vi. 308, quoting Douce, Illustrations of Shakespeare, London, 1807, ii. 224; Arch. Jour. xii. 177; Archaeologia, xliii. 428, xliii. 429.) In this, however, it is to be distinguished that weapons from the other arms and implements laid with the dead to enable them to provide for their wants in the other world. Jevons (Intro. to Hist. of Rel., p. 194) endeavours to establish a gradation in this class of custom. Comparing food offerings to the dead with those of hair and blood, he remarks: 'Originally the dead were supposed to suffer from hunger and thirst as the living do, and to require food—for which they were dependent on the living. Eventually, the funeral feast was interpreted on the analogy of those at which the gods feasted with their worshipers. The food, however, more interesting in the sense that the offerings of blood or hair: it enables us to date ancestor-worship with certainty. It was un until agricultural times that the sacrificial rite became the object of feasts to which the bounty of fellowship were renewed between the god and his worshipers. It could not therefore have been until agricultural times that the ural feast came to be interpreted on the analogy of the sacrificial feast.' This he believes to be corroborated by the fact that ancestor-worship dates from the rise of the family, 'a comparatively late institution in the history of society.' It may be true that Paleolithic man in Europe had no conception of the existence of the spirit after death, and was, therefore, not under the necessity of preparing for its wants in the other world; but even so primitive a race as the Tihumans, who had reached the Paleolithic stage of culture, though there is no evidence that they provided food for the dead, used to place a spear in the grave, 'to fight with when he is asleep' (Ling Roth, Aboriginals of Tasmania, Halifax, 1899, p. 119).

2. Prevalence of the custom. —Practices of this kind can be traced to a remote antiquity.

(1) Ancient Britain, etc. —Thus, pottery in the shape of which is known as 'fowlers' pots' has been found, in association with both burnt and unburnt bodies, in the round and long British barrows and in pre-historic Swedish interments (Windle, The Remains of Prehistoric Ages, London, 1894, p. 150f.; Montelius, Denmarsskunde, Engr. tr. 1888, p. 26; cf. above, vol. i. p. 571f.). Details of articles of this kind found in British interments are described in Brit. Mus. Guide to the Antiquities of the Early Iron Age, 1905, p. 107ff.

(2) Greece. —In the Necus of Homer, when Odysseus visits death-land, the spirits of the dead are too feeble to hold converse with him until they

FOOD FOR THE DEAD. —The custom of providing food for the dead, which appears in all ages and in most parts of the world, is based upon the belief that the departed soul, which, on its departure from the body, is often regarded as a tiny, feeble entity, conscious of the same wants as those which it felt in life, and dependent, at least upon the duration of the periods of life of the survivors. The same belief appears in the provision of clothes, weapons, and even companions, for the spirit in the next world. The last usage is illustrated by the rite of sauf (q.v.), and by the

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are refreshed with a draught of blood. He digs a pit (šabqaš) as if a man in length and breadth, and about it poured a drink-offering to all the dead, first with mead and thereafter with wine, and a third time with water; and I sprinkled white mead thereon, and entreated with many prayers the strength-giving hands of the dead. . . . But when I had brought the drink-offerings to the grave and cut their throats over the trench, and lo! the spirit of the dead departed gathered them out from Erebos" (Od. xi. 22 ff.).

Hence arose among the early Greeks the practice of providing the grave with a funnel, down which blood and other drink-offerings might be poured for the refreshment of the spirit (cf. above, vol. i. p. 384*). At Mycenae the round altar, which stood exactly over the fourth grave, was used for sacrifices of animals or human beings; and down its funnel the blood was poured into the grave (Ridgeway, Aegina, pl. xiv.). At the Dipylon cemetery at Athens, the corpse is laid in the grave, which is then covered with wood, and the shaft filled nearly to the top, a small space being left unfilled; in this space the tomb monument, usually a large painted vase, is set. The space round the vase thus served as a sort of trench, communicating by means of the shaft directly with the grave below. Further, many of the vases have a hole in the bottom, to allow the food and drink placed therein to reach the shade below (Pl. iv. 599). At the Dipylon cemetery was placed the grave of the offerings to the dead include oxen, swine, sheep, goats, and rabbits, the last being found only in the poorest graves (JHS xxi. 393). In later times we find a change in Greek sentiment, as is shown by the lines: "in the cold shadows underground the ghost will not be comforted by ointments and garlandslavished on the tomb; the dead man will not weep for the dead man" (I. 6. 8). The custom, however, of consulting the wishes of the departed in the provision made for his wants appears in the Greek Hero-cultus (Fraser, Passages, London, 1886, iv. 24); and the drain as an adjunct to the tomb still survives in the ghost-houses of Tunis (Mom., iii. 57). In the Greek islands the practice of feeding the dead survives to the present day. Cakes (αλεύρια) of wheat adorned with sugar-plums, honey, sesame, and basil are presented to the dead. Sometimes they call these μακάρια, or blessed cakes, cut from an abundance, no doubt; these αλεύρια are put on the tombs on stated days after the decease, with additional lamentations, and remind one forcibly of the ancient feasts for the dead which were otherwise offered on stated days" (JAF iv. 266).

(5) Rome.—The Romans observed the rite of feeding the dead at the dies porcellanei in February, when the family would go in procession to the grave, not only to see that all was well with him who abode there, but to present him with offerings of water, wine, milk, honey, oil, and the bread of the dead. They would touch with the bread, after once more the solemn greeting and farewell (Soleo, remoti partem), to partake of a meal with the dead" (Pioneer, Roman Festivals, London, 1896, p. 301; and see J. E. Harrison, Proleg., Cambridge, 1895, p. 49 ff.).

As among the Greeks, a funeral for libations, connecting the surface of the ground with the grave below, has been observed in Roman graves (Max. Pompeii, Eng. tr., 1899, pp. 451, 457). The placing of food on the bier before cremation is attested by Catullus (lix. 7. vidistia pipere de repro coenaem).

(4) Babylon and Assyria.—The frequent presence of seals in Babylonian interments (unless they were intended as amulets or as a substitute for food in the form of fish) is still unexplained; but instances of deposits of food are common (Jastrow, Rel. of Bab. and Ass., Boston, 1899, p. 592). In such graves the dead man is provided with clay jars and dishes containing food—his favourite wine, dates, fish, fowl, game, or a boar's head, and even stone reproductions of all kinds of provisions which were lasting substitutes for the reality; he was supplied with weapons to protect his food-store (Maspero, Dawn of Civ., London, 1886, p. 688). Vases, spoons, and ornaments are found in Assyrian tombs (Layard, Nineveh and its Remains, London, 1853, i. 15).

(5) Egypt.—In Egypt, Flinders Petrie (Mum., vol. i. 113) describes the evolution of the custom from the earliest times. From the pre-historic age to that of the Vth dynasty a man was laid on the grave, with a pan of food upon it. Afterwards this offering was carved in stone as a table of offerings, to give permanent satisfaction to the soul. By the time of the Xth dynasty the stone table was copied as a pottery tray of offerings. To the tray was next added a shelter, copied from the Bedouin tent; then came a shelf on columns, on which in later times a hut was placed; then followed chambers with wind-openings, roof, courts, and a verandah on the roof. Next we find complete two-storied houses. Finally these are furnished with models of couch, chair, stool, water-jars, and the figure of a woman making bread for the departed. Food and drink were placed for the soul on the table of offerings in the tomb, "for otherwise he might suffer hunger and thirst, or even, so the Egyptians thought, be obliged to feed on his own excreta" (Erman, Life in Ancient Egypt, London, 1894, p. 307). Such offerings were painted on the walls of the tomb, in order to provide the dead with this shadowy food, and the rester-priest was ordered to repeat the meal formally, conjuring each visitor to the tomb, by what he held most sacred—by his children, his office, his king, and by the god of his house—to say "thousands of bread, beer, oxen, and goats," on behalf of the deceased (ib. 308). In the remarkable temple recently excavated at Thebes, on one of the sarcophagi "offerings are being made to the princess, while an attendant dresses her hair and occasionally inserts a hairpin into her coiffure. A priest mists a cow for her, and afterwards brings her the cup, saying: "This is for thee, drink what I give." On another a priest brings a bowl of beer, saying: "Beer for the woman in the grave." (The Temple, London, 1894, p. 463.)


(7) Scythia.—According to Herodotus (iv. 73), when any one dies, his nearest of kin lay him upon a stack of straw and take him round to all his friends in succession; each receives him in turn, and entertains him with a banquet, whereas the dead man is served with a portion of all that is set before the others' (Bacon's Misc. tr.).

(8) China.—In another part of the world, perhaps, has the rite of feeding the dead been so carefully prescribed as in China. The ancient books describe how the mourners observed a rigid fast, till a deathbed was in the house, and the sacrifice of the deceased (de Groot, Rel. Syst. of China, Leyden, 1892, p. 14). The custom of filling the mouth of the corpse with morsels has now well-nigh fallen into disuse at Amoy; but, before taking their usual breakfast, the deceased's wife and children arrange a bowl of cooked rice, and a dish of vegetables, bean-curd, or the like, on a table at the right
FOOD FOR THE DEAD

(11) *Australia and New Zealand.*—The Arunta tribe do not seem to practise this rite; their spirits 'kill and eat all manner of game, but always uncooked, for they are not supposed to have any fires, and not seldom they steal game while it has been wounded, but not killed on the spot, by men' (Spenner-Gillen, p. 516 f.). Some of the S.E. tribes believe that the spirit warms itself at fires left burning in the bush, and eats scraps of food left at such places (Howitt, p. 438). Among the Dieri, if the deceased was a person of influence, food is placed for many days at the grave, and in winter a fire is lighted so that the spirit may warm itself; if the food at the grave is not touched, it is supposed that the ghost is not hungry (ib. 448). The Kukata lay a drinking vessel and food on the stick which is left with the corpse of a woman, in order that she may procure her own food; on the Herbert River food and water are often placed on the grave (ib. 450, 470, 474). In Queensland, tobacco, matches, food, a pipe, and other things are left each night at the grave, and the gift is announced to the spirit (Roth, *Ethnological Studies among the North-West Central Queensland Aborigines*, Brisbane, 1897, p. 155). Among the Maoris of New Zealand, when a person died, food was placed by his side, and some also with him in the grave, as it was supposed the spirit of the deceased fed on the spirit of the food ('Taylor, *The New Zealander*, London, 1886, 1877, p. 230).

(12) *India.*—Some examples of this practice have been given in vol. i. p. 450 f. At the conclusion of a Toda feast, including grains, rice, jaggery, limes, and honey, is placed in the folds of the cloak in which the corpse is wrapped, and in a metal bowl (Rivers, *The Todas*, London, 1906, p. 361, 363, 394). The Khais of Assam hang over the corpse a basket containing pieces of the sacrificed animals. A dish containing cakes, and betel-nut, and a jar of water are placed near the head of the corpse by way of offering refreshment to the spirit of the departed; money is laid near it for the purchase of food on the way; pieces of bread, leaves of bread, the leg of a fowl, and the lower jaws of the animals which have been sacrificed are put inside the cairn before it is closed; similar offerings are made after the removal of the bones to the tribal ossuary (Gurdon, *The Khais*, London, 1907, pp. 123, 135, 137, 141; and cf. Stack, *The Mvirs*, London, 1906, p. 29; Levick, *The Races of S.E. India*, London, 1870, p. 214). The feeding of the dead is inconsistent with the beliefs of orthodox Buddhists, Jains, and Lingayats. But among the degraded Mahayana Buddhists of Tibet, at the noonday meal in the monasteries, 'they serve the cals with a meal consisting of tea, meat, and palm in cakes of wheat or sponge-cakes. Of this the dozen members of the monastery must be left as a gift to the hungry spirits, Hariti and her sons. The fragments for this purpose are carefully collected by the servants and thrown outside the temple buildings, where they are consumed by dogs and birds' (L. A. Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1886, p. 219).

(13) *America.*—The wild tribes of Central America, when a corpse was embalmed, used to bring food, wine, and the weapons of the dead man, place them in a canoes, and carry them in procession round his house; these things were burnt, the people believing that the flames and smoke ascended to the soul of the dead and was pleasing and acceptable to him (Bancroft, *N.E.,* i. 783). In W. America, among the Californians, money is placed in the mouth of the dead. The New Mexicans place in the grave several kinds of bread, and the utensils and implement with which the dead man earned his living, while on the lips of dead infants milk is dropped from the mother's breast. The Corales of Mexico, if the dead has been a cattle, placed meat upon sticks in the field, lest the spirit might claim the herbs he formerly owned. The Central Americans place food with the dead.
to support them on their long journey. Among
the Mosquitoes, a hut stored with food, drink, and
other articles is erected over the grave; the water
which disappears from the porous jaws is supposed
to have drunk by the spirit, and it is a good
sign if birds eat the food (ib. i. 359, 590, 641, 709,
744). The Carajas of Brazil lay with the corpse an
ample store of beans and other food, which is
renewed from time to time (D. G. Brinton, The

(14) Modern Europe,—The custom prevails even in
England. Some years ago, while a grave was
being dug in Bucklebury churchyard, an old grave
was disturbed, and two bottles of beer were un-
corked.

'...The cloaks and other garments, with the dead man's
furnishings, were so well preserved that, when the
sarcophagi were opened after the lapse of two
centuries, the bones were found clung to them.

3. The funeral feast.—An extension of the prac-
tice of feeding the dead is found in the custom of
the people of the ancient Persia, at which meal the
solidarity of the clan, the kinship enjoy a solemn meal in
the presence of the dead. Jeovin (op. cit. 47) suggests
as one motive for the custom that

'...in the country which is spread with the dead man's
favourite delicacies, to tempt his soul to return, we may have the
origins of the funeral feasts and wakes, which are universal.'

Harland (LP ii. 278 E.) shows reasons to believe that
the

'most archaic form, it barbarity, is that of achatalists, in which
it is known to us, is where the most is nothing less than the
obsequies of the deceased kin group.'

This savage rite, he suggests, sometimes under-
goes a natural transformation into eating with the
death; but wherever a special food, such as beans,
is used, it may be suspected to represent the flesh
of the dead man. This is illustrated by the remark-
able custom, prevailing in Sicily and Perugia,
then, at the festival of All Souls (2nd November),
sweetmeats impressed with images of skulls, bones,
skeletons, souls in Purgatory, and the like, are
eaten. This is called 'eating the dead' (ib. ii. 268 E.). The
feast undergoes a further development when, as with the Hindus, it becomes
periodical; or when, as at the Hallowen rites
performed in various parts of Europe, food is pre-
pared in the house, the doors are thrown open, and
the dead are invited to enter and feast (ib. ii. 312;
cf. also ERE i. 261 f.).

4. Modes by which food is supplied to the dead.
The mode by which food is supplied to the dead
are varied. Sometimes, as among the Lingyates of
S. India, death is anticipated by placing food in
the mouth of the living person (JC xxi. 159).
Others place food in the mouth of the dead, as in
some cases recorded in this article. In Malabar,
when the corpse is laid on the pyre, rice is scattered
over the face and mouth, and pieces of gold are
placed over the nine openings of the body (Logan,
Manual of the District of Malabar, Madras, 1857-59,
1. 129). The Todas drop milk into the mouth of
the dead; the Singulis of Bengal pour spirts on his lips and kill a cock to feed the spirit (Rivers,
op. cit. 343; Risley, TC iii. 303). It is a very
common practice to lay food on the grave, on the
theory that the souls of the dead reside perma-
nently here, the belief in a separate realm of souls
the common practice to lay food on the grave, on the
theory that the souls of the dead reside perma-
nently here, the belief in a separate realm of souls
...The Yoruba of W. Africa, after the funeral feast, carry to the grave the bones of the
fowls and sheep which were sacrificed. 'All
the articles which the deceased had in daily use,
such as his pipe, the mat on which he slept, the
plate or vessel in which he ate, his calabash,
and other things of small value, are carried out
into the bush and burned' (Ellis, Yoruba-speaking
People, 159). Sometimes the food is stored in little huts for the use of the
death. The Bakhs of Uganda believe that
the ghosts of the common folk have no special
abode, but wander about near the kraals; they
have little huts in which food, drink, and clothing are
stored (JAI xxi. 109). The Karenni of
Upper Burma build a small structure on four posts
over the grave, and in this are placed various kinds of
corn (Gazetteer Upper Burma, t. i. 229). It is
the custom of many races to spread sand or dust
near the place where the food for the dead is laid,
and next morning any marks found in it are ex-
amined to ascertain into which animal, bird, insect,
etc., the soul of the deceased has migrated. Some-
times, again, the spirit is supposed to haunt the
house, and here food is provided. The solemn
feast of the Naga of Assam each member of his
sept in perfect silence throws a piece of liver out-
side the house for the wandering ghost (JAI xxvi.
197). Or the offering is made on the head and
where the corpse or bones have been carried. The Khais
of Assam, who dread the attack of spirits, when
bringings the bones of the dead for storage in the
house, lay out grains of rice, castor oil, and
bank notes, and, in the case of a specially malignant
spirit, let a fowl loose in the jungle as an offering
(JAI i. 129). Or, in the belief that the food is
conveyed to the spirit by the agency of water, the
Khyungthna of Burma lay the food aside for
a short time, and then fling it into a river (Burma
Gazetteer, ii. 957). On the same principle the
Kanowit of Borneo use what are called 'soul-boats,'
in which necessaries for the use of the dead are
flowed out to sea, with a strong ebb tide flowing,
meet the spirts, and thus convey them to the
(22) Sometimes the food is carried to the grave, and in some cases if the
sarcophagi were opened after the lapse of two
centuries, the bones were found clung to them.

3 For anything belonging to these terms in their ordinary
sense, see such art. as 'DECREASE,' 'DEVELOPMENT,' 'MIND,'
'IDEALITY.' See also 'WISDOM.'
FORCE

FORCE.—I. Definition.—The term 'force' is, unfortunately, used in many senses: some professedly figurative, some intended to be scientific, but often entirely incorrect. No mistake arises from the common use of phrases such as 'force of mind,' 'force of habit,' 'force of example,' 'economic force,' etc. Nor is there any harm in perpetuating the language which spoke of heat, light, or electricity as 'forces of Nature,' and of their 'correlation.' Such things are so far removed from what is now meant by 'force' in its technical sense that no confusion arises from this kind of figurative speech. But 'force' has sometimes been used, even by those who ought to have known better, for the muscular sense of resistance, and for each of the quantities which physicists call respectively 'energy' and 'momentum.' The word is made to bear each of these senses, as a rule, in one context, by Herbert Spencer ('First Principles,' 1854, p. 432 f.), to the hopeless confusion of his argument. 'Persistence of Force' is an incorrect synonym for 'Conservation of Energy,' but the erroneous identification of 'force' and 'energy' (q.v.) is of long standing, and the confusion is traceable back to Leibnitz (1646-1716).

Apart from figurative application and incorrect usage, the term 'force' has held various significations in the history of science, and has stood for quantities or conceptions of varying degrees of abstraction. Hence the obscurity which attaches to the word. In medieval thought, 'force' was abstracted from 'matter,' and hypostatized as an independent reality. Occult forces were postulated as residing in bodies, and were but a name for latent capacities of various sorts. With the dawn of modern science, however, 'force' began to be reserved to denote the effects of an observed change, such as a change in motion.
The history of the scientific usage may best commence with Newton's (1642-1727) laws of motion. Newton's second law is of a very easy dexterity to the effect of force, which he defines as a power of resisting a power in virtue of which every body persists in its state of rest or of uniform motion in a straight line. This force does not differ from the inertia of the body, so that vis inersa is a 'most significant name for vis inersa.'

Such inherent force, assumed by Newton, is a universal property of matter, essential to its occupation of space; and, inasmuch as inertia is force, there is no such thing, for Newton, as inert or inactive matter. This vis inersa, however, acts only when an external force (vis impressa) is brought into relation with the body in which it resides. The exertion of this vis inersa then becomes vis impressa. Thus Newton's three kinds of force are partly the same thing regarded in different ways. From the conception of vis inersa the metaphysician may set out for his examination and analysis of the nature of matter; while the scientific investigator, who is rather concerned with the observed behaviour of portions of matter, i.e. the mechanical changes of material bodies, has scarcely any need to deal with vis inersa, but takes his start from the concept of vis impressa.

This aspect of force is therefore the one which, since Newton's time, has almost exclusively been adopted by physics.

2. Force as 'vis inersa.'—When we analyze the conception of matter, as used in the most general sense, without reference to its discrete or continuous structure, the rest or motion of its parts, it seems necessary to involve the concept of force. Force, in fact, is the coherence and occupation of space. The absolute hardness of the ultimate particles of matter, assumed by Newton in his Opticks, was increasingly found to be a difficult hypothesis, and the configuration and resistance of material bodies came to be explained solely by 'forces.' Bosovich (1711-87) resolved these atoms into mere masses of force of force, without extension, so necessary is the idea of force to the conception of matter. Thus matter and force imply one another; they cannot be looked upon as separate entities capable of independent existence. Force is simply the activity of matter, or matter conceived as 'doing'; it is the 'efficacy' which constitutes the 'course' of Nature. Like feeling, 'force' cannot be defined; it is similarly an ultimate and unanalyzable element. Considered in itself, it is but an abstraction. Or again, as with matter, we can describe its specific modes, but not itself. From this point of view, force cannot be looked upon as the 'cause of motion,' in the sense of causality to motion. Motion is a state or accident of matter—a less abstract conception than force (vis inersa); and there is nothing to suggest or to authorize the assumption that primarily matter existed in the state of rest, and that its motion was produced after its own genesis.

Newton conceived all 'action' of matter to be mechanical, i.e. to be contact-action, of the nature of paling or pushing. He had a horror of the notion of what is called 'action at a distance,' which seemed to some of his followers to be involved in his theory of gravitation. And since his day the idea of action at a distance has been scouted by physicists as a heresy. This kind of action would, indeed, be difficult for us to 'get in'; but may be asked whether discontinuity or absence of contact must not occur, in infinitesimal degree, even if we take the material world to consist of particles or elements immersed in an ether, as is usually assumed. In that case the differences between contact-action and action at a distance would be only in degree. Incongruity with pre-conceived notions is not necessarily a proof of impossibility; moreover, the preassumption is in this case precisely the accidental that our sense of 'touch' happens to be the most highly developed, and impact the most familiar form of action.

3. Force as 'vis impressa.'—Newton's three laws of motion are as follows:
1. Every body persists in its state of rest or of uniform motion in a straight line, unless it is compelled by impressed forces to change that state.
2. Change of motion (i.e. momentum, here) is proportional to the impressed force, and takes place in the direction in which the force is impressed.
3. Action and reaction are equal and opposite.

Impressed force, or force which is not merely the tendency to motion, but which 'acts,' is derived from these laws always to involve more than one body or portion of matter. Force, then, in this aspect (i.e. as impressed or external) is always a physical action, a stress. From the first law is deduced the definition of force which has till lately been universally adopted in the text-books of physics: 'force is that which produces, or tends to produce, motion, or change of motion'—change, i.e., either in direction or in velocity. Of course, this definition implies that which produces a change of motion, a physical science, however, knows nothing of efficient causes (see CAUSE, CAUSALITY); and, showing itself anxious to disentangle itself from metaphysical implications, has recently sought to remove such terms as force from its vocabulary. So the idea of impressed force is being abandoned as anthropomorphism. The modern meaning of force is largely to have been determined by the following passage in Kirchhoff's Forts. ub. math. Physik., Leipzig, 1870, § Vorrede):

'It is usual to define mechanism as the science of force, and forces as the causes which produce, or tend to produce, motion. This definition has the advantage of the greatest use in the development of mechanism, and still is so to students of the science, if it is explained by examples of forces taken from the experience of ordinary life. But there attaches to it the obscurity from which the concept of cause and tendency cannot be freed. . . . On these grounds I propose as the definition of mechanism that of describing the motions which take place in Nature, and the description of them in the simplest and simplest way. I mean, therefore, that we should concern ourselves only with stating what the phenomena which take place are, not with assigning their cause.'

This advice has been followed by many leading physicists. The tendency is rather a return to the intentions of earlier science—that of Copernicus, Galileo, Descartes, and Newton—than a new step. It is, however, likely to prove rich in consequences, in that it involves the confession, on behalf of science, that it has nothing to do with ultimate explanation, but that its rôle is mere description in terms of 'conceptual shorthand.' Forces from 'naturalism' the usurped right to speak in the name of science.

The definition of force which thus seems destined to become obsolete in science is, accordingly, being replaced by others, which use the term merely as denoting a relation, a mathematical quantity. Newton's second law furnishes a quantitative definition of force, or a method of measuring the relative magnitude of forces. The law may be expressed by the equation \( P = mf \), where \( P \) is the force, \( m \) the 'mass' of the body acted upon, and \( f \) the acceleration produced in it. For \( f \) we may substitute \( a \), where \( a \) = velocity acquired, in the interval of time \( t \), by a body moving with a uniform acceleration of \( f \) units. Hence our equation becomes \( P = ma \), or force is represented as 'rate of change of momentum.' Thus force comes exclusively to be identified with acceleration, and this is all that empirical science is entitled to denote by the term. For experience only yields us changes
in the motion of bodies; it does not bring us face
to face with 'forces' in the older sense. At
the same time, science, in thus becoming purely
dynamical, abstract, and descriptive, only ignores
causation and adhesion; it leaves 'forces' in the
metaphysical sense, to metaphysics, which is con-
cerned to see in them the impermissible relations
of dependence between events which uniformly for-come together. Matter and the law of


FOREIGNERS.—See STRANGERS AND FOR-

FOREKNOWLEDGE. — See PREDESTINA-

FORGERY.—The crime of false of Roman law
(which, however, included also making and utter-
ing of false coin, perjury, and corrupting of wit-
tnesses) is defined by Blackstone: 'the fraudulent
making or alteration of a writing to the prejudice of
some other person.' See also Ewbank, Matt. and
Marx, Law of Forgeries, London, 1892;


FORGETFULNESS. — 1. Nature.—'A good
memory,' says Roger Ascham (The Scholemaster,
bk. 1), 'is well known by three properties: that is
if it be quick in receiving, and slow in losing
redis in delivering forth again'—in other words,
it depends on the clearness and distinctness of the
original impression, on its power of retention, and
on its power of reproduction or recollection.
These properties are clearly conditioned by the state of the mind, and of the body as well, at the moment when the impression is made, as also by the frequency of repetition, and, further, by the working of association through similarity and contiguity. Great, however, as the tenacity of memory may be—in some people, "even to a miracle"—the best memories forget; there is a limit to the retentive and reproductive powers of the mind. This arises partly from the enormous mass of materials that the matured mind has to deal with, and partly also from the fact that, in memory, we never recollect the whole of a past experience, but only selected portions of it (only what we have interest in and what we have use for); the remaining parts, through want of being occasionally brought back, drop out of our power of recall. Hence Hobbes, in a very felicitous phrase, designated imagination, and, therefore, memory, "the decaying senses"; and Locke has a touching passage on the decay of memory:

"The memory of some men, it is true, is very tenacious, even to a miracle. But yet there seems to be a constant decay in all our ideas, even of those which are struck deepest, and in minds the most retentive; so that if they be not sometimes renewed, by repeated exercises of the senses, or reflection on those kinds of ideas which first occasioned them, the print wears out, and at last there remains nothing to be seen. Thus the ideas, as well as children, of our youth, often before us; and our minds are as liable to be those tombs to which we are approaching; where, though the bronze and marble remain, yet the inscription is effaced by time, and the imagery molested away. The pictures drawn in our minds are laid in fading colours; and, absolutely, if not so easily, disappear and die away." (Essay Concerning Human Understanding, bk. ii. ch. x. 6.)

Whether, however, any impression once received ever actually vanishes and disappears—so as not to be within the power of recall under any circumstances whatever—is a doubtful point. Without pushing to the extreme the testimony of people who have been nearly drowned that, in this experience, the whole of their past lives came vividly before them in an instant, it may yet be questioned whether, under certain conceivable circumstances, a thing once impressed on the mind, is not recallable to the mind. But forgetfulness, in the practical if not in the ideal theoretical sense, is a fact; and what we have now to do is to look at the causes and the law of it.

2. Causes.—(1) One cause is _faintness in the original impression._ This may arise from lack of intensity in the impressing object, or from lack of vigour in the system at the moment when the impression was made. In either case, the intellectual discrimination is poor, and interest insufficient for effective retention has not been created, and so there has been no motive to repeat or reproduce the primary experience. But, even when interest has been aroused and a certain amount of repetition has occurred, the impression may be transient. A case in point is what is known in education as "cramping." Getting up knowledge for an occasion is quite different from studying from the love of knowledge. Only the latter gives what abides: remembering for a definite, temporary purpose naturally ceases when the purpose has been served.

(2) Another cause is _enfeeblement or injury of the bodily organism—as seen in old age, or in disease of the brain._ The case of old age is significant, for it follows here a definite order. As old age creeps on and the recent impressions are forgotten first; earlier impressions remain. The meaning of this is that recent impressions made in old age, even though vivid at the moment, have not been registered and conserved by repetition, and so are lacking in points of association, whereas the impressions of earlier years have become stable and have formed many points of attachment with other parts of the memory series. Moreover, the earlier impressions were made when nutrition and circulation of the blood were vigorous, when the physical system was strong and active, whereas the impressions made in old age appeal to enfeebled nutrition and circulation and to a decaying physical system. In this way, we see that old age, pipe puffing, and similar recent events, but retain a memory, often wonderfully full and exact, of what happened in their childhood and youth. What first seized sticks, as Berkeley said; the vigour of the organism secures that, in part, and, for the remainder, the result is produced by association and repetition; and necessarily, when the more recent goes from the memory, the earlier remains in full possession.

Still more, earlier experiences are associated with the pleasure that old age has in dwelling in the past, seeing that length of time has not so much that we recollection of bygone days and thrown a halo of glory round them; for it is a notable fact that the mind is not retentive of pain, and so is disinclined to revive painful incidents or experiences, but clings to the thought of pleasure, and its natural tendency is to idealize the past—the Golden Age seems ever behind us. It has further to be observed that, when loss of memory in aged persons begins, it shows itself usually in a tendency to forget people's names. This is in accordance with the nature and working of contiguous ideas, and this point is of importance. The identity of the people themselves is quite well recognized; only their names are forgotten. This means that, although we do associate a person with his name during the time we have known him, nevertheless what specially interests us about him, and what, therefore, impresses us most, is not his name but himself as a concrete individual, living somewhere in space under definite circumstances, pursuing a particular calling, and making a certain mark in life. The image of him, consequently, remains when his name has gone from us.

(3) A peculiar case of forgetfulness arises from the power of a direct experience of activity to obliterate or annihilate a previously formed idea of the actuality. This is the case in which we try to realize from the description given by another the idea of a place that we have never ourselves visited. Our mental picture is sure to be in many respects erroneous, however full and however powerful the description may be. We naturally picture the unvisited place on the basis of some other place or places well known to us, which we suppose to be similar, and the analogy will in many points deceive us. But suppose, now, that we actually visit the place which we have as yet only imagined. The result is that, when we come to have experience of the actuality, the vividness of the impression (its warmth and fullness) lays hold upon us, and so to exclude all the erroneous or partially erroneous parts of the previously formed picture from the mind—the reality and the previous idea will not combine; until, after a time, it becomes altogether impossible for us to call up the original erroneous picture, or possible to call it up only in the vaguest fashion. The reasons are obvious. Partly, we lose interest in bringing back erroneous ideas, after we have obtained accurate impressions of the reality; and, partly, these ideas drop away, because the reality refuses to combine with them. This last fact explains to us how it is that we so readily, as a rule, forget our dreams. However vivid a dream may be, it has not the power upon us of waking experience; and so, when we awake, and are brought under the influence of the reality, our dream-images necessarily fly. They cannot, in the first place, compete with the vivid insistence of reality; but, in the second place, they do not fit into the experience and have for our associations—they are not on the line of our continuous waking existence.

(4) Lastly, forgetfulness may be due to excite-
FORGIVENESS (Hebrew).—I. DIVINE.—In the view of all the Hebrew writers the God of Israel entered into personal relations with His people. If for the first time to speak in a public assembly, has felt this; and, in a less marked case, any one may, through no fault of his own, suddenly or abruptly, be unable to make an immediate reply. Although the question may be one that he could quite well answer in a calm mood, the abruptness of the inquiry has disturbed his equilibrium, and the answer has fled. No better example of the power of excitement to produce forgetfulness could be adduced than the case of Cæsar, and his futile efforts through excitement to recover the mystic and all-potent word 'Open Sesame,' in Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves. The workings of the human mind were especially seen in the days of Harun al-Rashid as they are to-day.

3. LAW.—The great law of forgetfulness is that, under normal circumstances, we forget a thing only by overcoming the mind with something else, i.e. by losing interest in it through acquiring interest in something else. We cannot simply will to forget and the thing is done. If we push something out of the mind, we must fill the vacancy somehow. Extrusive power belongs to a new interest. This may be exemplified by the injunction of the law, 'No hope in the house, no house in it, forget and forgive.' This, on the face of it, seems an injunction to do what is impossible; for, when an injury, deliberate and designed, is inflicted on us, it is only human nature (as we phrase it) to resent it, and, consequently, to harbour ill will towards the perpetrator of the wrong. But, though we cannot forget an injury when the perpetrator is present, we may forget to think of it again and to identify oneself with him and with his penitent attitude. A new and absorbing interest now takes possession of us, and, the more we identify ourselves with it, the less we are disposed to remember his offence; both he and we have entered on a new course together, and the attainment of the new end occupies our attention, so it fills our minds, and forgetfulness naturally ensues when there is no motive and no purpose in life to keep up the memory. In this, every verse of the Psalms, and every saying of Scripture when it speaks of God as forgiving and forgetting men's sins: 'I will forgive their iniquity, and their sin I will remember no more,' (Jer 31:24; cf. He 10:17). Without forgiveness, that could not be; but with forgiveness, if the analogy of human procedure is to hold with the Deity at all, it is inevitable.

Cf. also arts. DEVELOPMENT (Mental) and MEMORY.


WILLIAM L. DAVIDSON.
FORGIVENESS (Hebrew)

now have in view is within the nation itself. Jahweh takes the client, the widow, and the fatherless—of those who have no other protector. Sin against a brother man now becomes sin against Jahweh. The cry of the oppressed comes into His ears: 'He has cheated me, I will surely hear his cry, and my anger shall burn, and I will slay you with the sword, so that your wives shall be widows and your children shall be orphans.' (Ex 22:26.) The question of forgiveness became more complicated as this class of sins occupied the thoughts of reflecting men.

In the earlier prophets—these men were fully convinced that the nation as a whole was the unit with which God dealt. They were at the same time thoroughly persuaded that the oppression of the poor by the rich had roused the wrath of their Protector. The conclusion was easy to draw—the nation must be punished. Jahweh is a God of justice; His love of His people could not induce Him to spare the guilty. The very fact that He had been so gracious to them in the past was a reason why He should hold them to a stricter account now. The confidence of the people at large, that He will not permanently estrange Himself from His own, is seen by these men to be only one more sign of the incurable leprous and blinding of the nation. It is by no means to be wondered at that they have little to say of forgiveness. Their emphasis is laid on the certainty of punishment. The gentleness of their point of view is obvious. The mass of the people thought that forgiveness might be purchased by sacrifices or by professions of repentance. The prophets declare that sacrifice has no value, and compared the repentance to the morning mist which early vanishes away (Hos 6:6).

Abstractly there always existed a possibility of forgiveness. Pardoning them was not the end of punishment, but only a means to that end. The preaching of the prophets at all. Some slight hope that the doom might yet be turned away must have animated them. And in fact they declare that, if the people turn to Jahweh, He will turn to them. 'Let justice roll on as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream,' says Amos (5:24). The implication is that in that case there will again receive them. Similar statements by Hosea, Micah, and Isaiah show that they all held the conviction of Jahweh's willingness to forgive. No other course corresponds with the character of the people, that of ceasing to do evil and learning to do well (Is 43:8). But the sadness of the situation arose from the fact that Israel had sinned away the day of grace. Twice, as Amos sees in vision, Jahweh of His mercy has good pleasure has turned away the impending calamity. This cannot be expected to go on for ever. This third time the plumb-line is set to the wall, and further repentence is not to be expected. Hosea is equally severe, though he has a more adequate idea of the tenderness of Jahweh. In spite of the yearning which cries 'How can I give thee up?' He will not meet the recurrant people with the fury of a bear robbed of her whelps.

In Isaiah. The impression that Isaiah is distinctly a prophet of forgiveness cannot be verified from his genuine prophecies. The words usually interpreted in this sense should be rendered. 'Though your sins be as scarlet, let them become white as snow; though they be red like crimson, let them become like wool' (Is 1:18). They are an exhortation to the people to amend their ways and to be taken up by the thought that the sins of the fathers have been upon the children and that there was no hope. Their judgment on the past is sufficiently evident in the editorial passages of the books of Kings. Although, for instance, Josiah had done right with all his heart, so that he surpassed all the kings who had preceded him, 'yet Jahweh turned not from the

implies the abstract possibility of forgiveness is intended only as a threat. 'If you shall not be expiated for you till you die' (25:4).
The very purpose of the prophet, according to the prophet, is to harden the people in their evil courses and to increase their sin so that they cannot see their true interest (8:6). The prophet himself, indeed, is purified for his work by a special act of Divine grace (8:7). This is the moral which proves the rule; one who is called to Jahweh's work must be made fit for that work. The doctrine of the remnant, which some find to be Isaiah's leading thought, does not imply forgiveness of the guilty but their punishment; the remnant which survives is made up of the righteous (8:6; 9:6; cf. Mic 2:11). In Jeremiah. —Of Jeremiah we may say that the pessimism grows more intense as the catastrophe approaches. Like the others, he believes that Jahweh is ready to receive those who do well, but he knows the sin of Judah to be too deeply engraven to be obliterated. When a nation has done evil, and Jahweh determines to destroy, 'if that nation repents of its evil then I will repent of the evil which I had determined to do to it' (19). One of the prophet's messages is motivated by the possibility of repentance and forgiveness: 'Perchance they will listen and turn from their evil way, and then I will repent of the evil that I have determined to do to them because of their evil deeds' (30:17). The gentleness of their point of view is obvious. The mass of the people thought that forgiveness might be purchased by sacrifices or by professions of repentance. The prophets declare that sacrifice has no value, and compared the repentance to the morning mist which early vanishes away (Hos 6:6).

5. In Deuteronomy. —The Book of Deuteronomy seeks to enforce the ideas of the prophets and at the same time to make them practical. To this end it adopts a certain measure of priestly and legal tradition. Its conception of sin is that of the prophetic party in general, and on the subject of forgiveness it marks no distinct advance. In its severer moods it tolerate no compromise with evil, and carries out to its logical conclusion the idea of the God who is stern and severe to the wrongdoer, but rich in mercy and ready to forgive. In its milder moods it tolerates no sinner without a sense of guilt, and the existence of a renounceable sin that is punishable by death, and the existence of a repentant sinner, and a death penalty.

6. During the Exile. —In the fall of Jerusalem brought into cruel relief the threats of the prophets and of Deuteronomy, and made the problem of forgiveness acute. The exiles were weighed down by the thought of the sins of the fathers, and the remembrance of the sins of the fathers were upon the children and there was no hope. Their judgment on the past is sufficiently evident in the editorial passages of the books of Kings. Although, for instance, Josiah had done right with all his heart, so that he surpassed all the kings who had preceded him, 'yet Jahweh turned not from the
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heat with which his anger burned against Judah on account of all the provocations with which they provoked him (2 K 9:22). At the same time, it would be too much to say that the past gave absolutely no ground for hope. There were many instances in the history which showed Jahweh to be willing to hear and help His people. The prayer of Solomon at the dedication of the Temple was now made to express the longing of the people that the God of their fathers would hear and forgiving those who cried to Him from the places whither they had been carried by their enemies.

7. In Ezekiel.—It was the work of Ezekiel to combat the lethargy caused by the sense of rejection. This prophet, like the older ones, was fully of the opinion that Judah's sin was the cause of her calamity, and his specifications are in substance the same as theirs. Oppression of the client, the widow, and the orphan, bloodshed, adultery, the taking of bribes—these are the things with which the wicked Jerusalem is reproached. But Ezekiel regards these things from the priestly point of view. They are sins to be sure, violation of the righteous will of Jahweh, but they are also repugnant to His holiness. It must be borne in mind that the exiles regarded themselves as being of distinction between sacred and profane. Jahweh was separate from common things, and what approached His holiness must be separated from the sphere of common things. Whatever had been in contact with another divinity was abhorrent to Him. To come into His presence with the contagion of uncleanness was to oppose His wrath. It was because the sins of Judah had made her ritually unclean for the presence of her God that He had deserted His Temple. Such was Ezekiel's thought.

To individual sins Ezekiel held a theory of retribution more rigorous than we find anywhere else in the OT. To counteract the despair of the people, who felt that they were weighed down by the load of accumulated guilt, he was obliged to emphasize individual responsibility. The sinner suffers strictly for his own sins—not the son for the father, or the father for the son. When a man turns from his evil way, then he will be received and dealt with according to his new course of life; and when the righteous man forsakes the good way, he will be dealt with as a sinner (ch. 18).

The difficulty of adjusting the facts to so mechanical a theory of the Divine justice must be obvious. The exiles of themselves seem to have realized something of this, but his main interest was elsewhere. After the fall of Jerusalem it was his task to show how the nation as a whole might be revived. This he did on the ground of the priestly ideals already considered. For the encouraging thing about the difference between sacred and profane was that Jahweh graciously provided a way in which He might be approached. There were rites of purification which fitted a man for the Presence. These rites were matters of priestly tradition, and it is probable that Ezekiel took them simply from tradition without reflecting on their rational basis. Of their efficacy he had no doubt, and this efficacy was of God's free grace. Now it was certain that the nation was to be restored. This followed from the power of Jahweh. It was not possible to suppose that He would rest under the reproach of the Gentiles, who saw Him delivering over His own people to destruction, and who scoffed at His weakness. If the nation was to be restored, it would be by an act of God's free grace, purifying her from the uncleanliness which rested upon her.

1 K K. For the theory of the Deuteronomistic editor of the Book of Judges, see Jg 18:21-19:10ff.

1. This is the programme for the good time coming; Jahweh will restore His people and will make them fit for His service. The Temple will be partly external and Levitical. The most elaborate sanctions will be taken not to offend the exclusiveness of the sanctuary. The Temple, its surroundings, will be all that the most rigid ritualist can desire. But along with this there will be an internal change in the people themselves; they will have a mind to obey the statutes of Jahweh, and that these statutes are etched in their nature we have already seen. Forgiveness for past offences is to be granted, but the main thing is not forgiveness but regeneration. Yet the taking back of the adulteress, the renewal of the covenant with her, and the cleansing of her from all she has done imply a forgiving mind on the part of her God (Ezk 16th, where the RV introduces the word 'forgive' for 'kiper').

2. In the post-exilic prophets.—There can be no doubt that from Ezekiel's time onwards two tendencies manifested themselves in Judaism. On one side, the free grace of God was looked for to forgive past offences; on the other, the utmost care was taken to secure ritual purity. The description of the wrath of God expressed, for example, in the Book of Lamentations drove men to pray for forgiveness without the intervention of priest or altar. The post-exilic prophets encourage the people with specific promises of forgiveness: 'Return unto me, and I will return unto you, saith Jahweh' (Zec 1:3, Mal 3:6). 'As I determined to do you evil when your fathers provoked me to anger, so now have I determined to do you good' (Zec 8:11). Intervened in the Book of Jeremiah, as we now read it, are several passages which represent this post-exilic view and give specific promises of forgiveness. A celebrated example is the promise of the new covenant which ends thus: 'For I will forgive their guilt, and their sins will I remember no more' (Ezk 31:34). Even more striking is the following: 'In that time the guilt of Israel shall be sought, but it no longer exists, and the sins of Judah, but they shall not be found, for I will forgive those whom I preserve.'

But the most delightful and consistent exponent of the forgiving love of God is the great prophet whose words are preserved in the second half of the Book of Isaiah. The words of comfort with which he begins his preaching are accompanied by the assurance that Zion has been forgiven, that she has received the full measure of punishment, and that restoration is at hand (40:2). The gloving promises that follow are based upon the firm conviction of the love of Jahweh for His own: 'Fear not, for I have redeemed thee; I have called thee by name; mine thou art.... Because thou art precious in mine eyes, art honoured and I love thee, I will give mankind instead of thee, and nations for thy life' (43:14). The sorrowful experiences of the past could not be ignored, but they were only a momentary ebbation of wrath and would be forgotten in the infinite kindness that is to follow. Zion, though now desolated and afflicted, is assured of the affection of her Husband who keeps her walls ever before Him: 'I am the one who comforteth thee.' The promise of pardon (43:25; 44:4) is not this love a national matter alone. The individual has part in it; even the sinner may count on a new start and will not be wicked forsoaks his way and the unrighteous man.

1 Jer 51:10-14, 60:3-6. A similar promise is found in Tob 15. The exile or post-exilic origin of all these passages needs no demonstration.
his thoughts; let him turn to Jahweh that he may have mercy upon him, and to our God for he will abundantly pardon (69?). It is unnecessary to multiply quotations, for this part of the OT is familiar to every Bible reader.

9. In the Priestly Code.—The ritual ideas of Jahweh were taken from the priestly compilers, whose work is now embodied in the middle books of the Pentateuch. The tradition is here collected and recorded with the idea of avoiding anything that could offend the sacred service, or, if the contagion could not be avoided, with the purpose of purging it away as soon and as effectively as possible. So far as sin blemishes under the head of ritual defilement, it may be removed by these rites. There is a sin, indeed, that cannot be so removed. Whoever breaks the commandments of God with full knowledge and with deliberate purpose must be cut off from the congregation (Nu 15:31). But for all other offences there is purification. Certain classes of sacrifices called 'sin-offerings' and 'guilt-offerings' play a conspicuous part in the ritual, but the cleansing efficacy is ascribed as well to other sacrifices, and even to unbloody offerings. How far the removal of such contamination as was treated in this way was forgiveness, in the sense in which we use the word, is extremely difficult to make out, partly because the authors of these directions believed in the efficacy of the traditional rites, and did not concern themselves to explain them, partly because ideas of expiation were imported into the rites from non-Jewish sources. The theory doubtless was that by these rites the impurity was removed, call it forgiveness or call it purgation. See, further, Expiation and Atonement (Hebrew).

In the Book of Psalms the experiences of believing Israelites in times of suffering and depression. Their temptations to aspire to temporal misfortunes, sickness, or misfortune, are naturally the occasion of complaint and supplication (Ps 10:1-22). It is only natural that they should cry out in pain at his turning his face from them. Their settled conviction is that their sins have brought the affliction, though they are often unconscious of the sinful motive. Yet in their perplexity they hold fast to the faith that God is merciful and loving. In many cases they are sure of forgiveness, and they are content to endure what He has sent, if only they may have the final revelation of His face. A well-known Psalm recounts the experience of one who had experienced the visitation of God in the past. Where the history of the nation is reviewed, it is to show the forgiving love and patience of God in the past. And, where the authors prostrate themselves before Him in prayer, the most frequent petition is for forgiveness. It is clear that they do not think of any ritual requirement on which forgiveness is conditioned. On the contrary, they take pains to assure us that God does not ask sacrifices. His requirements are met by repentance and humility.

11. With the Book of Psalms we reach the highest development of OT teaching on this subject.

The only thing to add is the declaration of the Book of Job: the Jahweh forgives even the heathen when they cry to Him. The Book of Joel implies, rather than asserts, that Israel will be forgiven in the Messianic time, but for the Gentiles it was only judgment of God. The Wisdom literature occupies itself with other problems.
to have forgiven his sister, for he consents to intercede for her. Aaron's request is: 'O my lord, lay not upon us this sin in which we have done foolishly' (Nu 12:24).

The life of David affords some examples that should be considered here. Two instances are recorded in which he has his enemy in his power and spares him (1 S 24 and 28). Saul's words imply that the generosity David shows without parallel to David, however, reveals that he was not moved altogether by generosity. He would not lay his hand on Jeshal (2 S 26:3-5). To say a consecrated person was sacrilege. Even the mutilation of the king's robe is dangerously near that crime, as we see from David's self-reproach (24:4). There seems to have been a mixture of motives in this case. In the case of Naboth, however, where David forgoes the vengeance which he had sworn to take, no such mixture occurs. Abigail takes Naboth's guilt upon herself and prays David to forgive it. 'Take away the transgression of thy maid' (1 S 25:21). The generous gift she has brought reduces her petition, and David 'accept her face' (v.22). The sequel intimates that his conscience had not been clear from the start, for, after all, Naboth was a fellow-Israelite (cf. v.25).

Jonathan is interesting in that the concept of fairness is allowed by a temporary reconciliation on the part of Saul, but nothing is said of forgiveness of any real or fancied wrong (1 S 18:1). The idea of Meleag's forgiveness towards Absalom is mentioned in the Decalogue, or in Job's list of virtues (Job 31), or in the ethical Psalms (Ps 46, 55, and 101). Only one of the commands of the Priestly Code seems to have it in mind. Here we read:

"Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thine heart; thou shalt surely rebuke thy neighbour, and not bear sin because of him: thou shalt take no vengeance, nor thou bear a grudge against the children of thy people; but thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself: I am Jahweh' (Le 19:17).

The duty here enjoined is to be exercised towards the fellow-Israelite; but later in the same chapter (v.34), we read:

"And when a client sejourns in your land, you shall not oppress him; but you shall deal honestly with him; you shall love him as yourself, for you were clients in the land of Egypt: I am Jahweh your God.'

This passage recognizes the client (the proselyte), we may in fact say as having equal rights with the native. The AV error in this and other passages by translating the word (pfr) 'stranger,'

Whatever duty of forgiveness is implied in such passages has reference only to those foreigner who have come into definite relations of clientage with the community. Some passages in the Book of Proverbs have a more definite bearing on our subject than any yet considered. The desirability of forgiveness was certainly in the mind of him who wrote: 'A brother offended is harder to be won than a strong city' (Pr 18:19) and who also said: 'The discretion of a man makes him slow to anger, and it is his glory to pass over a transgression' (19:11). In the same book we find the well-known passage: 'If thine enemy hunger, feed him; (25:22); and an exhortation not to rejoice when our enemy falls' (24:17). Unfortunately the somewhat cold morality of this book leaves us in doubt whether genuine forgiveness is in the mind of the wise man, or whether he is taking the position that a slight is beneath the notion of a gentleman. The general sentiment is perhaps expressed by a late writer who thinks that only by the judgments of God will the wicked learn anything, and that leniency will only confirm them in their evil ways (Is 26:12).

In the new age, when the wolf shall dwell with the lamb (Is 11:6), there will, of course, be complete harmony among members of the kingdom; and
wholly may remove an evil affecting the race, but how the individual when becoming a Christian gets rid of the incubus of his sins; and then how, after becoming a Christian, he can annul the sins which still call to him.

In the NT the words used for 'forgiveness' are analogous to the words used in the OT, and come to it through the LXX. The common NT word is 

φόβος, which as noun or verb is used 61 times, of which 46 are in the Synoptic Gospels (18 in Luke), 2 in 1 John (1:9 and 2:1), 1 in James (5:20), 6 in Acts (2:38; gys 1:3; 2:38; 5:38, 2 in 1 Cor. 2:20), 1 in Hebrews (10:17), 1 in Ephesians (1:7), 1 in Colossians (1:14), and 2 in Hebrews (10:18). In RV the Greek word is rendered indifferently 'forgiveness' (60 times) and 'remission' (11 times). What is said to be forgiven is 'sins,' 'debts,' 'iniquities,' or 'trespasses' —a variety which reflects the richness of the Hebrew expressions for wrong-doing.

In the Epp. another word, επικατάληψις, occurs 11 times (2 Co 5:10 and 12:13; Eph 5:30; Col 2:13 23; in Luke twice (7:47). Luke uses also δικαίωσις, twice in 20:23. Also επαμείνειν, 'to cover,' is used in Ro 4:6; Ja 5:13; 1 P 4:14; and ευλογεῖν, 'praising,' (like atonement) in Ro 8:35. In the Apocalypse the idea of forgiveness is expressed as a 'cleansing or purification by the blood' (4:14 etc.).

Another term which bulks largely in the NT, especially in Romans, Galatians, and Hebrews, has been referred to already, 'justification,' a word which always means 'being declared righteous.' This justification is sometimes treated as the genus, of which forgiveness is a species, or the two are sometimes identified (as by Luther), in accordance with the facts to say that forgiveness (like atonement) is the condition precedent to justification, or that a man is first forgiven, i.e. made righteous through the imputation of his sins, and then declared to be in a normal relation to God.

But a mere enumeration of the terms used, or of their filiation, is of little service in determining the specific difference between the forgiveness offered and received in Christ and that established elsewhere. It is hardly possible to express such a religious experience except in forensic, or commercial, or other terms of daily life. But nowhere does the maxim 'can do facint idem, non est idem' apply more truly, of if by these terms we interpret such terms by their whole context of Christian experience, refusing to limit them by their etymological current significance, before we can feel sure that we have seized their vital values.

Of critical importance in this context are the Parables of the Great Debito and of the Prodigal Son, especially the latter. In the former (Mt 18:23) the implicit is that man's normal relation to man is analogous to man's normal relation to God, and that, after any disturbance of that relation, the mode of restoration is the same. Any difference there may be is quantitative rather than qualitative—the debt is a debt in both cases, though one may amount to ten thousand talents and the other to a hundred pence. This parity of relationship, moreover, assumes a community of nature, even the same community being capable of a difference in degree, or authority, or power. In other words, it is made clear out of the ground of condemnation of the unmerciful servant that the evil of unforgiveness is to be found in the fact that its object is a brother (Mt 18:24), and, conversely, that, because God is our Father, whose love for His own is inconceivable, therefore

1 Aquinas, of course, regarding justification as 'a mode of motion from one state to another contrary state: defines it as 'remission of sins accomplished by acquisition of sanctification' (Summa, i. ii. qu. cii. 1). cf. Harnack, Hist. of Dogma, Eng, B., 1894-9, vi. 389-392.

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FORGIVENESS (NT and Christian).—I. DIVINE.

In the NT—The difference between forgiveness as the subject of Christian and ethnic religion, on the one hand, and of NT and Christian, on the other, is not so much a difference of terminology, or of accent, or of emotional intensity, or of its end, as of ethical and spiritual purity. In all alike the same or similar formulas or ceremonial acts may be used; and the same end—that of the establishment or restoration of union with God—may be aimed at, and yet the underlying conception of sin and holiness, and therefore of the idea of forgiveness, may differ widely, while at the same time the difference may be felt rather than stated.

The difference in the mode in which sin is removed in its cause, its guilt, and its consequences has been conducted on the Christian ground under the same name of forgiveness but of redemption, reconciliation or justification. The reason for this procedure is that theologians have been more concerned with sin than with sins, with discovering and establishing, on both Scriptural and empirical grounds, a theory of the process by which God and mankind may come to be at one, rather than with showing how the individual as an individual may find grace with God.

Of the words referred to, 'redemption' or 'salvation' has the widest scope and embraces the whole benefit which man receives through Christ; 'reconciliation' or 'atonement' seeks to make clear how one special quality of sin in general, via guilt, is abolished; while 'justification,' so far as it differs from the others, may be said to be the formal principle of the position of the man who has been redeemed, or whose guilt has been blotted out. We are concerned here, therefore, not with the whole community being capable of a difference in degree, or authority, or power.

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He forgives us fully and freely on the ground that we are made partakers of the Divine nature. Like a father has love for his children, so has Jehovah love for them that fear Him (Ps 103:12).

This is the basis of the relationship between God and mankind. God's love for us is expressed through Jesus Christ, who was the manifestation of the Father's love to the world.

In the same parable, however, it makes clear that this effective recognition of this vital relationship must be found on the part of the offender before he can be forgiven. For the very reason why the unmerited servant was handed over to the tormentors was that he had in act broken down the harmonious relationship of God to man and man to God. Given a servant to an evil master in his child is regulative of man's relation to his brother, or, in other words, the brotherhood of man rests only on the common fatherhood of God. He, therefore, who doubts that brotherhood is not so much punished or tormented as relegated by himself to a condition in which he is incapable of experiencing forgiveness, that is, of being restored to a normal relation to God. It is not by an arbitrary sentence but by a natural consequence that he remains in the land of outer darkness far from the light and love.

The Parable of the Prodigal Son sets out with equal clearness, and even more attractiveness, the same two master-truths. The father's love is such a potential energy waiting for the right spring to be touched which shall release it in action, and that spring is touched by the desire of the prodigal for his father's house. The expression of this desire in changed life and return. The elder brother is the analogue of the unmerited servant, in so far as his self-centred habit of soul prevents him from accepting the love which does not weigh merit or demerit, but gives itself freely where there is willingness to receive it.

The full force, however, of the NT teaching on forgiveness is not till we see that it is correlated with another law of the Christian life, Nothing is more familiar to readers of the NT than an antithesis which occurs constantly, though in varied forms. The Publicans are set over against the Pharisees, 'the elect' against the 'called'; the spirit against the flesh: the son against the father; of earth against of heaven; of earth against of heaven; faith against faith, and so on. But what has not been sufficiently observed is that these different antitheses are expressions for one and the same opposition between two states of the soul. One of these is described as carnal (e.g. in 1 Co 3:1; or as psychic (e.g. in 1 Co 4:2); or as walking by light (2 Co 6:6); or as being under law (Gal 5:2); or as being a slave (Gal 4:1); or in darkness (Lk 1:17, Ro 14:13); as light (1 Jn 1:9); as life (Ro 8:11); salvation (Lk 5:9); faith (Gal 6:9); liberty (Ro 8:2). The very richness and variety of the terms used to describe the two states are an indication, on the one hand, that as living processes they do not lend themselves to definition, and, on the other, that they express something which has the mark of reality.

Moreover, other passages indicate a transition from one state to the other. Christians have passed from darkness to light (Ac 16:31); from bondage to liberty (Ro 8:2); the disciples have ceased to be servants of sin and have become servants of righteousness (Ro 6:16). The slaves have become sons (Gal 4:4); the saints have been translated into the Kingdom of God's Son (Col 1:12); they were raised with Christ (Col 3:5).

The moment which marks the transition is defined as being born again (Jn 3:3), as regeneration (Tit 3:5), as conversion (Mt 18:3, Lk 23:38, Ac 2:38), as an opening of the eyes (Ac 26:18, Jn 9:4, Lk 24:36), or as deliverance from the darkness of sin (1 Jn 1:5), as the light of understanding (Lk 24:45). The subjective factor in the transition is called ordinary repentance (Mt 3:5-8, Lk 13:3, Ac 8:17-22), or repentance joined with faith (Ac 20:38).

The precise character of the process which leads to forgiveness must be duly emphasized before any clear conception can be gained of the nature of Christian forgiveness. From the above it is clear that two psychological conditions are sharply contrasted, viz. the psychic and the spiritual, the former of which is characteristic of the first, and the latter of the possession of it. The one revolves round the lower self, and the other round God, and hence one is the realm of disorder and the other of order, in much the same way as a geocentric system of the universe leaves confused what a heliocentric reduces to order. The act which 'translates' the soul is not man's but God's, though man has his work to do in preparing himself for the re-creative act of God—faith is the human factor of grace. When the cup of the soul is emptied of self and purified from the dust of earth, the wine of heaven is poured into it from above, and the man is born into a new order, the spiritual, out of the old order, the psychic, and he is a new creature for the old things are past and gone, and all things have become new (2 Co 5:17).

The annulment of the old is called in the technical language of religion the 'transmutation of the soul'. The nature of this forgiveness will be best understood by considering a moment an aspect of the change of condition which plays so large a part in the homilies of St. Paul.

Man, as a religious animal, passes, according to St. Paul, through three stages, the chaotic or earthly (1 Co 15:35-58), the psychical (v. 45), and the pneumatic (v. 49). (a) The chaos is animalism unchecked by any practical knowledge of law (Ro 7), and, therefore, a man in that stage commits, strictly speaking, no sin (v. 3); not till a law forbids lust does the animal-man discover what lust is, or learn that it is wrong (5). When he does this, however, he is ready to pass into the second, or psychical stage.

(b) The characteristic stage of the second stage is the law, i.e. command of an external and superior authority, enforced by sanctions. This power of law acts as a check on the natural impulses of the object; and, as he is ordinarily a man not yet wholly freed from the passions of his choice, or earthly, state, he spends his life in a sort of intermittent warfare with the Law. He learns, however, slowly, by means of the pains and penalties inflicted by law for disobedience, that it pays him better in the long run to obey than to disobey, and thus a habit of obedience grows out of suffering, or the fear of suffering.

The psychical man learns to obey through fear of pain or hope of comfort, and hence he is sometimes described as a hireling or mercenary, to distinguish him from the chaotic man who is a slave, or from the spiritual man who is a son.

It is important for our present purposes to note that forgiveness has no place at all while man is merely earthly, and a limited and lower place only while he remains on the second, or psychical, level—none in the first stage, or chaos. Forgiveness implies some sense of moral responsibility, and a lower in the second, because that sense is as yet imperfect. In the psychical stage the man is as yet concerned with his own life, and makes himself either better or lower, and hence forgiveness can only mean the remission of some penalty, the non-exaction of some pain or loss which would otherwise fall to him on
account of breach of law. It is obvious that for-
giveness in this sense has little to do with the
forgiveness which figures in a religion which is
built on spiritual reality.

(c) But the Christianity of the NT is a vividly and
obviously a religion of the spiritual, or, third, degree.
Its worship is to a stand in truth i.e. its proper
sphere is that of spirit, and its proper object the
Great Reality. Its characteristic is love, and love
is a super-personal force directly connecting person
with person. Its sanctions are law external, its
motive is not fear or gain, and its driving-power is
in the 'unspeakable gift' which has been com-
mitted to the soul. Negatively, it may be said
that the hallmark of this religion is freedom from
law; and, as a matter of fact, it is this very freedom
from law which forms the subject-matter of the
moralism contained in the Epis. to the Somat.
Galatians. If we bear this in mind, we shall see
quite easily that the forgiveness which stands in
the heart of the 'Christian spirit' is synonymous
with liberation from law and its consequences
such as:

'The law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus
made me free from the law of sin and of
death' (Ro 5). And 'if ye are led by the Spirit, ye
are not under law' (Gal 5).

It is necessary, moreover, if we are to appreciate
the central position occupied by forgiveness in the
NT, that we should notice that it is no specific law,
Jewish or otherwise, that is the principal of
the Spirit, but law as law, and especially that law em-
bracing all lower laws, viz. the law of cause and
effect, by means of which the human mind ever-
stricts a coherent whole out of the scattered
members of our empirical life, and in so doing rob
man himself of his own freedom. The laws of
Spirit and duty, like the law of Causality, form the
unity of forces evolved by man out of his inner consciousness by a Divine necessity, for the
purpose of first fettering him that he may
afterwards be led to seek and find liberation.

When by asceticism, self-surrender, obedience,
endeavour, prayer, or contemplation he breaks
through the boundary set by the law and attains
direct communion with the Great Reality, he
experiences what is called 'forgiveness.' It is not
so much that he escapes from the penalties of
broken law, such as disease, agony, death, or hell;
the boon is different and greater. He is set free
from law altogether as law, and acts as the Spirit
with him (with which he is now) impels him to
act; and, even though the consequences of past
breaches of law still persist (for he is still in soul
and body is a member of the phenomenal world), yet
they do not persist as penalties, but have suffered
a sea-change into instruments of the Divine
alchemy which is transmuting the dross of earth
into the gold of heaven. Hence, in the fullest
sense he is set free from law in the whole range of
its jurisdiction. He has been 'forgiven,' that is,
set free from the kingdom of Law by being ad-
mitted and naturalised in the kingdom of Spirit.

2. In the Christian Church. The history of
the conception of forgiveness in days after those of
the NT is a history of the struggle of the two forces of
Law and Form to establish an equilibrium. It might
be contended with some plausibility that the equi-
poise was seldom, if ever, actualised, and that at
the best any approximation to it was due to a
more or less intermittent hostility between the forces
in different Churches, or different sections in the
same Church. Nor is it difficult to see why this should
be the case, for the 'mystic' nature of forgiveness
as portrayed in the NT was too lofty for human
nature's daily food, and hence it might be pre-
dicted that some means would be devised to give
the inner process known as 'forgiveness' some
concrete form or statement which might be intel-
ligible to the ordinary Churchman. This was
affected as part of that development of the life of
the Church which came to be known as Catholi-
cism, and was carried out with growing decision
and thoroughness from the date of the 'peace of the
Church' (A.D. 313). The dominant form it finally
took was that represented as Jesus Christ as
Mediator of reconciliation (1 Cor. 15:21; Rom. 8:1)
between God and man. The gifts of the Holy
Spirit were seen, then, as part of the same whole
as the forgiveness of sins. The Christian Church
proceeded to realise, then, the Christian ideal in
the formula of the 'sacrament of penance' by which
it was to be possible to cleanse men and women of
the sin which had made them unworthy to come
into the presence of God. The old concept of
'Raglative' became thus extended and improved.

But the forces which substituted the 'sacrament
of penance' for the originally dynamic and un-
formulated act of forgiveness were active from the
breach point. The community of Christians was at
the first a company of saints, membership in which
gave and maintained forgiveness of sins. Sins
previously committed were due to ignorance—they
were done 'in ignorance of the truth' (1 Cor. 15:31).
But, being recognised for what they were, repent-
ance ensued, forgiveness followed repentance, and
this process was repeated over and over again, made
by the Holy Spirit working in the hearts of those
whom the Son poured the sins of the people entrusted to Him.

It still remains uncertain whether forgiveness of
sins was from the first regarded as the pre-condition
of baptism, or as the principal consequence of
baptism, that is to say, baptism effecting or merely proclaimed
forgiveness. But what is clear is that the inner
sanctification was set as a condition of the rite of
baptism, and that the rite of baptism was created
in a sacred ordinance; that this sacred ordinance
of baptism was regarded as washing away all
previous guilt; and that it admitted its recipient
unto a holy society. The early Church thought of
baptism as a private act, like marriage, and not
an abnormality requiring special treatment. The
original Christian teaching had been that none but
God could forgive sins, even though He might act
mediately; but this mediatory action quickly real-
ised into the assertion that the right of forgiving
post-baptismal sins was in the bishop as the suc-
cessor of the Apostles. Thus Pope Calixtus
against the so-called Novatian heretics, marked
unconsciously the part of the way, for it
defined the process which changed the Church as
a 'sacred communion of salvation and of saints,
which rested on the forgiveness of sins mediated by
baptism, and excluded everything unholy' into a
body not interested to have 'a holy institution in
virtue of the gifts with which it was endowed.'

The primitive conception that God alone could
forgive sins was changed into the proposition that
the bishops alone had jurisdiction in the matter—
'per episcopos solos posse posse dimitiri.' The
way was now clear for the further materialisation
of the authority into the coherent system of
the theory and practice of the 'sacrament of penance.'
The efficient cause no doubt of the establishment
of this sacrament was to be found in that seculari-
sation of the Church which was produced by its
recognition by the Empire and the consequent
crowding into it of men and women of all grades
of piety. The majority, especially after the con-
version of the emperors, were but children in
religion, and demanded elementary methods of
discipline and training. These were found in the
authority which came to be vested in the leaders
of the Church. The bishops represented a power
enough to exclude from the community certain classes of
sinners for varying periods, especially those guilty
of murder, idolatry, and adultery. On the other
hand, the excommunicated could be restored
after public confession and promise of amendment be
restated. Out of this salutary custom of forgiving
on terms those who had confessed and explained
their sins against the Church there grew gradually
a custom of another kind and of more searching activity, viz. the forgiveness after confession of sins against God, in which was involved also the substitution of the priest for the Church as the absolving authority.

The machinery thus established lay with a heavy weight on the medieval world. Eugenius IV., in his proclamation, Augustine and the new Law were seven, of which the fourth was Paraclete; for the matter of this sacrament consisted in the three acts of contrition, confession, and satisfaction; and that the words of absolution were its form, a duly authorized priest its minister, and its effect the forgiveness of sins. Martin V. condemned those who maintained that all exterior confession was superfluous and useless where the sinner was duly contrite; and he also directed that all Hesitants should be interrogated whether they believed that besides contrition it was necessary to salvation to confess to a priest only and not to a layman, however good and devout he might be. Sixtus IV. condemned the proposition that there was no obligation to confess evil thoughts, since they were blotted out by averison to them without recourse to the Keys; he condemned that the substitution of the priest should be secret, i.e. of secret sins and not of open sins.

To the sacrament of penance as an instrument of forgiveness there was added later a system of indulgences (i.e.) under which the Church dispensed from the temporal pains of purgatory not merely canonical or notorious sinners, but all, whether living or departed, who either themselves or vicariously performed certain prescribed ecclesiastical exercises, such as saying given prayers, attending given offices, or paying fixed sums of money. This form of forgiveness of sins, however justified theoretically, can hardly be recognized as akin to the forgiveness of sins described in the NT.

Accordingly, in the 11th cent. the whole of the excommunications, indulgences, and all else in the manner of the forgiveness of sins was challenged in the name of the NT. It was no accident which led Luther to direct his attack on indulgences, but a true insight in the fact that there were the logical outcome of a long historical process which was a corruption rather than a development. According to Luther, the liberty of every Christian man was destroyed by the priesthood; the Church Catholic had banished or buried the Church of Christ; ecclesiastical law had taken over the role of the law of God; Paul's transaction of ceremonies had overlaid the piety of the heart; and a mechanical and external forgiveness of sins had created forgiveness as dynamic and proper to the individual.

The battle thus begun raged round the word 'justification,' which hence bore an extended connotation, being made to cover the fundamental difference of Lehenschaftung which marked the Reformers from the Romans, and was crystallized by the decrees of the Council of Trent: on the one side and by numerous Confessions of Faith and Articles of Religion on the other. Unfortunately, it was a hard necessity laid on the Reformers that they were compelled to attempt to solve a religious problem by logic and by authority which St. Paul called 'carnal.' Forgiveness, as we have seen above, is of a spiritual nature, that is, it belongs to a sphere where reason is not so much contradicted as transcended, but it was pulled down by the new learning into the world of reason and sought to be defended by proof-texts, historical precedents of the practice, and similar instruments of controversy. The result was, and is, that the true, essential nature of forgiveness has been left obscure in the Evangelical Churches by a process which meant only that one kind of scholasticism was substituted for another. The scholasticism of Calvin differs in form, but not in method or spirit, from that of an Anselm or an Augustine.

II. HUMAN.—It is the prerogative of religion to impose on its subjects, as regulative of their relations one to the other, the relation to them all of the God who worship. Christ unites the relation of God and his relation to the world, but his teaching that the forgiveness accorded to men by God is the pattern of the forgiveness which men are to extend to each other. This is set out clearly in the Parable of the Great Debebtor, and in the fifth petition of the Lord's Prayer, for in the former the sin of the unmerciful servant is just this, that he did not do what his master had done, and in the latter the statement that we forgive our debtors is not cited as the pre-condition of a contract, but as affording that the forgiveness given to man by man is an organic factor in the forgiveness given to men by God. The Christian prays for forgiveness, and adds as a plea in justification of his prayer that he is in the habit of forgiving his debtor (Lk 11:4), but he does not imply that his appeal is to anything but the lovingkindness of God (Nu 14:19, Jon 4:2); on the contrary, he appeals to God for forgiveness through the forgiveness of others. His nature and property is ever to have mercy and to forgive, and adds by way of proof of his being aware of the greatness of the boon he is seeking that he already practices it himself. This petition, therefore, is an expansion of Mt 6:15.

It may be urged that the capacity for extending forgiveness to others is acquired only as the direct consequence of being first made conscious of the forgiveness given by God, while Jesus seems to imply, if not to assert, that before being forgiven by God we must have forgiven others. The reply is that the objection is similar to that raised by the scholastic distinctions between prevenient, co-operation, and subsequent grace, viz. that the difference is formal only and not in the matter of the forgiveness of sins was challenged in the name of the NT. It was no accident which led Luther to direct his attack on indulgences, but a true insight in the fact that there were the logical outcome of a long historical process which was a corruption rather than a development. According to Luther, the liberty of every Christian man was destroyed by the priesthood; the Church Catholic had banished or buried the Church of Christ; ecclesiastical law had taken over the role of the law of God; Paul's transaction of ceremonies had overlaid the piety of the heart; and a mechanical and external forgiveness of sins had created forgiveness as dynamic and proper to the individual.

The battle thus begun raged round the word 'justification,' which hence bore an extended connotation, being made to cover the fundamental difference of Lehenschaftung which marked the Reformers from the Romans, and was crystallized by the decrees of the Council of Trent: on the one side and by numerous Confessions of Faith and Articles of Religion on the other. Unfortunately, it was a hard necessity laid on the Reformers that they were compelled to attempt to solve a religious problem by logic and by authority which St. Paul called 'carnal.' Forgiveness, as we have seen above, is of a spiritual nature, that is, it belongs to a sphere where reason is not so much contradicted as transcended, but it was pulled down by the new learning into the world of reason and sought to be defended by proof-texts, historical precedents of the practice, and similar instruments of controversy. The result was, and is, that the true, essential nature of forgiveness has been left obscure in the Evangelical Churches by a process which meant only that one kind of scholasticism was substituted for another. The scholasticism of Calvin differs in form, but not in method or spirit, from that of an Anselm or an Augustine.

II. HUMAN.—It is the prerogative of religion to impose on its subjects, as regulative of their relations one to the other, the relation to them all of the God who worship. Christ unites the relation of God and his relation to the world, but his teaching that the forgiveness accorded to men by God is the pattern of the forgiveness which men are to extend to each other. This is set out clearly in the Parable of the Great Debebtor, and in the fifth petition of the Lord's Prayer, for in the former the sin of the unmerciful servant is just this, that he did not do what his master had done, and in the latter the statement that we forgive our debtors is not cited as the pre-condition of a contract, but as affir
FORM (Aesthetic)

FORM (Aesthetic) — 1. Meanings of the word.

— Form, in its literal significance, means any objective representation of an image or mental idea, whether in matter, language, or sound. This may be the work either of Nature or of Art. In both cases it is the product of an arrangement of the different, but related, parts of a complete thing, or image of a thing. The psychological impulses whence this process arises is that of expression, which belongs to the nature of mind. In the aesthetic sense this general conception is narrowed by the artist being driven to add beauty to the representation, to construct forms in accordance with the canons of good taste and perfect ideas. As the form is thus discerned as the representation of choicest images or ideas in forms that approach the perfection of Nature or Art.

Thus the evolution of art becomes the evolution of forms. Two features of this evolution should be noted. On the one hand, the forms of art have changed with the growth of man in intelligence, sympathy, and insight, i.e., as culture and social life have advanced. This is a natural development towards the universal truth of life has always inspired and guided the process. On the other hand, as the various stages of culture and civilization have reached, these forms that have crystallized in which are expressed its highest and noblest insights. Form and content, in short, have always mutually influenced each other. It is this obvious feature of aesthetic evolution that underlies and explains the apparently irrepressible conflict between the forms of so-called classical and romanit. For the expression is called its classical phase; but this is seen to be purely relative. The adoption and imitation, for any length of time, of any form as the highest form suitable for the expression of aesthetic ideas necessarily lead to its becoming stereotyped and conventionalized; and thus a form becomes 'classical,' i.e., representative or typical of the highest insight of the times that gave it vogue. But, as soon as the inadequacy of these forms to express new ideas is perceived, or a change in life which the interest takes place, the classical conventions are threatened and superseded; a new spirit, often of revolt, is generated, which proceeds to invent new ideas and, to the organism, well-adapted to our romantic reactions. But these, in turn, become set, conventional, imitative; and so the cycle is gone through again. The essential fact in this cycle of forms is that there is a real progress in the invention of forms to express the ever-widening meaning of life, the good of each epoch filling its role as guide and inspirer of its later products.

Form, in the technical sense, refers to the various methods by means of which the artist seeks to give perfect expression to his ideas. Why these need not concern ourselves here, belonging, as they do, to special disciplines. One remark may, however, be made: the methods have grown more elaborate and perfect for their purpose as the resources of ideas and of mechanical invention have been perfected. The form, in the instrumental sense, cannot be said to have reached its limits, unless we can say that the limit of ideas and of the means of expressing them has been reached.

2. No definite rules can be laid down for the classification of the various expressions of art. For the most part these follow the line of interest or inspiration, by which the artist's sense of beauty is controlled. According to his point of view, he may be either an impressionist, a realist, or an idealist, just as he lays stress upon the part sensuous feeling, imagination, observation, or the sense of beauty plays, or may play, in art. His forms will vary accordingly. In the case of the sculptor, the painter, or the poet, a large part of the images or ideas will be imitated from the forms of Nature, through which, by the subtle alchemy of feeling, imagination, and beauty, they will seek to express either their sensuous feeling, or their elementary sense of the verisimilitude, or the higher sense of ideal beauty or perfection. Value may be conferred on the forms of art in any of these ways; but it is the last alone that reaches the highest spiritual standard.

3. Forms and content.—Form may vary in accordance with the kind of ideas which the artist seeks to express. No poet would employ the lyrical form to express the outward form to express the inward state of mind. Where the balance between form
and content is maintained we shall find both ade-
quate and beautiful, and therefore satisfying.

Taste, in the modern sense of the word, the
subjective factor is allowed to overbalance
the formal beauty of the work; temperament
is allowed free play, and even truth may be of less
importance than fancy or imagination. Under
these conditions the formal element of art does
not necessarily become less perfect, but it is ob-
scured in the stronger tides of passion. Art
becomes descriptive of and declamatory, as in much
c of Carlyle's writing, while interpretation becom-
relatively unimportant.

Realistic art for this reason has always been de-
sicient in the formal beauty of its representa-
tions: it tends to become documentary, evidential,
not universal. This is the case with much of the
art of the present day; and, since form cannot
long be valued for its own sake, and since a return
to classical form seems impossible, it must be
judged as, on the whole, a healthy tendency,
though it is necessary that art, as a whole, be not
restricted to a higher synthesis of form and
content, of the real and the ideal, which may

On the other hand, form may be emphasized and
deemed of more value than matter. This was
the case with much of the literature of the 18th cen-
tury. In this style of art, the adequate relation of form and content, poetical thought find-
ing equally poetical formal expression. Where this
is the case, form is perceived to be the indispensable
means to the ideal. In this case the art of
which the work was designed to produce.

4. The law of form.—This is the law of unity
in diversity. This is a clear enough in poetry and
music, which cannot stir our appreciative sense of
their beauty by merely stringing together a con-
tinuous stream of sounds, however harmonious, in
the absence of unifying ideas, endowed, ab initio,
with power to move the emotions. In lyrical
poetry this seems especially obvious; but it is no
less so in the epic or the tragedy, which lead to a
certain inevitable catastrophe, impressive in itself,
and purging the spectator's emotions by fear and
pitiful. And, making due allowances for the different
mediums in which the sculptor, the painter, and
the architect work, the same is true of their arts as

Unity, however, depends, in turn, upon the rela-
ted elements, diverse in kind and number, which
enter into and help to compose it. The unity of
an art is the synthesis of the various parts of a work of art; and, where
this is sacrificed to power, energy, or force, we
feel that something essential is wanting. In this
matters the judgment will be guided as much by
the sense of fitness between the detail and the
central and unifying idea as by emotion. Few
have manifested the law of form more perfectly
than Shakespeare, who nearly always produces in
us a feeling or judgment in which we repose in a
discised unity amid a wealth of plot and incident.

5. Ethical implications.—Behind all these tech-
nical considerations, governing the evolution and
control of the formal element in art, lies the fun-
damental truth that form is always subject to the
influence of moral ideas, to the ethical quality in
the personality of the artist, and to the acknow-
ledgegment accorded by humanity to the Supreme
Good. In particular must moral character in the
artist be a powerful influence in the form of his
art. As Ruskin said, a bad man is not likely to
produce art of the highest kind. The precise ways
in which the ethical factor affects the forms of
expression in art cannot be reduced to strict classi-
fication; but it is safe to say that it will impart to
all works of art, where its influence is allowed to
work, a sincerity and earnestness, as well as a
certain chastity and exaltation, not otherwise
attainable. After all, the highest art culminates in
the supreme revelation of Nature, the perfect
man, who unites the ideal in the real, in whom
God and man are reconciled. Thus, even on the
formal side, art and religion are seen to seek the
same end. However this may be, it is certain that
we can never permanently approve, either aesthetic-
ally or morally, an art, however beautiful or cor-
rect in its mere form, which lacks the qualities of
greatness, imparted to it first by the ultimate
idea, and next by the ideas to which it, by means of its
forms, gives a local habitation and a name. If it be
a man of high ideals, the form of his art is
likely to reflect the quality of those ideals.

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H. DAVIES.

FORMALISM, FORMS.—See WORSHIP.

FORMOSA.—1. Geography and ethnology.—
The Formosa of this article is a continental is-
land, extending from 20° 30' to 25° 15' N. latitude,
and from 129° to 127° E. longitude. Its southern
end lies 336 miles due east from the British crown
colonies of Hong-Kong, and its northern end some
140 miles E.S.E. of Fuchan, the capital city of
the Fukien Province of China. It has a length of 252
miles, and a breadth of 80 miles across the widest
or middle part; while the coast-line encloses about
13,500 square miles of territory—an area consider-
ably larger than Holland, or about half the size of
Scotland. Thickly wooded hills cover the whole
eastern side of the island, the ranges culminating
in Mount Morrison, which is more than three
times the height of Ben Nevis, and was so design-
nated by Richard Collins, after the name of his
dear friend who began missionary work in China
fully one hundred years ago. (See the Brit. Asiatic
Soc. viii. [1864] 25). For the most part, the in-
habitants of Formosa are found in the towns and
villages scattered over the broad, level, western savanna, and may be classified as follows: (1) the Malay aboriginal tribes, made up of (a) 180,000 Pehopan, who live in the more accessible valleys, and (b) 40,000 semi-nude savages, who occupy the higher mountain ranges, differ in speech, colour, and dress from the Pehopan in speaking their own Polynesian dialects, and spend their time in hunting for game or for the heads of people with whom they have no tribal relationship; (2) the descendants of immigrants from the mainland of China, consisting of (a) about 50,000 from the Kwantung Province, who speak the Hakka form of the Chinese language, and (b) about 122,000 from the opposite province of Fokien, who use what is known as the Amoy vernacular; and (3) about 83,330 Japanese, who began to arrive when the island was Japanese territory.

2. Religious and other beliefs; manners and customs.—With regard to the religious beliefs and practices of the people of Formosa, it is not necessary to enter into details about the civilized Pehopan and the Chinese settlers, because these two classes may be looked upon as one so far as superstitious worship is concerned, while other articles in this Encyclopedia will deal in an exhaustive way with the religions of China and Japan.

The first thing to notice in making any statement about the savages of Formosa is the extreme paucity of the information which is available. No European or English-speaking scholar of recent times has acquired any of their dialects, or heard anything more than two or three days at a time. It should be remembered, however, that, for thirty-seven years during the first half of the 17th century, the Dutch were in possession of Formosa—at a time, when the ancestors of the present-day hill tribes swarmed all over the western side of the island. Devoted pastors from Holland then laboured for the conversion of this people, and they have left on record many notices of the native customs which are still to be met with. In the absence of anything more circumstantial belonging to this period, the present writer may here transcribe from his Formosa under the Dutch (1905, p. 75, and passim) the following account and bones.

The ridiculous part of their religion is that the people find sin in things which are really not sinful. For instance, it is considered as evil for any one to build a house on some sacred ground, or to retire to that house, the instant the sign of the king or the king's troops are known to be near. The Formosans imagine that there are several gods, each having his own work and abode; but of one it is said that the Supreme Creator they know nothing, affirming that the world has existed from all eternity and shall eternally so remain. Nevertheless, they believe that there are certain rewards for the good, and severe punishments for the wicked; the former having to cross over a very difficult gulf before they can become partners of great joy and every variety of pleasure, while the latter will never be able to cross this gulf, but will be thrown into the flames of punishment for their sins; a doctrine which would seem to involve belief in the One Divine Being, since there must be a Supreme Ruler of the universe if all men are to be judged according to their deeds.

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The Formosans have several gods whom they worship, and to whom they sacrifice in time of need, two of them especially being regarded as excellent in power and riches. The one—
FORMOSA

(1) In June 1867 R. Swinhoe spent two or three days among the Kweiyling and Tylokok tribes of south-eastern Formosa, and his account is of some interest. He described the dark-coloured race, whose features, speech, and customs suggested a decidedly Malay-Polynesian origin. They had a decided philtrum, and two or three signs of short lines arranged in compact groups on their foreheads, the upper and lower consisting of eight horizontal lines each, and the middle ones six. The tatoos of youth begin when they are sixteen years of age; but, when further on in their teens, and when they have qualified for marriage by capturing the head of an enemy, they are tattooed under the lower lip with a square of short horizontal lines. The faces of the married women showed first three simple lines; then two rows of signs like X between two lines lower down; and, below all, four more simple lines. These people usually wear very little clothing, but on holiday or festival occasions gaudy dresses are worn; and, on celebrating a marriage, they all turn out in fine attire, and assemble at the house of the bride’s father, when the skull won in that combate which entitles the bridegroom to take up his position is brought forward and presented to the bride, who prepares a draught in it by mixing spirits with the brains, and then offers it to the guests, commencing with the chief of the tribe and ending with the bridgegroom. The huts of the Kweiyling are made of thatch, and built together in protected groves of rattan, and thatched with palm leaves. The women and old men do most of the hard work in cultivating the fields for dry rice, sweet potatoes, and vegetables. When the pestilence or war is raging, they protect the women and children in the houses or cabins in which they slept was sufficient to account for the prevalent sickness. They commenced the building of new structures by digging a large oblong pit about four feet deep. The earth forming the floor of this pit is then thrown about, and the sides are built round with large stones. When the ground is hard, they place the buildings, and other articles used by the deceased while living, are placed beside the body; some simple ceremony of mourning is gone through, a couple of the nearest relatives fill up the grave, and everything goes on as usual.

There is not much to remark about the Kale clan of Formosa. They were found to be a finely formed healthy-looking race, their faces free from tatt marks, and all of them wearing a reasonable amount of clothing; not a few, indeed, being rather prettily arrayed in bright-coloured dresses, and ornamented with ear-rings, bangles, and necklaces of cornelian stone. The chief of the village of Ka-pu was a stately-looking dame, who received the respectful service of her people as a matter of course. The few presents offered by the writer for her acceptance at the close of the introductory ceremony included about twelve yards of a highly-coloured cotton print which at once stirred the hearts of all the beholders. It was a piece of the finest Manchester stuff, with great staring flowers on a scroll-work; and yet that bit of cloth made a remarkable impression on the minds of this people. All formality was now banished. The writer and his party were looked upon with some share in the manufacture of this wonderful production; the word was passed that a first-class medicine-man was now among them; and their pent-up feelings found relief in an order to have supper prepared forthwith. Very few
traces were met with of any belief in the unseen. Ghosts are known to exist, and various simple expedients are resorted to for propitiating them, and avoiding evil, while at harvest time, offerings of thanksgiving take the form of laying out little quantities of grain and cooked meat, that the good spirits may partake of the feast, before the people feast themselves on what is left. The Kalo also indulge in the practice of head-hunting; for one morning when the writer pointed with strong disapprobation to a number of freshly-clad-in-skulls, the Kaplingers immediately shouted out with great emphasis, "Lang-wah! Lang-wah!" meaning that all their customs in connexion with head-hunting were not only blameless, but greatly to be commended.

3 A two days' journey south-east from Kapling brings one to the country of the Amia, the largest tribe in this part of the island. Our fullest knowledge of the Amia comes from George Taylor, Chief Lighthouse Keeper at South Cape, from whose notes mainly the following account has been compiled. The Amia trace their descent from the occupants of a long catamaran which was washed ashore at Filam many years ago from a distant island of the Pacific; the place of debarkation is still pointed out and the scene of an annual religious offering to the spirits of those early castaways. They have also the tradition of a 'first man and woman,' believing that, long ago, some great unknown being planted his staff in the ground, whereon a bamboo and then a tree gave birth to a man and a woman, the impression of whose feet on a large stone is still shown to privileged persons, at a place called Arapini. The Vilans, or common people, in the Supreme Deity named Maraktoo, who is supposed to live 'above and beyond the earth,' and whose assistance is implored on all occasions of danger. The ceremony of adoration and propitiation is always accompanied by throwing handfuls of small glass beads in the air, together with small pieces of pork. Among the villagers living near South Cape, however, the belief in a special Supreme Deity is unknown, although spirit-worship prevails, with belief in witchcraft, and in prophetic powers as displayed by certain individuals. Beads and small slips of bamboo blackened on one side constitute the ritual implements used when interviewing the spirits; and the priest who is to interpret to the inquirer, by the odd or the even number of beads, or by the position of the bamboo slips as they fall, what the spirits wish to make known. Thus ghosts or spirits of the dead are generally believed in, and thought to be visible to the priestesses; indeed, if they appear to others than those authorised to interview or observe them, it is considered necessary for such unlucky beholders to plead for the immediate intercession of the priestesses, lest death should ensue.

Spirits are supposed to dwell in caves, cliffs, and high places, and to be the cause of echoes; and accordingly such localities are held sacred and reserved for superstitious ceremonies and incantations, these being gone through when the tribe is going on the war-path, when sickness prevails, or on other important occasions. The village elders among the Amia have the power to see what goes on there; and the chief sight brought before them is that of the priestesses contorting themselves and getting worked up into a kind of ecstasy, till they swoon away. In the midst of all this, there are left till they enter the village next day to make known the will of the spirits. Those priestesses have a reputation for superiority in knowledge and power, and they are frequently consulted by the people of other tribes. The Amia believe in an after-state, where good and bad actions performed in this life meet with corresponding good and bad consequences. They have no special code of moral law, but are very much guided by use and wont, and by what they suppose will benefit each other and the community generally. The dead are supposed to enjoy a future heaven, a hell, and a purgatory. Every one, of course, hopes he will go to heaven after death, and hell seems to be reserved as the possible terminus ad quem for one's neighbours. They say, however, that, since no one ever comes back to complain, the future world must be better than the one they stay with here.

There is not much courtesies, or observance of nuptial ceremonies among the Amia. Young people fall in love with each other, and proclaim their intention; should no objection be raised, there is the usual gathering of friends with its necessary feast. Cohabitation generally follows. The Amia have only one wife at a time, but divorces are very frequent, and arise from infidelity, or some trifling dispute, or incompatibility of temper. The Amia are not a very jealous tribe, and the children are made by the village chief, whose decision is accepted as supreme and final. Sometimes the offspring of divorced persons consult their own inclination as to which parent shall retain custody of them, though in deciding this point the grandparents have an influential voice. No stigma is attached to the children, and, in so far as they can, they strive to take up residence in whichever home is the more comfortable. A curious custom is for all the young unmarried men to live and sleep together in a large dormitory, where story-telling and drinking bouts take place. The idea is to keep the minds of the young women and children from being debased—an end that is served by causing them to come in contact only with staid and elderly people.

Before going to hunt, the Amia split open a betel-nut in which they place a red bead (one of any other colour is unsuitable), and, laying it in the palm of his hand, waves it in the face of heaven, invoking protection and success in the chase. When any one is sick, they go to him, and the chief sight brought before them is that of the priestesses contorting themselves and getting worked up into a kind of ecstasy, till they swoon away. The men, to the extent of the enemy has been killed, a few drops of his blood are sprinkled on the ground as an expiatory offering. To go to the land of the Dead the Amia includes beef, pork, and all kinds of fish, with rice and vegetables; but they never partake
of chicken, believing that fowls are the abodes of good, gentle spirits, and should, therefore, not be used as food. When hungry and far from home, they find relief by tightening their girdles and chewing betel-nut, of which they always carry an ample supply. They suppose that earthquakes are brought on by the pig eating insalubrious food, and Kalaptep, the former causing thunder by knocking about the household effects in his anger, and the latter producing lightning by uncovering herself in her displeasure—this being a favorite method which Amia females adopt for showing their temper against others. The people of this tribe further believe that the sun, moon, and stars were made by two spirits named respectively Dyangha and Bortean; and that the sun revolves every day round the flat world, going under the earth at night. During warm weather, both men and women go about stark naked in their own villages; but, when travelling or hunting outside, the men wear waist-cloths and the women jackets and petticoats. This may be noted down as numbering about 12,000.

Since the cession of Formosa to Japan in 1895, various successful attempts have been made by Japanese travellers and scholars to obtain fuller information regarding the ethnography, language, customs, and folklore of the native tribes, but their access has been made easy of the use of the records which are unknown to the outside world, or in reports which were prepared for the local administration, and they are all in the Japanese language. Y. Ino especially made good use of the opportunity given him for collecting a large amount of useful data in every district of Eastern Formosa; and, from the ethnological and linguistic material obtained, he has divided all the aborigines into the following eight groups, proceeding from the north downwards: (1) Atayal, (2) Vounum, (3) Tsou, (4) Tsaiilien, (5) Paiwan, (6) Yuauma, (7) Ami, (8) Peco. Only a brief summary can be given here of Ino's remarks on the superstitions of some of these tribes. Among the Atayal, ancestor-worship is the main religious observance. The people suspend cakes or boiled rice or millet from trees, on the day before full-moon at seed-time and harvest, and hold a general feast that day, at which there is much drunkenness, and any amount of riotous, licentious dancing by the young women and girls of the village. The Vounum also meet for ancestor-worship twice a year. Their distinctive ceremony consists in the fixing in their houses of bundles of green grass, and sprinkling native whisky on the ground in front—such acts being looked upon as sacred that day—and, while fire from the striking of steel on flint serves for everyday use, it must be obtained by the rubbing of two sticks on ceremonial occasions like this. People of the Tsou tribe have a tree near the entrance to their villages which is thought to have a peculiar sanctity attached to it, and once a year they sprinkle whisky on the ground under its branches, and worship the spirits of their ancestors. They also regard a certain kind of orchid as sacred, and carefully cultivate it near the holy tree just now referred to, as their forefathers are supposed to have carried this flower into battle and thereby to have gained their victories. The Tsaiilien occasionally observe a ceremony which takes the form of arranging on the ground dishes containing rice, millet, fruit, and native wine, and mumbling over them certain prayers or incantations; the offering being supposed to come down and preside so long as the ceremony lasts. Severe penalties are inflicted on any one who breaks the rules of this ceremony, or who offends by stepping within the charmed circle. A tradition is current among the Tsaiilien that their ancestors came down from heaven with twelve earthen jars; and another tradition is that the moon gave birth to them, for which reasons an old earthenware jar and an ancient circular piece of white stone are still preserved and treasured as being as old as the race. The Paiwan think that the spirits of their ancestors dwell in a thick wood; others that they are entombed in swords handed down from generation to generation. They worship these swords to plant their fields and at harvest-time, and once every five years, on one of these festival days, they join in a game called Misweepeum. This takes the form of the players trying to catch a bundle of wood bark on the point of their bamboo lances, the one who impales it being considered the victor. According to current tradition, this practice is the survival of an ancient game in which a human head was tossed about and then offered as a sacrifice to the spirits. On a certain festival day among the Puyuma, a monkey is selected and tied to a tree in front of the boys' public dormitory, where it is killed by the arrows which are thrown at it. The village chief afterwards steps forward and throws a little wine three times skyward, and a little more three times to the ground. All present thereupon spit on the dead monkey, and cast its body away, before joining hands in the hilarious dance which follows. Tradition explains that during early times, when the Puyuma were all-powerful, a member of some subjugated tribe was always sacrificed on such occasions, but that, in their present weakened condition, they have to be satisfied with the oblation of a monkey.


W. CAMPBELL.
FORTUNE (Biblical and Christian).

Greek (St. George Stock), p. 93.

Celtic (W. G. Walshe), p. 91.

FORTUNE (Biblical and Christian).—Two inconsistent conceptions of fortune are found in association with Heb. thought. The one recognizes it as a superhuman force acting alike upon gods and men, and gradually deifies it as a person to be invoked and appealed to. The other keeps its appportionment strictly within the functions of Jehovah, without any betrayal of the monothestic position; and this conception eventually established itself as a norm of thought and devotion in Christendom.

I. There are several indications that Fortune was known to the early Semites under the name of God, and amongst them must be placed the ancient tradition in Gn 39:3. If the text be read according to the direction of the Masoretes (742; so also the Targum), Leah is represented as first exclaiming, 'Good fortune is come,' and then selecting the term as the name of her husband's son. The tribal name may have been current before this explanation of its origin was given; but the vivid human interest of the narrative points on the whole to the opposite conclusion. The Aram. lady was so delighted at the success of her device and the close of her disappointments that she gratefully recognized the action of the power which she had already learnt to be superior to any local god, and chose for the child a name that would be a memorial of her gratitude and a pledge of his future prosperity. At the time of the narrator this power had probably itself been invested with personality and exalted to the rank of a god. At the more ancient period, in which the traditional Aramaic is placed, and earlier still, a new stage in the development of the thought is represented. The power is conceived as impersonal, with a certain degree of uncertainty attaching to it, which could not be entirely removed by any kind of appeasement. The endeavour to devise means of ensuring the favourable action of this force must have been an important factor both in lessening the power of personification and in grouping the gods into a hierarchy.

1. Origin of the term.—Exegetically the radical idea in the word God is that of cutting or penetrating into something—cutting the flesh as a religious observance (1 K 18:38), or making attacks upon the life of the righteous (Ps 94:9). 'Cutting off' so to make detachments or bounds is a later meaning (see Osv. Heb. Læx. s.v.). Hence fortune is conceived primarily as an external influence, hostile, or at least likely to be mischievous, breaking in upon a man's hope or scheme, and not to be averted by the ordinary worship of the local god. It was an easy step, in accordance with principles traceable in almost all the early stages of primitive religion, to invest this influence with neutral qualities and make it a source of good as well as evil. That is evidently the stage corresponding with the presuppositions of the narrative of Leah; and the full personification of Fortune as superior to the local gods and altogether outside their control was a natural corollary.

2. Early range of the conception in Israel.—It was almost certainly from the Canaanites that Israel learnt this conception of Fortune, and also borrowed the nomenclature. Several place-names might be quoted in evidence. On the northern limit of Joshua's conquest was the town of Baal-gad (Jos 11:17, 12:13), possibly identical with the Baal-hermon of 1 Ch 8:6 (but see Currit, ICC [1910], in loc.) and Jg 5:6. The boundary was variously indicated, topographically by the conspicuous landmark of the famous mountain, or, more reverently, by the village on its slopes with the significant name 'The Lord of Good Fortune,' or 'Good Fortune is our Lord.' To interpret the place-name as denoting that Baal brings good fortune to those who reside there is to ascribe to the people an impossible degree of idolatry even in those polytheistic days, unless the name was current among the earlier Canaanites. In that case it is easy to understand why the Israelites sometimes preferred to call the site by a less suggestive name, Migdal-gad (Jos 15:59), again, in the territory of Judah, is 'the tower of God,' and is commemorative of the ancient worship there. Apparently it dates back to a time when Fortune had already become personified in the locality.

A similar feature can be traced in personal names, two of which are of interest. The Judges (Nu 13:11), 'my fortune,' was one of the twelve spies; and Gaddiel (Nu 13:3), 'God is my fortune,' was another. Neither of these involves the conclusion that Fortune was already regarded as an independent deity. Endearment or devotion is a sufficient explanation. The former recurs again centuries later under the form of Gaddius (1 Mac 23), the eldest brother of Judas Maccabaeus. For Gadi (2 K 15:14, 15), the father of Menahem, there are Nabatean and Palmyrene parallels; and a bond of tradition may be found with the Aram. wwtj, 'a friend,' naturally popular with mothers. Assag (Assyrian) is the name of one of the signatories of the covenant in Neh 10. A number of the family or clan had returned with Ezra 12, but cf. Neh 7:1. In Edom, Elcan evidently was a large one, and the original detachment was followed by a second. Its name has been intermixed with the Aram. wwtj, 'a friend' (Tory, Is 18:15) 'a runner' or 'messenger'; but no early instances of its use in this sense can be found. 'Gad is mighty' (Gray, Heb. Prop. Names, London, 1898, p. 145) is the meaning; and the thought is not a general complaint of the hardness of fate, but the ascription of power to a god Fortune conceived as personal. It is not probable that this family learnt this special form of idolatry in Babylon, for so far that district has yielded few, if any, traces of the prevalence within it of the worship of Fortune. The family became familiar with the worship in their earlier Canaanitic home, and brought it with them to Babylon, where, in the misery and disappointment of the times, it may well have spread among many foreigners, though not attracting the native Babylonians. That large numbers of this family should join the return from the Exile would be due partly to a reaction in favour of the worship of Jehovah, and partly to an adventurous and unstable type of character.

The only explicit reference in the OT to the worship of Fortune is in Is 66:3, where also the kindred deity Destiny (Meni) appears. The passage may be dated before the reforms of Nehemiah (4:11, 38), or even before the return from the Exile, in which case it may help to account for the large representation of the Pm 'Assag among
3. Range outside Israel.—It is not easy to relate the worship of Fortune in Israel with that in kindred races. Aramaean, Arabic, and Syrian parallels are available; and there are possible connexions with Bah. beliefs, though there is no distinct mention of the god. Lenormant writes (Chald. Magie, Eng. tr., London, 1877, p. 120) of a ‘Maranie’ on the Euphrates, in a Sassy state (Hibb. Lect., 1891, pp. 400, 476, 480) that Merodach was worshipped with a view to obtaining and confirmed with the claims of Jahweh. He has been identified with Merodach and Ishtar; and this has been strengthened by the Oriental practice of worshipping Jupiter and Venus as the Larger and the Lesser Luck. Yet the resemblance may be on the contrary, an illustration of the tendency to invest the gods with real influences upon the life of man, and, under other circumstances, to identify them with the planets. Early in the Christian era, and there are antithetical rather than graded powers; and Meni is the god of a hostile fate, not of a lower degree of good fortune (cf. Skinner, loc. cit.). Similarly the LXX renders Gad by Beelzebub and Meni by Φοίη, though the reverse order is supported by evidence of value, both Mosaic and Patriarchal. But the significant thing is that the translators selected equivalents that are in antithesis. The one denotes a goddess, conceived as benignant; the other a supernatural force, awful, arbitrary, and only with difficulty to be subdued, even of neutrality. The Bah. conception was different. It invested its higher deities with a power of affecting both good and evil; but, as far as available information goes, it did not personify this power, or even separate in thought the power from the gods so far as to reach the Greek conception of a natural force playing upon gods and men alike. Hence neither the origin of the name Gad nor the responsibility for his worship can be claimed for Babylon. In Persian religious thought there is a closer parallel, possibly dependent in part upon Heth influences and itself in turn influencing the development of the conception in Israel. An Old Persian word for ‘god’ is βαγά (Av. baga; Skr. bhaga, ‘fortune’; an implication of divinity accompanying the Av. term). Bevai is a Phrygian name for Zeus, and the identification of Gad with Jupiter, may be of a later date.

At a comparatively early period signs of personification appeared in the principal Sem. dialects. A transition is found in the Syr. phrase quoted by Paget, ‘the king’s fortune’; ‘the king’s spirit,’ with which may be compared the practice of swearing by the φύτης of the Seleucids. To place also the name was applied, at first adjectively in the sense of lucky or unlucky, and then with the implication that the place was the abode of a genius or god, kindly or ill-disposed. Both the islamic passage and the non-Jewish evidence point back to an indeterminate period, during which the process of personification had been going on. For, just as an inscription of the 4th cent. B.C., dealing with the festival of Lyurga, refers to the cost of the sacrifices γάρ Φώτος and συμμετοχής, and converses the impression would be treated thus in association (cf. Jerome, loc. cit.), there being, indeed, traces that the two were thought of as a pair, different in gender but complements in function. This ‘preparing a table’ does not carry the idea of indulgence and debauchery, as in Ezek. 23:10. The thought was that the worshiper would ingratiate himself with the gods, avertingills which Destiny had prepared and securing the beneficence of Fortune; and the simple motive of courting the favour of a god was both original and permanent (cf. Jer. 44:18). But the same thing was true of the Phrygian Attis or Adonis, whose cult was popular in the districts (see, however, Nöldeke, ZDMG xxxiii. 471); and in any case a Phrygian deification of God at an early date must be allowed. A later inscription was discovered at Makr in 1892, and records that a local council vowed to θεία —a close parallel to the ‘Fortunes Coelestis’ of CIL viii. 5633. ‘Lovers of God’ is the title of a goddess, a village in Haraun to the family at whose expense the altar was built. The Phrygian inscriptions are later, but again are well established practice. One of them links the worship of Bel with that of θεία —Θεία θεία, i.e. Gad, the patron deity of the clan θεία. Another protects a seaport with this inscription: ‘I am a breaker-in may have no seed or fortune for ever, and thereby shows how the original conception of fortune as not itself a god, but simply a good gift administered by a god. Destiny and the later personification are antithetical rather than graded powers; and Meni is the god of a hostile fate, not of a lower degree of good fortune (cf. Skinner, loc. cit.).

In pre-Islamic Arabia, again, Manāq is one of the three chief deities (cf. Qur'ān, liii. 20; Wellhausen, Rel. arab. Kultur, Berlin, 1897, p. 26; Lyall,iese. Arab. Relig., 1899, p. xxix), and is identified by the astrologers with Venus, the goddess of Lesser Luck (Siegfried, JPTA, 1975, p. 356 ff.). Gad would consequently be the god of the Greater Luck, and equivalent in popular thought to Jupiter, to whom that title was given. These, however, are comparatively late identifications, and cannot have exercised any influence on the growth of the conception in Israel. What is wanted is a common source for beliefs that prevailed among the principal Sem. races, and cannot at present be traced in Bah. literature. The Assy. Mann rabs (WAJ iii. 68) has been suggested as the origin of Meni (Lenormant, 190), with Kibi-dunak as that of Gad. The latter god is described as a dispenser of favours; but the linguistic affinities are too remote to allow a confident assertion of dependence. Its growth is more likely to be found in a primitive human instinct, or rather in one of the sources of the differentiation of the religious instinct, and that the development itself in Israel, checkered at times of religious revival, recovered under the influence of the indigenous and neighbouring peoples.

4. In the NT.—There are no distinct indications in the NT of the personification of Fortune or of its particular worship. The nearest passage is
1 Co 10th; but 'the table of demons' need not even be the formal locustierism in the precincts of the altar or anything more than the least that was customary after certain sacrifices. It shows that the Christians at Corinth were in danger of becoming entangled in the idolatrous usages of their city, but not that they yielded to the seduction of the worship of Fortunatus, who may well be an inference be drawn from the allusions to idolatry and other magical arts in such passages as Ac 9th, 18th Rev 21st 22nd 23rd ch. (see DIVINATION). For, though it was undoubtedly believed that in such ways the weather and the crops, and the health and conditions of men, might be influenced for evil or well, the power to remain under the control of the sorcerer was rarely viewed as concentrated in a single person of Divine rank. A close connexion with idolatry is evident, especially in the cities of Asia; but not many in the Christian communities went further than to suspect or suppose that the arts of the sorcerer might wield supernatural influence or even stir demonic agencies into action. Of the recognition of Fortune as a distinct deity there are no clear traces.

II. While the worship of Fortune was a form of idolatry that marked certain groups in Israel and occasionally became a national danger, views consistent with monotheism appeared at an early time, surviving even after the fall of Israel, and gradually gathered force, and in the Christian era may be said to have held the field without any real rival. Of views common to both Jews and Christians, it is possible to distinguish several constituent elements.

1. The fundamental belief is that man's earthly fortune is in the hands of God. To that belief frequent and varied expressions of gratitude because of God's gift of good fortune are abundant (as De 8th Ps 23rd 28th). His aim is conceived as no longer chiefly or only earthly good, but as the moral perfection of men. 'Rains and fruitful seasons are sent not merely to fill the stores with wheat and the vats with wine, but (Ps 24th 25th) to bring glory to Himself (Ac 14th; and the fortunes of men are so arranged as to become opportunities for or incitations to resultant love. The one purpose is to promote the good of the man in the prosecution of His benevolent purpose (Ph 2nd), so He works around them, shaping their lives with a view to their spiritual triumph.

3. The methods by which the results are attained are arbitrary; nor have the difficulties been entirely removed either by the teaching of Scripture or by later Christian thinking. In His administration of fortune, God or Moses is a divine witness to God as the dispenser of earthly favour, and a call upon Israel for worship because in that respect there is none like Him (De 33rd). It was an ancient proverb that 'the lot is cast into the lap; but the whole disposing thereof is of the Lord' (Ps 16th), and in the early Christian practice the object was to provide a means by which an intimation of the Divine will might be given (Ac 1st 2nd Ps 31st 32nd). Each of the godly remnant singing 'My times are in thy hand, much as in Is 35th stability in the conflict of life observed, of the fear of the Lord. All useful gifts, writes St. James (1st), are from above, coming down from the Father of lights; similarly Jesus Christ in Mt 7th and 8th, where He even expositates with men for supposing that their physical needs are forgotten. On the other hand, God dispenses evil fortunes, according to the OT, where evil spirits and even Satan (Job 19th) are His ministers, by means of whom He brings adversity and disaster upon men. In the NT these beings become antagonistic to Him, and themselves independent sources of evil; but they are still subject to His restraints, and countervailing aids are provided (2 Co 12th 4th). Everywhere God is the Lord of life; and the decrees of earthly weal or woe is portioned out by Him.

4. To God's aim in determining the changing conditions of life, there is a difference, at least in emphasis, between the OT and that of the NT. Briefly the difference is that in the latter case moral considerations outweigh material good fortunes, and secular well-being falls into the background. The possession of the inheritance of the land (Ps 37th Is 57th et al.) were taken literally in the one case, but in the other (Mt 9th) are ineffectually involved with moral advantage. Even Ps 33th, with its marvellous record in the records of devotion, is concerned primarily with earthly fortune; and the still waters, green pastures, and spread table are at least as prominent as the guidance of the voice of the shepherd. But the NT gives the consciousness of the conscious presence of God. Between Job's estimate of life's relative values and that of St. Paul, there is a striking contrast. Paul loses everything (Ch 42nd); Job gains more than he had originally possessed (Job 42nd); Paul, too, lost most of the good fortune that men possess (Ch 9th), but his comfort and most prominent, though not by any means the only, pursuit of the good man in the OT, whereas against such comfort, either in itself or in its natural influence on human character, the NT with the strenuous and lowly life of Jesus in its centre is a protest. From Mt 5th alone it might be inferred that God is indifferent to the moral evil of man in His gift of fortune; but the real meaning is that He affords the supreme example of fatherly love by showering kindnesses upon His children, though suffering (2 P 3th). His aim is conceived as no longer chiefly or only earthly good, but as the moral perfection of men. 'Rains and fruitful seasons are sent not merely to fill the stores with wheat and the vats with wine, but (Ps 24th 25th) to bring glory to Himself (Ac 14th; and the fortunes of men are so arranged as to become opportunities for or incitations to resultant love. The one purpose is to promote the good of the man in the prosecution of His benevolent purpose (Ph 2nd), so He works around them, shaping their lives with a view to their spiritual triumph.
make the best of himself is unchanging. No course could be safer or kinder than to adapt the conditions of life in the community to the needs of mutual service. How God's particular gifts in detail conducive to that end is often a subject of dispute, but the rule to be observed is, in so far as the principle on which He acts is the implication of Scripture and the treasured conviction of Christianity.

5. Of this belief in the obscure but ethical disposal of human fortunes by God the Incarnation in some of its aspects is an illustration and pledge. On the one hand, as devised by God, it is such a modification of earthly conditions as is designed to bring redemption near. The cosmic relations are altered by the introduction of a new and mightier force; and upon the individual play influences from the incarnate Person and Life, which strengthen the tendencies to right and make the passage easier. Good fortune smiles upon him in his upward struggle, and supplies him with encouragement and aid. Further, in that God spared not His own Son (Ro 8.34), the transcendent gift is a proof that His bounty will provide everything necessary for salvation, and ordain the different earthly fortunes of man accordingly. On the other hand, the varied incidence of fortune in the life of the Incarnate Man brought opportunities for His growth in wisdom and in favour with God and man (Lk 2.49). Though he was Son, yet he learned obedience by the things which he suffered, in order that having been 'made perfect' (He 5.9), he might become the great high priest and offer to God gifts for the sins of the people, in whom there was no spirit of disobedience to be overcome, but a self-surrender to be kept complete at every stage by a deepening insight into the Father's will. Thus 'through sufferings' He was made perfect (He 2.10). His humanity in its absolute dependence upon God became complete in moral dignity and power—a qualification for sympathy with men in every state of fortune, and an eternal proof that God's intention in regulating the good and ill of life is to lead men on without coercion to the right.

LITERATURE.—Commentaries on Gen 30, especially Dillmann 6 (1863), Daubenschöns (1867), Guetala (1875), Driver (1864), Skinner (1919); and on Lk 2, especially G. A. Smith (1860), Daubenschöns (1889), Duhm (1891), and Bin (1893). See also Bous. (568) 479 f. and Sandalius, 'God,' in F.R.S. VI (1869) 225-236.

FORTUNE (Chinese).—Popular ideas of what constitutes Fortune among the Chinese are variously classified.

1. We have, for instance, the Three Auspicious Stars, an almost universal compendium, viz. Happiness, Emolument, and Longevity. A brief examination of each of these will help to elucidate the meaning which they convey to the Chinese mind.

Happiness is represented by the character 福, and is frequently symbolized by the figure of a bat, the words for 'happiness' and 'bat' being similar in sound. 福 consists of a combination of two characters, signifying 'worship' and 'full,' and is explained to mean 'the felicity which attends Divine protection.' The character is found in every possible connexion: on the gables of houses, on funeral biers, on painted scrolls; and is constantly heard from the lips of mendicants, and in all forms of congratulatory speech. It may be said to include every variety of earthly desiderata, and to correspond to our notion of 'blessedness.'

Emolument (禄) is equivalent to the receipt of official emolument, or the material acquisitions which are conferred by the imperial favour; and suggests the fact that, in China, one of the great objects of ambition, and one avenue to greatness which is open, practically, to all classes of people, is the attaining of a position in the service of Government. The 'upper classes' in China consist, almost exclusively, of officials or their relatives, and the 'landed gentry' are represented to that extent, by retired officers or their descendants.

To the Chinese, therefore, the 'happiness' of official emolument is an endowment of a much more tangible character, and much more capable of realisation, than its equivalent in Europe. The word 禄 is pronounced in the same way as that which stands for 'deer,' and hence 'office' or 'emolument' is often suggested, symbolically, by the picture of one of these animals.

Longevity (寿)—compounded of the characters for 'old' and 'speak' (indicating the period of age to speak with authority—is frequently represented by a crane or a tortoise, creatures regarded as enjoying an extraordinarily long term of life; in Taoist circles, by the peach, with which is connected the gift of immortality.

May the Three Stars [i.e. Happiness, Emolument, and Longevity] shine on you! It is a familiar inscription on complimentary scrolls, etc.

It must not be supposed that every one possesses an equally unlimited capacity for enjoying these inestimable graces of Fate. In Chinese life, they are strictly measured by the receptivity of those who would seek to partake of them. The portion of happiness which is allotted to a man may be early exhausted by too large drafts upon the funds; the conditions may be present, but not the power to assimilate the blessings proffered. Happiness, in measure, is within the reach of all, but great emoluments are the result of exceptional service. Similarly, with regard to predestination, though it is asserted that 'God never sends a man into the world without providing him with a place and a vocation,' it is also admitted that he may be unable to maintain the dignity of the office which Heaven has assigned him. Longevity depends upon the Decree (see Fate (Chinese)), which is often represented as depending on Heaven's apportionment—as the proverb says, 'Complete happiness comes from Heaven'; whilst a lesser degree may be cultivated by the virtuous—'Great virtue carries happiness along with it'; 'To dwell in peace is happiness.'

2. A somewhat more comprehensive category is that of the 'Five Blessings,' viz. Longevity, Wealth, Tranquillity, Love of Virtue, and a Full-filled Destiny.

Wealth.—The characteristic 福, which differs in tone from that which stands for 'happiness,' though both are alike in the Roman system, is explained as signifying a well-filled shelter; and, no doubt, to the vast majority of the Chinese this best represents the gifts of Fortune. The god of wealth is found in a conspicuous place in almost every house of business, and is daily propitiated with offerings and guanxian (a sacrifice); for, though economy and frugality are recognized as having an important bearing on the acquisition of wealth, it is believed that 'riches and honour depend upon Heaven.' In this connexion it is understood that only to a minor extent can man attain to Fortune by his own efforts—as the proverb says, 'Great wealth is from Heaven, little wealth comes from diligence.' The mind which is wholly concentrated on amassing a fortune is likely to be disappointed, since 'Longing for wealth destroys happiness,' 'Man dies in the pursuit of all.'

Tranquillity includes health of body as well as peace of mind.
The Love of Virtue is regarded as one of the most certain means to Fortune—as the proverb says, 'To do those who do good deeds in secret, Heaven sends the happiness in time'; 'Those who rely on virtue prosper'; 'By a single day's practice of virtue, though happiness be not attained, yet misery may be left at a distance'; 'Perfect virtue acquires nothing, therefore it obtains everything'; 'Perfect virtue does nothing, but there is nothing which it does not do.'

4. A faithful Dayak, or 'attain to the end of the Decree,' is equivalent to completing the span of life which is allotted; or, in other words, to die a natural death.

5. Another summary is described as the 'Three Abundances,' i.e. Abundance of Good Fortune (Pu), Abundance of Years (Shou), and Abundance of Male Offspring (Nam); but these are recognized as comprehended in the above, and as being synonymous with Wealth, Honour, and Tranquility. With regard to the last item there is a proverb which says: 'If your sons and grandsons are good, what (other) wealth do you want? If they are bad, what use is wealth to you?'

6. Other terms applied to Fortune, such as the 'wealthy' and 'rich' families, and the Creator is sometimes referred to in language which seems to represent him as 'Fortune,' in accordance with the idea that what is brought about for men by a higher power is to be attributed to Fortune.

7. Methods adopted for the attainment of Fortune. The pursuit for Virtues was, in the early days, regarded as the best, if not the only, means by which the gifts of Fortune might be attained, such gifts being then comprehended under the head of 'wealth' and 'honour'; and in the Classics there are very few references to any arbitrary methods for the acquisition of these gifts. The following of the Tao, or living in conformity with Nature, was regarded as the surest way of attaining happiness; but in later ages—possibly as a result of the introduction of Buddhism, with its material object of the bliss of divinity, which was gradually invented, including the 'happy gods,' or gods of Fortune (the Chinese equivalent of the Larves and Females), who are worshipped with a view to the dispensation of the gifts of Fortune. Thus the god of wealth is represented as supporting in one hand a 'shoe' of silver, and holding up a number of fingers of the other to indicate the amount as popularly supposed, the amount of percentage he guarantees his votaries. The god of the heartse, commonly described as the 'kitchen god,' usually takes the form of a rough print, which is posted on the wall of the large oven which serves for cooking purposes in Chinese kitchens. The spirit is supposed to preside over the affairs of the household, and is periodically 'invited,' or presented with offerings of food (in some families twice a month); and on the occasion when the 'god' is timed to ascend, in a chariot of fire, to Heaven, i.e. by being burned in a bonfire, a special oblation of flesh is presented, so as to secure his goodwill as he mounts aloft to report the doings of the household during the year just closing. Xuexue, generally denominated the 'god of mercy,' is worshipped by women who are desirous of obtaining male offspring, her name in Chinese being most commonly 'the fact that sons among the figure of the goddess is in some cases an almost exact reply of the Madonnas and Infant—a resemblance which has its good reason for believing, is the result of a definite historical connexion, rather than a mere accidental coincidence. The varieties of means for warding off evil influences and increasing prosperity are almost incalculable, including, in addition to the wearing of charms of every description, the writing of felicitous inscriptions on doors and walls, the scattering of a special powder in the four corners of apartments, the avoidance of ill-omened expressions, and festival and other special occasions, and the careful study of the calendar with a view to the discovery of lucky and unlucky days.

5. Fortune-telling is the case of those who are in doubt, recourse to various classes of fortune-tellers is usual. These 'calculators of destiny' are generally divided into six classes: (1) those who profess to foretell the future by throwing the eight cyclical characters which denote the year, month, day, and hour of birth; (2) those who study the physiognomy, the fingers, etc., of their clients, and attempt to delineate character, etc., thereby; (3) those who employ a number of slips of paper—generally 64 pieces—on which special symbols are written, and a specially-trained bird, which picks out two of these at a signal from its master; the two characters thus selected are interpreted as applying to the circumstances of the inquirer; (4) those who dissect the two written characters which are drawn at random by the applicant from a number submitted to him, and thus profess to trace his fortunes; (5) those who use the tortoise-shell and other contrivances, after the manner of throwing dice; (6) professors of Feng-shui, or geomancers, who examine the configuration of the landscape, and advise against house building, townes, etc. Cf. further, ERE iii. 731.

6. Feng-shui, 'wind and water,' is fully treated in a separate article, vol. i. of the Encyclopaedia.

5. Popular scepticism.—Whilst recognizing the fact of the traditions which appear to find almost universal acceptance, it is well to remember that there is another, and by the common proverb which seem to cast doubt upon the orthodox beliefs. To refer to the several departments of happiness which are described as ideal, it may be said that, though the traditional means for the attainment of these desired ends are plainly exhibited and generally adopted, painful experience and doubt prevalent, dissentient, and have suggested that the nominal high roads do not always lead to the destination indicated, as the following quotations may serve to show.

Happiness.—'He who possesses a liberal mind will have great happiness.'

Fortune.—'The happy man finds a happy grave without the aid of the geomancers.'

Fortune-teller dies in the prime of life, the Feng-shui philosopher has no more success, whilst pointing south, north, west, and east, mumbles meaningless words; it is among the hills there are places of holiness and kindred, why do they not seek such a place and bury their own ancestors there?'

Misfortune and prosperity have no door, they are evoked by men themselves.'

Abundance.—Riches and honours are but a dream, office and emolument like hobbies on the water.'

Poverty.—'You are in the storehouse of resentment.'

Honesty never gets rich.'

Chivalry.—'To him who does not love money is some of itself; he is honest, he is governed by being content, promote health by keeping an easy stomach, promote wealth by cutting down expenses.'

Longevity.—'For cultivating long life there is nothing like moral goodness.'

Virtue is a sure means of longevity.'

Similar expressions are applied to Fortune generally, as a, e.g., 'If heart and look both are bad, you will be poor all your life long.'

Lucky people need never be in a hurry.'

The unlucky may do anything.'

Thus, though belief in the efficacy of charms of various kinds may appear to be universal, and fortune-telling, in its several departments, has proved to be a most profitable business, it is not necessarily the case that those who constantly resort to these methods, there is a deep underlying suspicion as to their effectuiveness. It may well be that, as the saying goes, man clutches at a straw, so the Chinese people, taking counsel of despair, find some consolation in the thought that by so doing they are omitting no precaution; and that, even if no good may result, they are thus maintaining the traditional observances.
The very complexity of the methods may itself account for the growth of sceptical opinions; the number of lucky days, as set forth in the Imperial calendar, and the innumerable cross-currents of good and evil fortune which must be considered in the selection of a date for any enterprise, have resulted in the feeling expressed by the paradox that one is as little likely to go astray by neglecting to consult a calendar as to believe in an unravelling the complications which attend the selection of a lucky day, according to the arbitrary methods therein set forth. Inspiration in China has, therefore, overreached itself, and the future of the Chinese people may serve to show that the chains of traditional custom are not so inexorably fixed as some have been generally supposed by their Western critics.

Literature.—See under FATA (Chinese) and Penso-sui.

**FORTUNE** (Greek).—The word ῥῆχος contains the stem of the verb ῥῆξεν, which meant originally to hit the mark, as ῥαπατέρα meant to miss the mark. Hence his time, hence, to begin with, the idea of success. The conception of Fortune is absent from the early religion of the Greeks. Macrobius (Sat. v. 16) has pointed out that the word ῥῆχος of Homer occurs in Homer. By the father of poets everything is assigned to ῥῆχα. On the other hand, Macrobius remarks that the later poet Vergil even ascribes omnipotence to Fortune. Fortune is a goddess who grows up before our eyes in historical times. There is no mythological history attaching to her. She is more like the simple allegorizations of Roman religion than the complex deities of Olympus, endowed with a family history, personality, and adventures by the prolific fancy of the Greeks. She is not, as such, however, to the fullest sense, a personifier of a power in China like Cybele; nor is it necessary to connect her with the mysterious Ceres. Fortune is rather a home-growth of the Greek intellect. The connection between the nymph Tyche and the goddess Tyche, which has been so charmingly traced by F. Allégre, seems to be devoid of solid foundation. We read in the Theogony of Hesiod (line 380) that one of the daughters of Oceanus and Tethys bore this name:

Ἐκείνη ἦν ῥῆχα, τὴν τε καὶ ἀγκαθοῖαν, ἐγείροντα τε ἀτέρως ἐκείνην.

And again in the *Homerian* Hymn to Demeter (line 420) one of the maidens who was playing with Persephone, when she was carried off by Pluto, was called by the same name:

Μηλυκέλεια ἦν, τὴν τε ἀγαπάττου, ἐγείροντα τε ἀτέρως ἐκείνην.

The juxtaposition of the two names ῥῆχα and ἄγκαθοι, in a comparison of the two passages generally, makes one feel certain that the author of the hymn was borrowing from the Theogony. But that this humble nymph, lost among the crowd of her three thousand sisters (Theog. 341), grew into the tremendous power which at last scaled Olympus and ousted the gods from their thrones—this is more than we are required to believe, at least until some proof is forthcoming. All that can really be gathered from Hesiod's mention of the nymph ῥῆχα is that the word ῥῆχα was in the Greek language in his time, whereas we cannot be sure that it was so in Homer's. The names of all the other Oceanides being significant, we may justly infer that Tyche's was also so.

2. The poet.—The earliest surviving word of the otherwise than as a proper name, is in the *Homerian* Hymn to Athena (xi. 5): ῆρηχος ἐστι οἷς ἵλια ἄγκαθοις ἐχθροῖς ἐγείροντα τε ἀτέρως ἐκείνην.

Here ῥῆχα is not a person, but a thing. The next is in a fragment of Archilochus (no. cxxxi. Gait.):

τὰ μὲν ἄγκαθα τοῖς ἀτέροις ἐγείροντα τε ἀτέρως ἐκείνην.

The thing is here on its way to being a person. It gives and no longer is given. Half a century later, 1

1 *Prometheus* (iv. 30. § 5) is responsible for the identification.

Alamen finds a very respectable pedigree for this new personage. According to him, Fortune—presumably the fortune of a State—is the sister of Loyalty and Persuasion, and her mother's name is Forthought (Plut. de Fortuna Rom., p. 318 A). Her son, whose archonship was in 504 B.C., reduces the person again to a thing. In the Introduction to his Laws he invokes Zeus to grant them success and honour (fr. xiv. Gaisf.).

Προετικά μὲν ἄγκαθα τετηρείται τοῖς ἀτέροις ἐγείροντα τε ἀτέρως ἐκείνην.

According to Theognis (c. 544 B.C.), it is not virtue or wealth which is the one thing needful for life, but simply luck (129 f.).

Μὴ γὰρ ῥῆχα τοῖς ἀγκαθοῖς, ἀγκαθοῖς ῥῆχα ὑπέμεινη, μὴ ἄγκαθοι μὲν ἄγκαθοι γέρους ῥῆχα.

In other words, 'Nothing succeeds like success.' Pindar (c. 491 B.C.) is full of references to ῥῆχα, sometimes associating it with Divine agency, as τοῖς μὲν δαίμονοις (Ol. viii. 67), τῷ θεῷ θέω (Pyth. viii. 53), σὺν Ζεῦ φοίην τοῦ (Nom. iv. 17). He appears to have composed an Ode to Fortune, in which he declared her to be a Fate, and rather more powerful than her sisters (Paus. viii. 38. § 3). To this Ode is assigned the fragment which is preserved by Aristides (ii. 256).

τὸ γὰρ ῥῆχα μὲν ῥῆχα τοῖς ἀγκαθοῖς

in which the sentiment is the same as in Go 92—

'The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong.' Ol. xii., which is said to have been recited in the temple of Fortune at Rome, is derived from an Ode of Pindar. This poem consists mainly of an address to the goddess herself, though its professed object is to celebrate the achievements of a runner named Leander. The ode may be considered as the first formal appearance of Fortune on the stage of Greek literature. Under the title of 'Saving Fortune' (*Sωζομενή Τυχα*), she is hailed as the daughter of Zeus Eleutherius, and is invoked to protect Himeria, seeing that ships at sea, battles by land, the counsels of the Agora, and the hopes and fears of men are all arrayed by her power. It was under the same aspect, as the protectress of cities, that Pindar bestowed upon Fortune the epithet of *φερέτωρ* (Paus. iv. 30. § 4).

2. The tragedians.—In *Eschylus,* a junior contemporary of Pindar, ῥῆχα is rather a form of Divine agency than itself a Divine agent. With this highly religious poet all is else or τύχη or μοῖρα, with Zeus as chief ruler. ῥῆχα hardly appears as a power of any consequence to mankind. In the *Chóropoi* (178-6), 'Zeus, the father of the Olympian gods,' is invoked to bestow good luck (ἦ τοῖς τυχαῖς; cf. Sept. 422). In Sept. (622) we have an express denial of the reality of chance:

ὅτα ἐκ τῶν ἄγκαθων τὸν θεόν ἐπιγείης.

If we find in *Agam.* 664

τῷ θεῷ τοῖς ἄγκαθοι ταύτῃ ἐστίν 

it is only as an alternative for

τῷ θεῷ, τοῖς ἄγκαθοι, οἷς ἐστίν.

The only passage in which Fortune figures as an independent power is Sept. 426,

ητίμι τοῖς ἄγκαθοι διετήσαι 

which may be let pass as only a way of speaking, 1 which does not represent the true mind of the poet. Neither does Fortune bulk largely in the mental field of Sophocles. We have mention of τοῖς τυχαῖς (Ed. Tyr. 80), but it is only in a passing phrase. The unhappy Iocasta, who proclaims the reign of Fortune and denies Providence (ib. 977 f.):

Thus is soon convinced of her error; the noose seals her confession that Fate is more than Fortune, and that some intelligent, but inexorable, power rules

1) For other allusions to τοῖς ἄγκαθοι see *Eschylus,* see *Agam.* 663; *Prom. Vin.* 375; *Pers.* 921; Supp. 350, 543.
the lives of men. Odipus, flushed with his unparalleled successes, proclaims himself the son of Fortune, the giver of good, and is therefore prepared to face with equanimity the possible revelation of a low origin (Od. 1080 f.).

But the actual revelation is such as to render the light unendurable to him, and it makes the chorus moralize on how man's prosperity 'never continues in one stay.' This might be taken as illustrating the power of Fortune; yet it is not Fortune but Fate, since it has all been foretold. With Sophocles, as with Aeschylus, the religious view prevails, and fortune is nothing but the mode of action of the gods (Philoct. 1516):

It is not till we come to Euripides, 'the rationalist,' that Fortune appears as a rival power to that of the gods. Euripides was a man of a religious cast of mind, but he was unable to accept the contradictions of the pre-Socratic theism, and he gave voice to the new science and the new philosophy of the Periclean age, as Tennyson did to that of the 19th century. The antithesis between Zeus and Fortune is strongly brought out in a passage of the Hecuba (488-91), where Talithus, finding the ex-queen of Troy lying in the dust, exclaims:

Talithus does not decide the point, neither does the poet himself,—he was not an atheist, but a sceptic,—but his language is loaded with a triple tautology, as if to emphasize the apparent futility of the notion that there is an over-ruling Divine will discernible in the course of human affairs. Chance, it is suggested, is the true bishop of the diocese of man.

With the elder dramatists we found that there was a tendency to resolve chance into Divine agency; with Euripides the tendency is to resolve Divine agency into chance. If the gods do not intercede over the cauldron of human destiny, they throw in confusion, 'in order that in our ignorance we may worship them' (Hec. 900). In Euripides, too, we become aware of a change in the conception of τίτανες. With Sophocles, as with his predecessors, τίτανες, so far as it was a power at all, was a benign power, and meant definitely 'good fortune,' so that there was no need to add the epithet ἡμικλίνη. But with the Ischymenes, Euripides, τίτανες became the designation of ill Fortune. Aias says Agamemnon (Isc. 785), 'What woman was ever so unfortunate?' 'There is none,' replies Hecuba, 'unless you were to speak of Troy here.' Also, apart from personification, the word τίτανες is used by Euripides in a bad sense (Herc. 714):

With later writers this was usual only when the word was employed in the plural. τίτανες properly means no more than 'turns of chance.' But man looks upon good fortune as his right, and so attends more to the chances for the worse. The successors of Euripides went further than he did himself. Chremes, a tragic poet who flourished about 890 B.C., answers the question asked by Talithus:

A rigorous consistency must not, indeed, be demanded from the chatty and charming Ionian. He gives us views of all sorts. The same poet says, 'No one, who is made to dilate on the jealousy of God, also offers the following highly sensible remarks—that good counsel is the best thing; for, even if it be worsted by Fortune, its goodness is not impaired, whereas he who has counselled ill, even if Fortune attend upon him, has only made a find (εὑρίσκετος).

Although Thucydides came into the world only 13 years later than Herodotus, yet in turning from the one to the other we are passing at one bound from the theological to the purely stage of thought. Thucydides makes Pericles say, or appear to say (for the passage admits of different interpretations), that there may be a real unintelligibility in the march of events, as there is in the processes of human thought; there where we are accustomed to ascribe to chance whatever takes place. "On the face of the sea, that is, in the common τάσις τοῦ θεοῦ, in the purpose of the gods." 1

1 L. 164. 1 5: ὤφθον τῷ Ἐρατώτατῷ τοῦ Προμηθέως ὡς τὸν ἔρριπτον θεοῦ, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς λόγους τοῦ θεοῦ.

place contrary to reason. If anything can be shown to have a definite cause, then it does not come under the domain of chance. That name is reserved for those events for which we are unable to assign a cause. Chance constitutes the irrational, or at all events inescapable, element in things, which is not under the control of human forethought. τὸ γὰρ now no longer a person, but a thing. There are certain events for which no cause can be assigned. These it is convenient to throw together under the head of τὸ κεκόψθεν. This meaning of the term was facilitated by the use of τὸ κεκόψθεν as a mere auxiliary verb—τὸ κεκόψθεν. ‘I am walking,’ ἔγειρον τῷ περιττῳ, ‘I was walking,’ and so on. So generally τὸ κεκόψθεν meant what has been raised as to how it came to be. If one had insisted on raising this question and getting an answer from Thucydides, he might perhaps have referred one to Divine agency. At least he makes the Melians declare that they rested their trust not to be defeated by τὸ κεκόψθεν, (v. 204), seeing that their cause was just.

4. The orators.—In the orators we may expect to get nearer to the heart of the people than in a scientific thinker like Thucydides. For the orator, who has to play upon the feelings of the multitude, must share those feelings himself, or at least seem to do so. Let us take the greatest of them—Demosthenes. He is full of passages on the power of Fortune. But he might be, seeing that his own ‘best-laid schemes’ went ‘agley.’ It was the touch of truth in the reproach brought against him by his rival, Zóchises, that he was an unlucky statesman, which gave it its sting. Zóchises (in Ctes. § 157, p. 76) warned the Athenians against the ‘evil genius and ill fortune which are as a pet rattle to the feet of the man.’ Demosthenes himself displayed a secret distrust in his own luck, when he got his friends to put their names to his decree, instead of signing them with his own hand. But in his public speeches he put a bold face on the matter. He had done all that in him lay; if fortune thwarted him, he was not to blame (de Cor. § 203). But it was absurd to attribute the disasters of the State to his personal fortune. Nor was the fortune of the State itself really bad. For the Athenian State had the advantage over other States of having played the nobler part, and yet being better off than they. But Athens had to take her share in the general blast of ill-fortune, which was then blowing over mankind—with the exception, we must suppose, of Philip (de Cor. §§ 253, 254, p. 811). This curious conception of a hierarchy of ‘fortunes’—that of individuals, of States, and of mankind in general—is in accordance with the genius of polytheism, and throws light on the manifold worship of Fortune public and private, which became more prevalent as time went on.

5. The philosophers.—Anaximenes (544 B.C.) made a very shrewd remark when he said: ‘We are wont to use the term ‘fortune’ to the element in life which is irascible to man. For, if we always went right in our judgments, the name of Fortune would never have been heard of’ (Stob. Ecl. ii. 240). We get a very striking estimate of the power of Fortune in what may perhaps be deemed an unexpected quarter. Democritus (450 B.C.) is quoted as saying (Stob. Ecl. ii. 344):

‘Men have framed for themselves an image of Fortune by way of apology for their own ill counsel. For Fortune does not oppose wisdom much, but the quick-witted and clear-sighted man guides most things in life with her.

With regard to the power of Fortune, Epicurus speaks as contemptuously as his predecessor, in language which seems to be modelled on his. In the fourth book of the Laws, he says: ‘The Athenian stranger is on the point of saying that “pretty nearly all human affairs are a matter of chance.” He corrects himself, however, and substitutes the formula that “God, indeed, governs all things; but, under God, chance and opportunity (τὸ κεκόψθεν καὶ τὴν ὁμοθύμνῃ) are the pilots in all that relates to man,” this again being amended by the addition of “more than chance and opportunity,” as being more polite (κυριαρχεῖται).

But, when we reach the tenth book, which is Plato’s great and final pronouncement on matters theological, we find a very different value assigned to art (τὸ κεκόψθεν). He starts from the view held by some people that ‘all things which come into being, or have come, or yet shall come, are due to three causes, Nature, Chance, and Art—the more important, such as the four elements and the constitution of the universe, being ascribed to the first two, Nature and Chance, and the less important to the last, namely Art. He then goes on to show that the soul is the only thing that moves itself, and must therefore be the cause of all becoming. Now, soul is either good or evil, wise or devoid of wisdom. It is impuity to say that the orderly movements of the universe are caused by an evil soul under the universe; we are therefore compelled to conclude that they are produced by one or more souls possessed of perfect virtue (688 C). But, if soul be prior to body, then the things of the soul are prior to those of the body. And, as art is one of the things of the soul, we are thus brought to a Divine artist more exact and painstaking than any human workman, and one therefore who will not neglect small matters any more than great. In this cosmos of the beneficent soul (688 E), what room is left for chance? Plainly there is none. Chance then—Plato does not say this, but we may say it for him—must lurk in the chasm which precedes the cosmos, where dwells the evil soul of disorder.

If we turn now to Aristotle, we shall find, as usual, the same thing said, only in less theological language. After giving us in the Physics (ii. 5) his famous fourfold division of causes, into Material, Formal, Efficient, and Final, he goes on to say that Chance also and Spontaneity (ii. 4: καὶ τὸ κεκόψθεν καὶ τὴν ὁμοθύμνῃ) are reckoned among causes. How then do they come in, and are they not? First, let it be observed that a thing is due to chance, not if it have not an efficient, but if it have not a final cause—in other words, if it be not intended. A man who is not in the habit of going to market goes thither on a particular occasion, and meets another man who takes the opportunity of paying him a debt. This, we say, is due to chance. It is the kind of thing that might have been done on purpose, only in this case it was not. Each of the two persons has his own particular cause for going to market, and the conjunction of the two results from the conjunction of the two, as a kind of by-product. Thus Chance (κεκόψθεν) is something within the sphere of mind or human agency which is not due to that agency. The whole of a man’s actions is to Man, so is Spontaneity to Nature. When some effect which might be produced by Nature is not produced by Nature, then we say that it took place spontaneously. It is not necessary here to discuss the question of Spontaneity. But, with regard to Chance, let it be observed that Aristotle finds the source of it in undesigned collocations.

1 See Stob. ii. 246, which may be emended from Cte. de Fin. i. 66.
FORTUNE (Iranian)—FORTUNE (Jewish)

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St. George Stock.

FORTUNE (Iranian).—The concept of fortune in the sense of chance or good luck finds little place in the Zoroastrian and Pahlavi texts. A happy wife is termed 'fortunant' (hukhka) in Vis. II. 7, but neither this nor the frequent word udtē, 'weal,' 'good fortune' (lit. 'according to wish'), can be regarded as expressing the idea of good luck in the common acceptance of the term (cf. the passages listed by Bartholomaeus, Alltrum. Vorderb., Strassburg, 1904, col. 417 f.). Nevertheless, there are a few passages which seem relevant in this connexion. Success (aspēnima dagēnma) is objects of reverential honour (Vis. xvi. 1.), as is also the everlast-ing and endless progress of events according to one's wish (vispedyām . . . udtdēto aksōrānem), which it is the torture of the wicked not to enjoy (Vis. xviii. 2). Supplication is offered to the Pādras (g.e.) for all boons (aīyandēs aīyandēs) (Vis. xii. 135), who grant what they pray for (ib. 24), as do Ardvi Sūra Anāhita (Ib. v. pāzēm), Turēya (ib. vii., d. Vīdrapa (ib. i. pāzēm), Midrāya, ib. vii., Vāra, ib. v. pāzēm), Añi (ib. xv. pāzēm), and Ḡāzira Vāri (Vend. xx. 3).

Boons are invoked upon Viśtēpā by Zoroaster (Vis. xxiv. 48), while Ātēr (the Fire) prays (ib. 88) on behalf of all the monarch: 'May the Aposerter and Distributor bring to thee a boon (spāvarōm yosym bāzdās mēzērātā), the allusion probably being to Ahura Mazda. According to the 9th cent. Sankhā-Gamobi Vaviy, iv. 8, 29 (tr. West, SSE xxiv. 128, 120), heaven (spāvar) is the place of the Divinities (bāzdās), who are 'the distri-butors of all earthly blessings,' from which they always justly bestow their distribution of every happiness.' In conformity with this, Haoma granted his four first worshippers the heroic sons Yima, Thraēāsā, Urvārāsā, and Keresāsā, and Zarathushtra (Yama ix. 2, 10, 18); and the obtaining of boons is the direct reward and forious observance of religious duties (Vis. xxiv. 25).

Among the people it would seem that fortune played a larger role than in the official religion, for bāzdā, 'fortune'; bāzdātā, 'fortunates'; bāzdāvār, 'fortunates' (king); Vādā, 'wealth of the fortune of the free-born'; Sēkkōtātā ('possessed of wealthful fortune'), Sēkkōta ('having the fortune of God'), Sēkkōtā ('possessed of young (.i.e. sturdy) fortune'), Sēkhtēta ('having good fortune'), Sēkhtētā ('having fortune (chief) new'), Sēkhtōtā ('possessed of fair fortune'), Sēkhtētā ('to whom fortune is friendly'), Sēkhtētā ('he whose fortune has bloomed'), Sēkhtētā ('possessed of the fortune of a sūtrā'), Vādātā ('possessed of evil fortune'), and Zēddātā ('fortunates through the birth') (ib. 90).

Yet it must be confessed that the concept neither of Fortune nor of Fate (g.e.) was encouraged by Zoroastrianism. In the ceaseless conflict of good with evil, which human and super-human beings alike must wage, there was little room for mere chance. Such fortune as the Iranian might crave—and all that he might have—was such as his own efforts could win; and the most besides that he might hope for were those boons which Ahura Mazda and his wise Divinities might vouchsafe to their pious worshippers and fellow-combatants against Ahriman and his forces of evil.

Side by side with fortune went misfortune, not always ascribed to merited sin, but even for the good. Why the wicked so often flourish in this world while the righteous suffer woe is answered by ascription of both good and evil fortune to Fate by the Dēdām Māmōq-i Xrāt (II., tr. West, SSE xxiv. 63.)

FORTUNE (Jewish).—God's free interference in human affairs is one of the cardinal doctrines of the OT. To His causation as rewarding and punishing all men's deeds, all things are ascribed the all the happy and unhappy experiences in human life. There is therefore no Hebrew equivalent for 'fortune'. The old explanation, us., Gn 30:1, rendered in LXX to τηρη, should be translated 'by the help of Gad' (cf. "mōq", v. 18, and BDB, art. 'Gad'), a divinity of fortune supposed to have been worshipped in Laban's household (see FORTUNE [Biblical and Christian]). Post-exilic Judaism further developed the doctrine of Divine compensation. Ezekiel was the first to teach its application to individual no less than to national events. The fundamental doctrine of the Wisdom literature is that piety is renumerated in this life. The gift of the book of Tobit is that it stands well, and better than before, because a righteous man is rewarded for his merit. The Mishna Pir. t. 1, which is repeated in the daily Morning Prayer, sees in the observance of certain commandments a profitable investment, 'the interest of which a man enjoys in this world, and his eternal reward in the world to come.' In Ecd. 260 we read: 'Whoever keeps one commandment is rewarded (in this world), he will be exalted, and he will inherit the earth.' Or Pirke Av. 11: 'Whoever keeps the Law in the midst of poverty shall eventually keep it in the midst of wealth.'

Likewise, a state of adversity is not a mere sport of fickle fortune, but an exercise of גונום, the attribute of God, just as 'the appearance of a judge' is the manifestation of the Law in a human person in a judicial manner, יבש, יבש, 'measurement for measure.' To every transgression of the law an appropriate penalty is attached: 'With what measure one measures it shall be measured unto him' (Soa. 88). 'There is no death and no suffering without sin' (Sha. 56a). Frequently the correspondence between each manifestation of misfortune (so-called) and the particular sin which it caused is not evident; but it exists, and resignation is demanded of the sufferer. The Burial Service is called גונום, the acknowledgment of the justice of the Divine judgment. Some instances of misfortune are viewed as evident manifestations of Divine retribution. Thus bereavement is the penalty for broken laws, for neglect of the study of the Law and of certain ceremonies; domestic strife, premature birth, and death of children in infancy, for want without cause. For with-

This is an ancient and pious view, plied generally in the Talmud (E. T. 9: 96). The Mish. San. vi. 6 directs that after an execu-

the relatives and friends of the criminal should not eat with the judge and witnesses and acknowledges the justice of the decree.
holding tithes and other priestly dues comes failure of crops. Violence is punished by swarms of locusts and famine; perversion of justice by wars and pestilence; false swearing, blasphemy, and Sabbath-breaking by unnatural conceptions, infanticide, and devastation; incest, idolatry, and neglect of duty observing the Sabbath and jubilee years by exile; formation by wounds, bruises, and the bite of serpents, etc. Dryness is a token of immorality, jaundice of hatred without cause, poverty of pride and overbearing, cupidity of slander (Shab. 232 B). Bloodshed was the cause of the destruction of the Temple and driving the Shekinah away (ib.). Jerusalem was destroyed for neglect of Sabbath observance and of daily recitation of the psalms, for impudence, for despising school-children, for levelling classes, for not reproving each other for sin, for slinging the learned (Shab. 1196).

The manifold experiences of life, however, did not square with this doctrine of judicial restitution; and a problem was created which already tried OT saints (e.g. Ps 78). In the age of Kohelst, "since sin is the wages of every evil work," man was not executed speedily or the righteous rewarded, evil was on the increase (Ec 8:11). The author himself did not know what to make of life. The problem shows that the harsher edicts of the religious persecution under Antiochus. A modification of the OT doctrine of retribution became necessary. A man's worth was not to be estimated by his fortunes and misfortunes. The true compensation was in another world. This faith supported the martyrs under persecution. It did not, however, easily solve the problem to the legalist.

R. Yehudia: 'A priest cannot reap the prosperity of the wicked and the suffering of the pious (Pirke Ah. iv. 15). When Meir was on Mount Sion to receive the Law, God revealed to him the greatness and mastery of R. Abiba: 'If I had seen such a reward? Indeed, God replied, I have been doing it' (Maim. nn).

To account for the inequalities of life with regard to nations and individuals, the Rabbis devised a theory which is a combination of OT views and that which relegates retribution to another world, according to which the prosperity of the wicked is a reward in this world for some merit, the punishment being reserved for the next world; the suffering of the righteous is to be regarded either as compensation for former impiety, or as a trial of their faith and constancy, or even as an atonement for others. For references to the Rab. literature on the subject, see Weber's Jud. Theor., Leipzig, 1890.

The spread of astrology all over the Roman Empire, its universal acceptance as an exact science, and its hold on the popular mind alike excited also Jewish folklore and introduced into the Judaism of the Talmudic period an attraction for the pagan doctrine of fortune. The term used for it is 'נ, mezad, Aram. 'מעזד, mezadla, standing also for constellations of the zodiac and for planet. Since there is no record in the post-exilic age of a refusal to accept its tenets, the re-introduction of the term into the Jewish vocabulary should be traced back not to Babylonianism, but to contact with the 'Chaldeans,' astrologers and charlatans of the early Empire. Maxzla, then, is not a divinity like Fortuna, but is either a 'station of the planet' at the time of a nativity or of some other event, or it signifies, in the late Magian sense, a sexual act performed by a man on an ox (R. Y. vii. 52). But the use of the word was discouraged by the Rabbis because of its association with the god Gad of Is 60 (see RV).

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Thus Shab. 679 forbids the repetition of the magic formula, 'נ יז 'נ יז, god godl's zikra leh = in my fortune, O my fortune, and relax not.' A place Godol ("fortunes") was hallowed into Godol ("dunghole"); a Jewish word, and maszol ("right luck") is still used as a form of congratulation at births, weddings, the blessing of the new moon, and other occasions.

Mankind, then, has a mysterious connexion with the planets (Targ. Ec 7:9). 'All depends on that connexion (Masza)!' (ib. 9:7). "Life, children, sustenance depend not on a man's merits, but on his Masza' (Moed Ed. 26a). Every individual has a Masza. 'In the case of a sudden fright, if one does not see the cause of it, his Masza sees it' (Targ. 93). 'The Masza makes wise; the Masza makes rich' (Shab. 156a). 'Every plant has a Masza in heaven, which influences it and make it grow' (ib. 49a).

'Even the copy of the Law in the Synagogue chest is subject to the influence of Masza' (Zebar. Mach. 184). 'Animals, on the other hand, have no Masza' (Shab. 30a). 'The Masza sees neither what is before it, nor what is above it, but what is below it, like a man descending from a ladder with his back turned, having only his feet forwards and his backwards' (Yev. R. 13). 'The propitious hour recedes if pursued' (Ber. 56a). The Masza of two is stronger than that of one (Ber. 15b).

Celestial phenomena came to be regarded as harbingers of good or evil.

Thus an eclipse of the sun forebodes evil to the Gentiles and of the moon to the Jews, because the former reckless time by the sun, the latter by the moon. If the eclipse spreads, it concerns the inhabitants of the respective places; but, if in cold-heaven, the portent refers to the whole world. A comet is an omen of war, and a grey one of famine. If the eclipse is at sunset, the forthcoming evil will be delayed; if at sunrise, it is near at hand (Shab. 50a).

Some days were considered more fortunate for transacting business than others (Ezra 5:25). The corn of the year before a jubilee was supposed to be of finer quality (ib.). There were lucky and unlucky months.

'If an Israelite has a lawsuit with a gentile, let him withdraw in the month of Ab because his Masza is weak, but let him present himself in the month of Adar when his Masza is strong' (Tif. ed. 56a). Merit is impounded on a meritorious day, and guilt on a guilty day (ib. 56b). It is unlucky to cut the hair of a horse on a Tuesday, because on that day Nineveh is destroyed (Shab. 49a).

The spread of astrology all over the Roman Empire, its universal acceptance as an exact science, and its hold on the popular mind alike excited also Jewish folklore and introduced into the Judaism of the Talmudic period an attraction for the pagan doctrine of fortune. The term used for it is 'נ, mezad, Aram. 'מעזד, mezadla, standing also for constellations of the zodiac and for planet. Since there is no record in the post-exilic age of a refusal to accept its tenets, the re-introduction of the term into the Jewish vocabulary should be traced back not to Babylonianism, but to contact with the 'Chaldeans,' astrologers and charlatans of the early Empire. Maxzla, then, is not a divinity like Fortuna, but is either a 'station of the planet' at the time of a nativity or of some other event, or it signifies, in the late Magian sense, a sexual act performed by a man on an ox (R. Y. vii. 52). But the use of the word was discouraged by the Rabbis because of its association with the god Gad of Is 60 (see RV).
on R. Hask. 17a, still prevails of changing the patient's name, generally into Chaos, signifying life, or Anis, 'another.' In the formulas used on the occasion (see p. 148 of the Book of Life, ed. B. H. Asher, London, 1863) occurs: 'And thus may his Messiah be changed from evil to good,' etc. Mary of Nazareth is described as the woman who was infested by Messal (Shak. 156), but the belief in astrology was already common.

In the Middle Ages, Maimonides was perhaps the only one who wrote against a belief in fortunae (Yad Ab. Cohab. xi. 8). On the other hand, that most talented Rabbi, Ibn Ezra, was the most superstitious. In the poem on his Evil Star, he maintains that if he dealt in candles the sun would not set in his lifetime, and if in shrouds no one would die. Although this was written in jest, he lived up to the conviction of his ill fortune. He was himself the author of several works on Astrology.

LITERATURE.—See literature at the end of art. FORT (Jewish).

A. E. SOKCRIM.

FORTUNE (Roman).—It is not possible to follow out the history of the ideas which the Romans attached to this word with the same accuracy as in the case of Graeco-Latin one. (1) the Romans have left us no literature earlier than the second half of the 3rd cent. B.C. and (2) when Roman literature begins, it consists chiefly of translations or paraphrases from the Greek, and in the Greek words as fortuna is apt to become modified in a Greek sense. We have no Italian Homer of whom we can say that the word for chance is not to be found in him; we can only infer, and somewhat doubtfully, that, as the idea of a capricious force interfering in human affairs is a late growth in Hellenic, so it may have been in Italy. Our treatment of the subject must begin with the cult of Fortuna at Rome and in Latium—about which we know something, though without any certainty of detail.

Fortuna is formed adjutively from Fortuna, the image of a Roman name, Fortunum from portus, Neptune from some word unknown to us; and forso, so far as we can guess from later literature, must have signified what we call pride, whether good or bad, and is thus a word which in some sense was part of the religious consciousness of the people, a combination quite in keeping with Roman religious usage, but probably indicating a degenerate offshoot from the original Latin stock. That stock, if we examine it as it appears at Precenesto, where we have some little knowledge of it, may have been touched by Greek influences at a very early period, for the idea of a deity presiding over fortunes and therefore capable of foreshadowing the future is the true meaning, then, of the Latin Fortuna; it is not till the time of Servius Tullius that a form of the words as Fortunae can hardly have been seriously affected. The cult-title of the goddess here was Primigenia, which must mean 'first-born'; and that she was so or came to be regarded as the first-born daughter of Jupiter is made certain by an inscription of great antiquity, first published in 1882 (U. L. iv. 2683): 'Orecia Numeri nationis curat Fortuna Diuoni fili primocemia donom dedi.' Here a woman presents an offering to Fortuna, the first-born daughter of Jupiter, for help in childbirth (sacros sancta); she had no doubt consulted the oracle, which here, as elsewhere in Italy, foretold the future by means of lots (sortes) mixed together by a boy before she drew one. Now, it is true that this anthropomorphie conception of the deity as daughter of Jupiter is foreign to old Italian ideas, and, as Precenesto was undoubtably the scene of foreign cults at a very early period, it is highly probable that Fortuna here taken on some of the characteristics of the Greek Tyche or Nemesis; but this could not well have been the case if the nature of the original Latin deity had not been of such a kind as to suggest or allow a connection with Jupiter. But Jupiter is of all Italian deities the one who could be associated with anything in the nature of blind chance; and we
are justified in conjecturing that this Fortuna was a Power believed to govern the destinies of women in childbirth, perhaps also of the children to be born. Her name was at all times especially a woman's deity, as her many cult-titles clearly show; and adorning her great temple at Praeneste, as Cicero tells us (de Div. ii. 65), was another also of Fortuna, which women had by law frequented by matrons; here there was a statue of her with two children in her lap, popularly (but not dogmatically) believed to be Jupiter and Juno (see Wisewore, op. cit. p. 259; Fowler, op. cit. p. 254 et). So far, then, as we have any evidence on the question, it would seem that the name Fortuna did not suggest to the primitive Latin any idea of blind chance as a ruling factor in the world. Unlike all Latin goddesses, she was a Power to whom, among the chances and chances of this mortal life, appeal might be made for help, especially by women. Not, of course, every change or chance; there never was, as Wisewore says (p. 261), at any rate during the Republican period, a Fortuna who was a general deity of luck; but in course of time, specialised and localised under various cult-titles, she came to be the patron of Roman women, and women, in relation to particular activities or critical moments. It is probable that the cult of Fortuna, already mentioned, was connected with the work of harvest; the foundation-day of the temple, which was beyond the Tiber, was 26th June, when that work would be largely completed; and we have the Colossal of Columella (x. 316) that after a successful harvest the praises of this deity were sung. The other temple attributed to Servius, in the Forum Boarium, was certainly that of a woman's deity, known as Mater Matuta, and also with the Pudicitia of Livy, x. 23 (Wisewore, 287). Fortuna meiaria, connected traditionally with the story of Coriolanus and the persecution of women, was worshipped only by women once married (Dion. Hal. viii. 56), and may therefore have been the spirit believed to guarantee good luck in legitimate wedlock. Fortuna virilis was also a woman's deity, more especially of the lower orders, and was supposed to bring good luck in domestic relations (Fowler, op. cit. p. 65). At the end of the Hannibal war, the great deity of Praeneste was transplanted to Rome, probably after successful results to her oracle, which so far the Roman State had declined to use; but transplanted cults seldom retain exactly their original characters, and here we find the beginning of the Fortuna publica populi Romani, of which we hear so much in later times. Fortuna tends in the later Republic to become a kind of good genius of particular acts and times; Fortuna heuces dieis is the unknown essence in whose charge are the events of a particular day; Fortuna aequitatis is the good luck of the Roman cavalry, and so on. The idea became popular; innumerable Fortuna came into existence (see a list in Plutarch, de Fortunis Romanis, 10); and, as the Greek conception of τιχος became more familiar to the educated Roman mind, Fortuna lost in purity and dignity what she gained in popular favour.

There is thus in the early history of the worship of Fortuna nothing to suggest that the virile and popular Fortuna should ever have obtained to be at the mercy of chance. Such an idea would, indeed, have been utterly inconsistent both with his character and with his complexion of his relation to the gods, who, in his view, so far from being capricious, were always open to supplication, and practically bound to yield to it if approached in precisely the right way. The only right way was known to the religious authorities of the State, and in placing himself entirely in their hands the Roman believed himself to be perfectly safe in all matters which lay outside the sphere of his own will and his own activity. But assuredly he never minimized the importance of that will and activity—virtus, as he called it. The Fortuna Romanorum is a late idea, not to be traced further back than Polybius, and therefore, unlike the others, not by any means definitely conceived; it was by virtus and pietas, strenuous endeavour and a sense of duty, that the Romans of later days believed their forefathers to have conquered the world.

2. In the scanty remains of the earliest Roman literature, offspring though it was of a sceptical Greek age, we find nothing to suggest that the Tyche of Euripides and his successors had gained a footing in Italy. Fortuna, it is true, as well as jory, has come to mean the incalculable in human affairs, and in this sense was used throughout all later Roman literature; but we have distinct traces of the true Roman feeling that ‘fortunam esse industria subveniendum.’ One of the sententiae of Appius Claudius Cecus (c. 300 B.C.) is the famous saying: ‘Est unaqueque faber ipsa sanae fortunae’ (here Fortuna has partly the sense, which never left it, of prosperous condition); and in the Annalium of Ennius (i. 172 [Bacherrn]) we find the perennial proverb, ‘fortibus est fortuna viria data.’ So again, old Cato, in his Origines (quoted by Gallus, ill. 7), wrote that the gods give a soldier ‘fortunam ex virtute.’ Such sayings fairly neutralize commonplaces like—

‘Multa dies in bello conturbat unus
Et cum multis fortunae fortius reuocatur.’

(Stesich., Am. i. 150).

In Plautus and Terence the use of fortuna and its compounds in the ordinary sense of luck or chance is constant, but not even the influence of the Greek original ever suggests the elimination of human endeavour, unless here, as in Captivi, ii. 54, or Pseudolus, ii. 14, the chances of war as bringing captivity and slavery are reflected from the unhealthy conditions of Greek life in the post-Alexandrian period. In Cato’s book de Agricultura, the only complete prose work we possess of the period following the Hannibal war, fortuna is not mentioned. Dis-integrating as the consequences of that war were to the old Roman character, they could not all at once obliterate the sense of the need of strenuous human endeavour, and they may have added to it the first intuition of the idea of the destiny of Rome, her mission to rule the world, which remains immortalized in the story. In spite of an attempt to introduce Epicureanism early in the century, the better minds at Rome kept clear of any degrading doctrine of chance, with its corollaries of individual selfishness and fatese faire.

3. This better tendency was upheld and confirmed by the presence and influence at Rome of two Greeks of great ability, personal friends of Scipio the younger, sympathetic admirers of the Roman spirit—Pamakes the Stoic philosopher, and Polybios the philosophic historian. It is hardly possible to exaggerate the importance of these two men, and especially of Pamakes, as guides to the Roman mind in beginning to realize on the facts of life; and their influence of the power of Fortuna must here be briefly explained. Greeks as they were, they form an integral part of the history of Roman thought.

Both of these men belonged to the Stoic school, but their Stoic doctrines were curiously tempered so as to harmonize with the Roman character, and they were fully doubtless by the knowledge of that character and of the extra-
ordinary progress of the Roman State in the last two centuries. In each we find the freedom of man's will fully acknowledged, and his dependence on his own active endeavour emphasized. Cicero, in his de Officiis (ii. 6 ff.), has reproduced the view of Panetius on this point. The passage is an emphatic assertion of the power of man to work out his fortune by his own reason and will. Not that chance is wholly excluded: "magnam vim esse in fortuna in utramque partem, vel secundas ad res, vel adversas, quis ignorat?" (ii. 6. 10). Accidents will happen which could by no human means have been avoided; but these are comparatively rare, and by far the greater part of the good or bad fortune that may happen to a man, in spite of the element of chance that is always present, is mainly dependent on 'hominum opes et studia.' So far from sitting down passively to take what fortune brings him, the duty of man is here declared to be the free use of his reason and will in modifying for his own advantage and that of his fellow-men the conditions under which he lives (see Schnekel, Philosophie mittel. Epoche, p. 194). It was in accordance with this common-sense view of life that Panetius rejected all divination, thus breaking with the older Stoic view, and also with the traditional Roman practice—a fact which was of great importance for the Romans of the last cent. B.C. The more the philosopher exalts the position of man in Nature, the less need will he ascribe to him of such methods for securing himself in the future.

Polybius was not a professed philosopher, but his mind was a philosophical one, and in his treatment of history it is extremely interesting to note his view of fortune. He works out his own ideas of historical causation independently, and from the popular emicist position—a fact which was of great importance for the Romans of the last cent. B.C. The more the philosopher exalts the position of man in Nature, the less need will he ascribe to him of such methods for securing himself in the future.

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the mouth of his brother Quintus the Stoic view of divination as represented in his lifetime by Posidonius of Rhodes, who differed from his master Panegorus in maintaining that divination, skill and observation can to some extent unravel the mystery of the future, of fate, the "ex omni aeternitate flumen veritas sempiterna" of the Stoics. In the second book of his "De fato" Cicero notes that this view (though himself an augur, and here we seem to find his own personal view of Fortuna. He declares that divination, whether of predetermined fate or of matters accidental, is altogether impossible.

"Quoniam ergo ut quod tumero sit esse casum et voluntatis fortunam, hic [Cicero] esse voluit augurium. Sin illum esse tam contrarium rationis et constat que scire fortunam, et subinde necesse esset. Qui se ex isto esse sciret, et scire quid esse et fortunam necessarium sit, sic enim esse, quod inesse eventium. Sic igitur augur est, qui cur stringit fortunam cum praecognitum esse. (§ 135).

No doubt this is the view of Carneades and the Academic school generally; Cicero tells us as much (@ § 9); but a perusal of the whole book will produce a strong impression that he adopts it in one case and with conviction, and in the incomplete of De Fato, written shortly afterwards, we find much the same view; here also in the course of a long criticism of Posidonius. Fate, he says, is the product of the brain of philosophers; common sense and experience teach us that nature exists and chance exists, but not fate. Where is the need to fide in fate? (secularis fates) is, 'can sine fato rationalium rerum ad naturalia fortunamque referatur?' (§ 6). Such arguments are scarcely convincing, and we feel that Cicero is not very clear as to the meaning he attaches to the words fates, natura, fortuna; but there seems no doubt that he genuinely disliked the idea of a chain of causation—quod erat augendum, as the Stoics called it; he had too lively a consciousness of his own free will, and of the sport of chance in the history of his own time, to accept such a theory. Hence the ascribing possibility to every cause; he lived too much in the world, enjoyed too thoroughly the exercise of his own individuality. Lastly, the reader may well turn to an interesting passage in the De Natura Deorum (iii. 88), in which, after insisting that the gods do not give us virtues, and that we do not thank them for it, but for riches, honour, commodities, and much like, he sums up in these words: 'judicium hoc omnium mortalium est, fortunam a deo petendam, a se ipso cumendam esse sapientiam.' Here, as in the passages above, the book is both false as a theory, and false as a practice, in a double sense, for we all do, particularly in military operations. In describing his defeat at Dyrachium he begins by saying that "fate, qua plurimum potest cum in reliquis praestat quae praeceps in bello, parvis momentis magnas rerum commutationes efficit; ut tum accidit; but after the battle, in addressing his soldiers, he tells them that "fortunam esse inventam esse nondum." As far as we can judge from his own writings, he seems as rational as Lucretius on this point; and, if it be true that he held Epicurean doctrines (which is, however, by no means certain), it may be that he looked on Fortuna much as the poet did—as the mechanical force of Nature acting in ways which we cannot foresee or understand. Lucretius wrote (v. 77):

"Pratae sono cura marmora fortuna guberna.

What and what nature guberna is appears in line 107, 'quod procul a nos fata fortuna guberna.' On these lines Musurus 

But, if Cicero himself were clear of any degrading view of Fortuna, and never in reality personifies her, this is not so with his younger contemporaries. The experiences of the last century of the Republic might well create a belief in the blind or willful dominance of chance in human affairs; society and politics seemed to be governed by no benevolent destiny, or rational law of development. Cicero himself had spoken of Fortuna in this sense when pleading for Marcellus before Caesar (in R. 2. 7. (pro Marc. 1. 7). Sallust was more in the more vigorous manner of a way which we have never as yet met with; 'Sed profecto Fortuna in omni re dominat; as res suecunt, ex libidine magistrorum presciatur obscuratur' (Catil. 8) and in the tenth chapter of the same work, while he looks on the history of Rome conquest down to the destruction of Carthage as the result of labor and justice, he declares that after that terrible event 'severi Fortunam ad missere omnia oris.' The author of the Cesarian book on the Alexandrian war (possibly Asinius Pollio) speaks of Fortuna (ch. 26) in terms of the Greek Nemea, as reserving those on whom she has heaped benefits for a harder fate. And Cornelius Nepos (Dices. 8) in the same way says that the sickness of Fortuna began to sink the hero whom she had just exalted.

It is true, indeed, that neither of the two finest spirits of the Augustan age, Augustus and Cicero, is; he lived too much in the world, enjoyed too thoroughly the exercise of his own individuality. Lastly, the reader may well turn to an interesting passage in the De Natura Deorum (iii. 88), in which, after insisting that the gods do not give us virtues, and that we do not thank them for it, but for riches, honour, commodities, and much like, he sums up in these words: 'judicium hoc omnium mortalium est, fortunam a deo petendam, a se ipso cumendam esse sapientiam.' Here, as in the passages above, the book is both false as a theory, and false as a practice, in a double sense, for we all do, particularly in military operations. In describing his defeat at Dyrachium he begins by saying that "fate, qua plurimum potest cum in reliquis praestat quae praeceps in bello, parvis momentis magnas rerum commutationes efficit; ut tum accidit; but after the battle, in addressing his soldiers, he tells them that "fortunam esse inventam esse nondum." As far as we can judge from his own writings, he seems as rational as Lucretius on this point; and, if it be true that he held Epicurean doctrines (which is, however, by no means certain), it may be that he looked on Fortuna much as the poet did—as the mechanical force of Nature acting in ways which we cannot foresee or understand. Lucretius wrote (v. 77):

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Once more, a curious passage in x. 107 ff. must be
here noticed, because it shows that Virgil could
comprehend the working independently of
Jupiter, and in contrary directions for different
people; in response to the pleading of Venus on
one side and Juno on the other, Jupiter declines to
interfere.

"Saepe conjurae aures laborant, 
Fortunamque versat, saepe Jupiter omnibus ideis; 
Vita visum invenerat."  

Thus Fortuna is in Virgil, as at any rate in the Aeneid,
a moral conception, to which the leader of men,
and indeed all men and States, has to respond by
obedience and faith, inspired by that sense of duty
to god and man which the Romans called pietas. 
When the poet is not speaking of pietas Aeneas, or
of any one who has this sense of duty, he may use
fortuna in the ordinary sense of chance. In
the speech of Turnus (A. viii. 375 ff.), which is intro-
duced by the words "Tallius exarit verbis violen-
tia Turni," and is therefore the speech of one
uncontrolled by a sense of duty, we find quite a
different Fortuna:

"Nisi diebus varias labor manifestis atque
Resulit in mecum, multos alios revellit 
Etenim Turni, et in solido rursus Fortuna leniuit."  

For Fortuna in Livy the reader must be referred
to the valuable summary in the introduction to
Weissenborn's edition, p. xii ff.; the general results
of an independent inquiry can alone be stated here.
Whoever reads Livy's noble Preface to his work
cannot fail to be struck by the absence of any attrib-
ution to Fortuna or Fate of the growth of Roman
power, or the decline of the Republic's schools, must be
moved to see how much 
a fortuna in  
Romeror.  
Here, however, Fortuna is rather
Chaos (v. abbrufare) than the grander conception
of Liya or Virgil; the question raised is whether
the greatness of Rome was due more to Fortuna or
to Virtus, and the author concludes that it is due to
both, but chiefly to Fortuna. "She came to Rome
to stay, and laid down her arms, and was no
more a person of our purpose in this work, but it serves to
show how much people were thinking about Fortu-
na at the time, and chiefly in relation to Roman
history.

(2) Fortuna as Fate, or a guiding power of some
more or less definite kind. It was said at the
beginning of this article that Fortuna, as distin-
guished from Fates, never wholly lost the meaning
of a superior and intelligent power. In the Empire,
among educated people at least, this still holds
true. In spirit, indeed, in the minds of the people,
much more and more conceived on the one hand
as a deity, on the other as luck and ill-luck in
human life, which is the sport of chance. Thus
Seneca (de Benefic., iv. 3. 2) writes: "mane natura
voce fatum fortunam, omnia ejusdem de nomina sunt varie utilia potestia sua"—an interesting
passage, because the universal providence of Stoic
philosophy is here a nameless deity, neither Jupiter nor
another, the God whom Senece urges his disciples
to love as well as worship, in language hardly
 distinguishable from that of St. Paul (see Zeller,
Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics, p. 522 ff.; Boeitier,
Religion rom. ii. 71 ff.). But, as a rule, Seneca
uses the word in the current sense, never to be
worshipped or submitted to, but to be over-
come by the human will and wisdom; e.g. in de
Constantia Sapiendi, 15. 3 (and, indeed, passim),
"vinci nos fortuna nisi fortuna animus est," Evident-
lly there is no clear distinction between Fortuna and
Fate, yet the former is not so much pure luck or
chance as something which the human will can
understand (Aug. de Civ. Del. v. 9), or the executor of
the decrees of Providence (Macrob. Sat. v. 16. 5).

1 There were two Fortunae at Antium, but Horace speaks of
one only, which may perhaps indicate that he did not know
much about the cult.
authors like Seneca, Juvenal, and Tacitus, is a
toleration of this condition which the
Empire is occasionally puzzled by conflicting ideas of
Fortuna and Fate, though, as a rule, he uses the
word in the vulgar sense, e.g. Hist. iv. 47, 'magnus
domus Domitiae deus et Fortuna mitis centum.'
In a famous passage in the Amadis (vi. 22),
where see Furneaux's notes, and some excellent
remarks in the Introduction in his first vol. p. 21
Tactius tells us that he cannot make up his mind
whether human affairs 'fatone et necessitate immutabilis
forte votum volunta.' (cf. iv. 30), where fort is
identical with fortuna as popularly used.
It would seem that, as Furneaux says (p. 22),
Tactius was inclined to accept the idea that our destiny is
fixed from the moment of our birth, and could be
foretold from our horoscope if we were sure of our
interpreters; it is only now and then that he has
doubts, as when writing (Amadis iv. 30) of the excellent
Manius Lepidus who did good work in evitable
quiet under Tiberius, he doubtfully raises the
question whether favour or dislike of princes is the
work of Fate and our 'sors nascentior,' an 'sit
aliquod in nostris consiliis,' etc. This is no real
philosophic reflection, but merely the passing doubt
of an acute mind which has watched the tyranny of
Domitian. Is the human will free to shape its
course and thereby with happiness end?

(3) Fortuna in the vulgar sense of pure Chance.
There is no need to illustrate this further by
citing the example given by the elder Pliny (E.H. ii. 22),
in which the universality of the ascription to Fortuna of all
good and evil in human life is most emphatically stated.

Tactius, the great novelist and historian of his
century voce Fortuna sola invocatur et nominatur, una
accusat, una aequus res, una cogitatur, sola consilium,
sola argutus. Et cum conviccit oculis, veritati, in plebem vare
cosse extremae, vaga, locumnum, incesta, vertit, indiget,
universa incepta. It is quite certain that we may accept,
et in toto mortali mortale sole utique paginis facit
(i.e. in the debit and credit of human accounts—adventure
and prosperity—everything is set down to her), adoccus obstinate
some sort, at sunt lips pro deo sit, quas deus probatur
incertas.

This last sentence should not lead us to imagine
that Pliny is here thinking of Fortuna only as a
good in the lives of men. The good or evil in
human life is the subject of the passage, and
what the newsmen believed Fortuna was or was not
is not the point of the argument. What is
the main point is that Pliny is saying that
human life is a mixture of good and evil,
and that Fortuna is the personification of
that mixture.

Fortuna, however, under the influence of the
syncretism of the age, Fortuna puts
on, in addition to her own, the attributes of other
deities: (1) of the mysteries of Panthea, by which
she seems to become exalted into a position in
which she unites the attributes of all other
deities (see Roscoe, i. 1384 ad.), possibly as a consequence of an
oligarchy with
sea-sailing, which is common to both. The
latter identification is the most curious
development of Fortuna under the
Empire.

We can see the process of assimilation in a
charming passage from the
romance of Aeneid, where the young Lucius is
initiated, by the priest of Isis, into the mysteries of the
gods. Lucius is told that he has passed out of the
capricious power of the blind and reckless
Fortuna, into the loving care of a
Fortuna who is not blind, and who even illuminates the other gods by
her own light. 'Abhors, freed from his former troubles,
reposing in the provident care of great Isis, Lucius triumphs over his
own Fortuna.'

The worship of Fortuna in connexion with the
person of the Caesars may be called an
adventitious, or a part of the
official cult of the Emperor (see art. Roman
Religion, Period iv. § 1). It began in 19 B.C. with
the return of Augustus from a course of travel
in the East, where he
was received with the highest honors (Muc. Anecr. ii. 26, Gr. 6, 7),
an altar was dedicated on Dec. 16 to Fortuna Redux,
and a permanent cult instituted. In the year
A.D. 14, i.e. in the first year of
Domitian, games were celebrated to Divus Augustus
and Fortuna Redux, which henceforward were held
annually in the beginning of October under the name of so-called "Propitiation of the Relics", and the religious calendars (Tac. Ann. i. 15; Fasti Amantini and Antiates, and Forale Cumansus). From this time onward Fortuna Redux, with the title Augustus of the Gates, has become a specific when of the imperial family. We find her invoked, with the sacrifice of a sow, in the ritual of the Arval Brothers. A quo urbem ingressus est Vespasianus, 'pro salute et reditu Domitanii,' and on other occasions of the same kind down to the beginning of the 3rd cent. (Hermes, Act. Fratric. Are. pp. 98, 1823). For full information on this worship, and the kindred one of Fortuna Dux, see R. Peter, in Roscher, l. 1929 ff.

How far Fortuna was conceived by Augustus and his immediate successors as a really efficacious goddess must remain doubtful; but later on there can be no doubt that she, or rather her image, became little better than a fetish. The stories of Galba and the image has already been told; the Scriptores Historiarum Augustae tell us of Antoninus Pius, and even of Marcus Aurelius, that they kept a golden image of her (Fortuna Redux) in their bed-chambers, and carried it with them wherever they went (see, e.g., Jul. Capitolinus, Ant. Pis. 12: Spartianus, Severus, 28). But after the death of Commodus and the end of Christianity this came to an end, as did the official worship; for Fortuna, whether thought of as a goddess of fortune, or as a propitiatory deity, was equally irreconcilable with Christian convictions.

Summary. — We may now sum up in a very few words the long story that has been told above. Fortuna begins as a deity, not of mere chance, but of helpful power in relation to certain events of human life, especially childbirth and seafaring, and then develops under many forms and cult titles wider, however, gradually loses its original power and meaning, like so many other of the early Roman worship (see Roman Religion, Period iv. § 1). Meanwhile the influence of the later sceptical Greek idea of τῆς μέτριας introduces the Roman mind to the conception of blind chance, best shown in the fragment of Pausanias (above, p. 98); but this is the more advanced among the later or Roman School of Stoicism, beginning with Seneca, and in a historical form with Polybius, and having a tendency to associate the conception of Fortuna with the destiny of Rome and the Fortuna Populi Romani, as we see in Virgil and Livy. This is the confusion of the last age of the Republic, and perhaps under the influence of popular Epicureanism, the more degraded idea of Fortuna gains ground, and appears in writers of a less earnest moral type in the 1st cent. of the Empire, and also in the thought and worship of the less educated classes. Lastly, we return to an official or state cult of Fortune in connexion with the cult of the Cæsars, and with the settled order of the Empire; and finally, under the benign influence of Christianity the lower aspects of the idea and the cult alike tend to disappear.

See also FATE (Greek and Roman).


W. Wrede Fowke.

FOSTERAGE. — By this term is meant the practice of receiving into a family the child of another household, to keep and nurture for a certain period. The custom differs from adoption (p.v.) in that the foster-child does not become a permanent member of the family though he is received. Language does not originally distinguish between nurse and foster-mother, and fosterage may be considered as a natural development of nursing, arising when the conditions of health or other special circumstances render it desirable to separate the child for a time from its parents. Such cases were very common among primitive, and the natural tie of affection between nurse and nursing may be expected to subsist between foster-parents and their charge. Among certain people this feeling attains exceptional strength, and the relationship develops into an important institution. This happens especially in a tribal condition of society, when family relationships are still the main social nexus, before the growth of political association.

1. ORIENTAL RACES. — 1. Arabia. — Although it is among European nations that the custom reaches its highest development, it has its importance for certain Oriental peoples also. It must have prevailed from early times in Arabia. Muhammad was put out to nurse with a woman of the Reni Bed, who reared him among her own tribe until he was five years old, and anecdotes are told of the attachment which he displayed in later life towards his foster-mother. Thus it is said that the Prophet stood on his foster-mother's grave, and besought the leave of God to visit it after the Resurrection (Muir, Life of Mahomet, London, 1884, pp. 5-7). When he came to legislate for his followers, he laid down a law against it, as marriage of people was rendered by the Bāb al-lāhil, the principle of the law is stated in the words: 'Whatever is prohibited by consanguinity is also prohibited by fosterage'; that is to say, the child of a slave is as much a slave as his foster-child, and marriage is the tie of blood, and the kin of foster-parents come within the forbidden degrees in just the same way as the kin of the actual parents (Meadows, tr. Hamilton and Griffith, London, 1870, p. 67). This enactment must be regarded, not as an arbitrary decree of the Prophet, but as giving legal form and sanction to the traditional usage among the Arabs (Robertson-Smith, Kindship and Marriage in Early Arabia, London, 1908, pp. 175 ff., 195 f.). Muhammad's principle was worked out in the Hadith, and a metaphysical theory was supplied by later legsits. The provisions thus established remain in force to the present day, and are incorporated into the Anglo-Mahom. law of India (R. E. Wilson, Anglo-Indian Law of India, London and Calcutta, 1898, p. 113).

2. INDIA. — On this point there is a sharp distinction between the Mahommedans of India and the Hindus. Among the latter fosterage is not unknown, but it has no particular significance and is practically unrecognized by Hindu law (R. Main, Early Institutions, 243), whereas adoption holds an important place in this code. A foster-child enjoys no legal status unless the ceremony of adoption has been performed (J. D. Mayne, Hindus Law, Madras and London, 1888, § 167). The pure-blooded inhabitants of Rajputana, however, with their more primitive type of community, give much more prominence to foster-kishmish.

Although the foster-family of a child is never of the Rajput clan, but belongs almost always to some particular family of a well-known pastoral tribe, it is the foster-father who has the most influence and position at his court, and the family has a recognized hereditary status of 'kishmish by the milk' (Loyd, Asiatic Studies, London, 1888, p. 281.)

In the same way the Rajas of Bundelkhand have their children fostered by women of the tribe of cowherds; in speaking to a man of this caste, dosan, 'foster-father,' is a respectful mode of address (information from H. Spencer, I.C.S.).

The same habit of choosing foster-parents extends among a particular subordinate tribe will meet us again in Ireland.

3. TURCO-TATAR. — That foster-kishmish was more
than a legal fiction among the Muhammadans of India may be seen in the case of Akbar, the Mughul Emperor.

Akbar had much to suffer on account of the favours which he bestowed on his foster-mother, Mahua, and her family. She was for many years the most influential person at his court, and her son, Shast Khan Azha, was one of his generals. When this man actually stabbed the Emperor's minister, Muhammad Khan Azha, it is remarked by the Muslim historians that Akbar's word was sufficient to prevent his execution ("cession") which bound him to the son's mother, and to order his summary execution. The murdered minister and his son, Azla, were related to Akbar through another foster-mother, Asia, who succeeded to the position of Mahua. The Mughal Emperor, however, refused to inflict any but the lightest punishment on him, saying: 'Between me and Asia there is a stream of milk which I cannot cross' (Mahanars, Ahsan, Oxford, 1880, p. 177).

The case of Azla, Azha, and their relationship with the foster-mother, her husband, and their son, are Turkish words used among the nomadic tribes from whom the Mughal Emperors drew their origin; and the sentiment which Akbar acknowledged cannot be ascribed to the influence of the Mahan faith with which he and his people had embraced (he was far from being a devout Muslim), but marks the prevalence of the customs of fosterage among the Tser-Tatar nomads of Central Asia. The custom and the associated sentiment no doubt grew up among the Tser-Tatars similarly to those which obtained over most of Arabia. Among these tribes, as among the Arabs, the tie of milk seems to have been from immemorial times equivalent to kinship; and a slave Turcoman was as likely to adopt a foster-brother free access to the Arians, which is otherwise permitted only to near kinsmen (A. Vambery, Dei Turcomeni, Leipzig, 1868, p. 310).

A similar principle is found among the close adherents, on whom he relies in the hour of need (Elia and Rose, Turkei-4 Bessell, London, 1866, p. 429, note). The custom is mentioned in the cases of the Irish and Scottish tribesmen.

4. Circassians.—The Oriental peoples agree, as a rule, in regarding the act of nursing at the breast as the essence of the foster-kinship, which therefore centres in the person of the foster-mother: it is only as related to her that the rest of the foster-kindred comes into account. With the Circassians, however, the foster-father seems to be of more importance.

'The son of a Circassian chief is taken from home and consigned to the charge of a tutor or foster-father, called an atika; and, until he attains the age when his education is supposed to be brought to an end, he feels outside weakness in the real father to desire to see his child. 'Boys are regarded rather as orphans of the tribe than of the person'; and, should the latter have neglected to choose an atika for their son, any one who feels disposed may offer to undertake the charge. There are instances of an eminent educator carrying off a pupil by force; and this is not by Circassian law a punishable offense (L. Mohamed, Gessell, London, 1866, p. 25). The role of the atika is here very similar to that of the eite in Ireland and the Scotoir in Skye (see below).'

II. EUROPEANS. 1. Slaves.—The European peoples do not, as a rule, lay the same stress as the Orientals on the function of the foster-mother, nor is milk-relationship generally regarded as a bar to marriage. An exception must, however, be made in regard to the Slavs of southern and eastern Europe, who, influenced perhaps by their Mahan neighbors, consider the union of foster-kindred as unlawful. Foster-children (and also adopted children) are regarded in the same light as the natural offspring, and the foster-child bears the name of the foster-father so long as it remains in his house (Maine, Law and Custom of London, 1891, p. 287; F. S. Krauss, Sitten und Brauch der Slaven, 1861, p. 287; F. S. Krauss, Sitte und Brauch der Schwarz-Deutschen, 1873, pp. 322, 358). The practice is generally recognized as public, and is entrusted either to Foundling Hospitals and similar institutions, or

cases no doubt are to be found, and there are indications that under the later Roman Empire as in the Parisian world of the 19th cent. many women sometimes got rid of domestic burdens by putting their children out to nurse in the country. An edict of the Emperors Honorius and Theodosius (dated A.D. 400 and incorporated in the Digest under Cod. lib. vi. tit. 3, § 2) forbids parents to entreat their offspring in this way to the care of shepherds, a class that was held in very ill esteem; 'Nemo curatulatus plebescorum possessorumque filios nec nutriundo pastoribus tradat. Allii vero rusticulis, ut servi solent, nutricendos deri non vesternos' (Cod. Theodos., ed. G. H. Hudd, Bonn, 1841, p. 390).

Foundlings.—A different type of fosterage receives special treatment in Roman Law. This arose from the custom of exposing new-born infants which the parents did not desire to rear. It sometimes happened that the unfortunate babe was rescued and brought up by strangers from motives of compassion or convenience. The story of Oedipus and the plots of many Greek comedies afford examples. In Rome, the codes of the later Emperors define the rights of the fosterer (nutritor) in such cases. The Codes Theodosianus, adopting the principle of an edict of Constantine, lays down (lib. vi. tit. 3) that any one who rears an infant thus exposed acquiesces full rights over it, and may treat the foundling as his son or his slave, at pleasure. If the actual father desires to recover his child, he must give in exchange a sum of equal value, or pay an equivalent sum. Similar provisions are found in the semi-Roman codes of various barbarian peoples who were linked with the Empire, and among whom the exposing of children was a common practice. The statute just quoted was incorporated in the Codes of the Kings of the 8th century (see Capitulare Regum Francorum, ex jure in, in Codi, Barbarorum Leges Antiquae, Venice, 1781, ill. 274). A further development is added in the Laws of the Visigoths (e. A.D. 584), where the steps which are laid under a formal obligation to redeem the child; if they fail to do so, they are to suffer exile for life, and the jaditus territioria is directed to pay the redemption price out of the father's property; or, if the father has nothing, he is to become a slave in place of his son, who is to go free. It is further laid down that, if parents entrust a child to another person, the fosterer is to be paid annually a shilling (solidus) for each year of the child's age, up to the age of ten, after which his service is to be taken as equivalent to his keep. Of course, impossible to say whether such enactments were really operative among the rude nations for whom they were framed.

The attempt to enforce the performance of parental duties was no doubt due to the growing influence of the Church, to which the practice of exposing children was naturally repugnant. The Formulari Sirmundi, which probably represent the practice of the tractus Turmonom (Tournais), speak of a class of officials called matriculos, or whose special duty it was to take charge of foundlings. These infants were usually left at the church-door by stealth; the matriculos had to take care of them and induce charitable persons to receive them into their families. The Synods of Vaison (A.D. 422) and Arles (A.D. 463) laid down canons dealing with this question.

Cf. Holtz, Hist. of the Consuetud. Eng. tr., Edinb., 1860, ii. 168, 170; Formulari Sirmundi, in Canadii, iii. 419, 438; see also Regn. de Boc. Diplomat. Paris, 1871, l. 153. The methods adopted by the medieval Church are still in force in the Balkan States (F. S. Krauss, 567). In the more progressive countries the care of foundlings is generally recognized as a public duty, and is entrusted either to Foundling Hospitals and similar institutions,
to foster-parents, who are paid for their trouble either by the State or by local authorities (Ebor, art. 'Fondling Hospitals').

3. Anglo-Saxons.—After the introduction of Christianity into England, these duties were done by clergymen, who were known as succorercy (Augustine, Ep. ad Bonifac. 23). The laws of King Ine provide an allowance for any one who takes charge of a foundling; and other early laws define the rights of foster-parents on lines similar to those laid down by the Codes Theodosianus. Fosterage by desire of the parents seems to have been prevalent among the Anglo-Saxons. Augustine, in the Epistles just referred to, complains that mothers are apt to delegate to others the duty of nursing their children; and the early Church set its face against the practice, and went to the extreme of actually prohibiting it (Ecclesiastical Laws, I. xi. 15). The care of the foundling was usually by a woman, and the nurse was called a wet-nurse (Bede, Hist. Eccl. iii. 12). The foster parents were also looked upon as officers of the Church, and were expected to teach the child the rudiments of the faith. The child was called a Christian before he was taught to talk; and the nurse was required to teach him the rudiments of the faith before he could be taught to talk (Bede, ibid.).

Such cases as the story of the foundling who was brought up by the wife of the man who killed his father (Cailleay-Vigfusson, s.v. 'Fostrer.') In many cases the foster-father gives part of his property to his foster-son. The amount that may be thus conveyed is limited by the ancient law in the interest of the proper heirs (Norges Gamle Lave, Christiania, 1848, I. 218); but in the Saga the foster-son is sometimes made to help the fosterer in his property (K. Kastland, in Skarftaligr for nordisk Oldkongehistorie og Historie, 1870, p. 270). (2) Strength of sentiment.—The affection which sprang from this relationship is described as of extreme intensity, both as between foster-father and foster-son, and as between foster-brothers; as in Ireland, it is said to have been even stronger than the tie of consanguinity. When Thorhall, the foster-son of Njal's fosterer, heard that Njal was killed, he said he would not live longer than Njal, and cut off all over and over the heart of blood burst forth from both his ears, and could not be staunchened, and fell into a swoon (Verand. 116). A violation of the trust by the foster-brother is regarded as an offense against the natural charities. The tragic motive of the Leivisa Saga consists in the gradual estrangement between the nutritional woman and the foster-brothers Bolli and Kjaran, which issues in a fratricidal conflict. Attached sedulously to Bolli, Kjaran slings away his weapons, saying: 'I am much more than to take my death from you than to cause the same to myself' (Leivisa Saga, tr. A.A.C. Freze, London, 1888, p. 176). The term 'foster-brothers' came to be extended to those who had gone through the ceremony of swearing brotherhood, as in the so-called Fotbrotvs Saga. This rite is described in Vigfusson and York Powell, Origines Islandicae, Oxford, 1905, I. 319 and in art. BROTHERHOOD [Artificial], vol. ii. p. 827; cf. Daseii, Edd. Edin., 1888, I. 23. The proper term for such a 'sworn-brother' is, however, sidbro or svebro (see Vigfusson and York Powell, Corpus Poeticum Boreale, Oxford, 1883, I. 424). (3) Reasons of special development.—The causes which gave the practice of fosterage peculiar importance in Scandinavia must be sought in the barbarous and violent condition of society described in the Norse and Icelandic Sagas. The weaker man, unable to secure the safety of his household, could gain the protection of a stronger neighbour by fostering his son. Or, again, one who found himself isolated and threatened by enemies might acquire in this way the support of powerful friends. In the Forsey Saga the crafty and treacherous Tordard, being a kinless man, takes to himself foster-sons from three different families, and fosters them to one of his own company; and is fostered to one of Hege Asbjornsen's children; being convicted of theft, he refuses to pay the usual fine, saying that 'It would be little good he should get by fostering Hege Asbjornsen's son; if he should have to pay the penalty in a case like this.'

The fosterer is therefore, as a rule, in a position of inferiority to the parents of his charge; hence the saying that he is the lesser man who fosters another's child (Cailleay-Vigfusson, s.v. 'Barm-flot'). This maxim may be illustrated by a tale which is told in the Saga of Harald Hakrung, (K. Læring, Lettelebringer, London, 1895, I. 841-4). At Harald's command, the two Haralds, Harald Ingimundr, performing an act which might be construed as an act of homage to the English king. Wishing to pay his debt in kind, Harald sent his infant son, the child of a servant of the king of Norway, to King Christian the Younger under the charge of Harald. On being admitted to the king's presence, Harald advanced and set the child on the king's knee; and, when Asbjorn asked what this meant, he replied: 'Harald the king's son.' 'What?' asked the servant; and the king answered: 'A fostered child. Having set the child on one's own knee (Ísland), he was taken up by the boy, who grew up to be king Hakon. Harald was de-
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lighted at the success of his rector, 'for it is the common
observation of old people,' says the chronicler, 'that the son
who fosters another's children is of less consideration than the
other.'

Instances are, however, to be found where the offer to undertake the charge of a boy is made as
an overture of friendship, as when Heidrek, in the
Hervor Sagas (p. 111), offers to foster the son of the
churl; 'there is no further ado on it;' the queen's advice to her
husband on this occasion shows that it was dangerous
to refuse such a proposal when made by a formidable and ruthless warrior. Again, the person
who offers fosterage may be an equal or superior, and his intention may be to make reparation for
injuries done, by thus accepting the inferior position.

Those who undertake fosterage are said to be
kuld, whose father has been slain by Njal's son
Skarphedin (Burnt Njal, ii, 59).

(4) Fosterage as a legal contract.—The ancient
laws, and the first, and define his rights and obligations in
respect to the foster-child and the actual father.

The parties enter into a regular contract, and the
foster-brother receives a certain amount of money
or goods or land to defray his expenses. If either
side fails to fulfill its part of the bargain, the law
provides for a suit for damages. If the father is
drawn by the father, he cannot recover the money
he has paid, while, if the fosterer ends the child
home before the proper time, or if he does his part
so badly that the father is justified in withdrawing
his child, he must refund a proportion of the amount
paid to him (Grundt, tit. xxi; Gamla Love, i. 286,
§ 61). In some cases recognized by the Swedish
law, no payment is made by the father, fosterage being
given in consideration of benefits rendered or
promised. The case of an orphan is specially provided for: if he is reared by a person not legally
responsible for his nurture, the fosterer may claim a
fee (interesting) out of any property which may
come to the foster-son, or out of any property
which may be left to him as a reward for his services
on behalf of the foster-parent. If the child is
eligible to make claims on behalf of his foster-parent,
and is responsible for claims made
against him.

Thus, when Sigmund in the Forsyning Saga (as above, pp.
35-38) claims money paid to Thord for the murder of his father
Brendur, as a condition of undertaking the fostering of
Laf, whose father had been slain by Sigmund, and makes a
contract with Thord for a certain sum which he demands from
Sigmund on account of the expenses of Laf. Under the ancient
Judicants-law, either of a pair of foster-brothers has the right to demand a sum equal to the
services of the fostered child (Law, ii. 389).

In all these legislation there is much that is closely
similar to the provisions of the Ancient Laws of
Ireland. The foster-relations are scattered throughout the five volumes of
the Ancient Laws of Ireland (which, it must be re-
membered, do not constitute a code and have no
historical unity). The most important locus is
the Cais Forrath, or Law of Fosterage-Fee (ii. 146-192). The term forrath answers to the Scan-
dinavian foster-land, and denotes the values in money
or kind made over to the fosterer by the parents.
The amount of this fee is fixed on a scale varying
according to rank, a higher rate being charged for
girls than for boys. Provision is made, as in Scandi-
navian law, only with more detail, for the termina-
tion of the arrangement on either side, and for compensation to be made by the foster-parents
in case of neglect or of harm done to their charge.

The treatment which the foster-child receives is to
vary according to the rank of the parents and the
amount of the forrath. Rules are laid down as to
gradations of food and dress, with a minuteness
that belongs to artificial theory rather than actual
practice (for details, see CHILDREN [Celtic], § 7).

The foster-father is to teach the useful and agree-
able arts, especial stress being laid on riding;
and the actual practice in this case of misbehaviour; on the other
hand, he is made responsible for mischief done by
the foster-child, so far as this can be ascribed to
his own neglect or ill teaching. His functions thus
include those of a tutor; the importance of the
moral influence so exercised gave rise to a saying
to the effect that fostering is two-thirds of a child's
nature (O'Donovan, Battle of Magh Rath, Dublin,
1842, p. 294). As one man might foster several
boys, it is clear that in a more settled state of
society the foster-father would easily pass into a
schoolmaster. And, in fact, the term aise may
mean either 'foster-father' or 'tutor,' and the
derivative aitchoa or cicochoa is in modern Irish
the regular equivalent of 'education'; so also dailea
is an ambiguous term meaning sometimes 'foster-
ing' and sometimes 'pupil.' The relations between
tutor and pupil are explicitly regulated in the
Laws as constituting a distinct species of fosterage;

(2) Historical evidence.—There is much uncertainty
as to the period in which the Irish Laws
first took definite shape, and it is difficult to judge
how closely their theory corresponds with actual
usage; but there can be no doubt that their stan-
nards in regard to fosterage are founded on a
custom which was inwoven with the life and
habits of the Gaedel in far back times and is
known to us. It is already in vigour in the
legends of the Ulaid (the cycle of Conchobar and
Cuchulainn), which represent a state of society
perhaps as old as the Christian era; and still meets
us at every turn in Irish literature and history,
down to the break-up of the old tribal system
about the year 1200. Even in the 17th and 18th
centuries it still lingered in certain regions.

In Ireland, as in Scandinaavia, it was deemed...
honour and advantage to be allowed to rear the son of a powerful chieftain, and thus establish a claim to fealty and protection. This, however, has been the rule in very primitive times, or it may have been a point of artificial theory, not really observed in practice; at all events, if there ever was such a restriction, it must have disappeared very early. As a rule, no doubt, the foster-parents belonged to the same clan as the father, but this was not always the case. The son of a noble house often had several fosterers.

At the birth of Ochobalanach, who was nephew to the powerful king, Forghaill had an earnest desire to assert (II. 268) that fosterage was not generally that of a whole family or tribe, and that in very many cases it became a bond of friendship and alliance between two or more tribes and even provinces. This is an exaggeration; it is more probable that the tribe was concerned only when the fostering was the son of an important chief. Such cases are to be met with frequently in Elizabethan times.

High Bee O'Donnell, born about 1573, was fostered by chieftains of the O'Donnell and MacNolan families. It was said that O'Donnell, thus uniting the support of three of the strongest families in the north of Ireland, felt himself strong enough to stand safely until the day of battle. He was the son of Donn and was also the grandson of Donn (O'Donnell).}

According to Sir John Davies (in H. Morley's Ireland under the Tudors, p. 170) the O'Donnells claimed fosterage with the O'Connors and MacNolans, and that the latter was inextricably bound with the former. But the O'Connors were also fostered by the MacNolans, and it is certain that the O'Donnells did not consider themselves bound to foster with the MacNolans.

It is probable, however, that the O'Donnells were bound to fosterage with the MacNolans, and that the latter was inextricably bound with the former. But the O'Connors were also fostered by the MacNolans, and it is certain that the O'Donnells did not consider themselves bound to foster with the MacNolans.

In 1603, the first earl of Tyrone, a member of the MacNolans, and the son of Donn, was fostered by the O'Donnells. This was a great blow to the MacNolans, and it is certain that the O'Donnells did not consider themselves bound to foster with the MacNolans.

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to the Western Islands, London, 1876, p. 118). Skene (Celtic Scotland, Edinburgh, 1876-80, iii. 221) gives four examples of written contracts of fosterage, the latest of which dates from 1855. They conformed to the usual type and agree in principle with the Irish Cásar Jorrach already quoted. The obligation of the foster- father towards the child, and the share of expenses to be borne by each of the parties, are very precisely specified.

7. Wales.—Among the Brythonic races the evidence of such nobility is more meagre with their Geisic relations. The remains of Breton and Cornish literature are too slight to furnish any information, but in the Mabinogion and other Welsh traditions, we find what seems to show that the custom held a certain place in the primitive life of the Welsh people (see the tales of Prenedur, Kulwech, and Brawneu, in Lady C. Guest's Mabinogion, London and Llandover, 1849, i. 313, ii. 260, iii. 114).

The references to the subject in the Ancient Laws are unimportant in comparison with the elaborate provisions found in the Irish Laws; but they imply that it was a common practice for a noble to allow his sons to be fostered in the house of a serf or toog. If such fosterage lasted a year and a day, the boy thereby acquired a right to a share in the goods of his foster-father; but if the fosterage lasted a greater period, he was to be considered a free tenant. The men of Cétait Néagur dig a hole at each of the four corners and place a small quantity of rice in them, with a piece of wood or mango, saying that the test may truly indicate whether the site be good or bad. If the rice is found next morning to have rotted, the place is good; if it is not, it is bad. This mode of augury is common in India and Africa. In Africa, however, it is never used, the omens are reversed, as the Masoreans of the Great Law used to say, if the food be found good, the omens are bad, and the other way about for the snail (Eunica). In glowing words the site of the temple is described to the Westans (orphan-spirits), who decide on the goodness of the place. But, if the food has been disturbed, the Westans have eaten of it, and the choice of site is rendered improper (see Rostovtzeff, Moscow, 1878, i. 264).

The foregoings are illustrations of a simple method of divination. When professional diviners are called in, the ceremonies frequently become very complex, and it is impossible to enumerate or even roughly classify them. Attention may, however, be paid to the Chinese practice, which has elaborated geomancy into a pseudo-sciene called feng-shui (v.c.), without which no site is selected for any purpose (de Groot, Rel. East. Asia, 1895 ed., iii. 393; Dannay, Fohsien China, London, 1876, p. 60). But there are some methods of divination which follow the same principle, and are practised by the natives, and used as proof of the site. In the Middle Ages, it was decided by the translation of the Holy Scriptures.

Animals of good omen for this purpose are met with in many countries.

In Japan a Buddhist temple was erected, under the Emperor Kotohiko, on the spot where a white deer was seen quietly moving (Nihon, Art.Ⅹ, Yokohama, 1890, ii. 297). In Germany the Abbey of Erfurt was erected on a site shown, in answer to prayer, by a snow-white roe bearing a burning taper on either horn; and the spot of the neighbouring church was determined in the 11th cent. by a flight of dove over Callisto (Burgess, Berlin, 1883, p. 381.). Many such sites in France and Germany are alleged to have been chosen by similar indications. The capture of a bear in the forest of the Arz on Good Friday, 1191, when Duke Berthold of Lübben was contemplating building a fortress there, is said to have decided the site of the town of Berne (ib. 350). The contrary case is reported from Japan, where the village of Ner Phingal in Seras was built by Nabaw, since called Shinsino Kiyon, on the spot where, we are told, a hare turned on one of its horns and put it in the air (1504-7) 395; cit. 106, and Crooke, P. S. P., 1890, p. 100). On the N. E. slope of the Odenwald there are serfs that regard every site as lucky, and thus suitable for his house. He is guided in the choice by his cattle, and builds where they prefer to.
FOUNDATION

to lies. He avoids the place where red ants make their hill; but if a hill of black ants promises good fortune. Like a wise man, however, he will keep on it, and that on the very spot. If his dreams be fair, especially if of fine cattle, this settles the matter; otherwise he hesitates. Sometimes he will test the site by leaving on it a glass not quite full of water and coverless with sand. If on the following day the water has increased, the place is lucky; if it has not, he will avoid it. If these precautions be omitted, the site may turn out to be haunted by demons. If he builds the house or store there mischief will result to the inmates (Rainald, Die Burgen, Vienna, 1864, p. 99).

Another form of divination is found frequently in French legend, as, for instance, in the story of the foundation of the famous abbey of Cluny, concerning which we are told that the monks were unable to agree where it should be built. The dispute was finally decided by one of them, who was a mason, swinging his hammer; and the abbey was erected on the spot where it fell (Sébilliot, Folk-lore de France, iv. (Paris, 1907) 114).

A somewhat similar mode is employed by the Southern Slavs. It is not, indeed, employed to fix a site, but to determine whether the hill-spirit will permit the erection on a hillside provisionally selected. The peasant-farmer who proposes to build a new round cake down the hillside. If it ultimately falls on its face, the hill-spirit which haunts the place is favourable; otherwise, he is against him, and the farmer must seek another position. The cake is made according to a certain recipe, and is thrown on the ground. If the hill-spirit is favourable, it will lay on the chosen site some large stones. Coming three days later, he turns them over to see whether worms are to be found beneath them; and he builds on the spot where the stone lies under which the worms appear. The worms are the spirits of the landscape which designate the place, and their presence is a sure indication of its favour (Krauss, Facoletkoy, Mitteilungen, i. W., 1880, p. 168).

Throughout N.W. Europe a very common legend relates that the site, especially of a church, was changed by supernatural means. The legend is usually etiological, and its object is to account for a site the original reason for which has been forgotten. But it often points to the necessity for securing the consent of the local earth-spirits to the project. This belief appears repeatedly in both legend and custom in many parts of the world. It is brought prominently forward in many stories relating to the elves or fairies, in the British Isles and elsewhere.

In Galloway, for example, 'when the new house at Greenan was being founded, a woman appeared and asked the masons and others taking a hand in the work to change the site. She told them that the house on that site would be right over her dwelling, and in consequence much annoyance and inconvenience would be caused to her and her household' (Rep. Brit. Antiq. Society, x. 1876, p. 126). Great care is taken to avoid a spot haunted by the underground folk. The builder must go to the depth of three feet, make known his purpose in a loud voice, and ask permission; and the day before he intends to begin work he lays his tools and materials there. If the underground folk agree, the noises of people busy with hammering and hunting will be heard in the silence of the night. In the Faroe Islands an instrument as modern as the compass is laid on the site. According to its behaviour it is ascertain whether the Jottling dwells there. If the Jottling dwells there it is not to be disturbed (Zeitsch. d. Vereins f. Far. u. Pfalz. vik. (1893) 274, 373).

Sites in Europe and elsewhere, especially for churches, are said to have been indicated by the direct command or the apparition of supernuminate beings, such as the Virgin Mary. Or an image is found in a certain spot and cannot be removed. It is needless to refer here to instances. Sometimes the Divine will is shown by a flame or light seen in a bush, as in the case of the Monmouthshire church of Llanllytlo Borodilly (Parochiaek, Arch.-Combr., xii. 1811, Suppl. 36, 71). Some of these sites, such as that of the famous shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe, near the city of Mexico, and have been places of pagan worship, converted to Christianity and accorded with the well-known policy of the Church.

2. Appropriation of the site.—The site being chosen, the next step is to appropriate and to exorcise it, and incidentally to mark it out. Among the Basuto, when the village, or kraal, as it is often conveniently termed, is to be removed, the chief drives into the ground a peg covered over with charms to nail the village firmly to the soil of the new site, and in order that neither war nor any other misfortunes may distress the inhabitants and force them to return. A boundary is drawn, and religious acts, and probably attended with ceremonies which our authority has unfortunately not thought proper to recount (Cusack, The Basutos, Eng. tr., London, 1845, p. 124). A boundary of the A-Kamba of East Africa (like the Basuto, a Bantu people), when a new village is founded, a medicine-man is generally consulted, and, having satisfied himself by divination that the site chosen is lucky, he kills a goat and walks over the rough outline of the village, sprinkling it as he goes with the goat's blood and the contents of its stomach. The extent of branches surrounding the site is then put up. The head of the village and his family camp in temporary shelters inside the fence for several nights before beginning to build the huts. On the second and fourth nights of their preliminary occupation the head of the village must cohabit with his wife—doubtless as a magical rite to obtain prosperity, and increase in cattle and crops, as well as in the human population (Hobley, Ethnol. of A-Kamba, Camb. 1910, p. 58). The circumambulation of the site is also an aspect of the rituals of the A-Kamba is also a magical rite. In Islam, when the ground for the erection of a Buddhist temple is first dedicated, eight labbers, or round marking stones, are set up with a cross on them, and are buried, to mark the limits from which evil spirits are warned off (Alabaster, The Wheel of the Law, London, 1871, p. 372 n.). Doubtless the priest performs the sprinkling by walking the circle. The Etruscans, on founding a city, ploughed with a cow and a bull a furrow round the limits; and we gather from Ovid's account of the pomerini of Romulus that the animals yoked to the plough were white (Fasti, iv. 229). To some such rite as this, misunderstood by later ages, we must attribute the numerous legends assigning the extension of lands given for various purposes, the quantity that the recipient could walk or ride round in a day. Thus Coirbi, when a fugitive from the south of Munster was given by his non-in-law Aedh, king of Connaught, as much of certain wooded lands as he could pass round in one day. As in all these stories, the extent of the land thus acquired was much greater than the donor anticipated, and led to subsequent trouble (Annals of the Four Masters, Dublin, 1851, ii. 259 n.). Variants of the tale are by no means confined to Europe.

The most famous of all is perhaps the Hindu legend of Vipyu, who appeared to have been an old woman, and who told him that he should find a hoard of treasure in the three places of his vast kingdom. The boon was granted contemptuously. Forthwith the dwarf and his first step measured the earth, with the second the sky, and there was no space left for the third. Full submitted to this, he was made the judge of the dead (Beauchy, The Story of the Hindus, quoting in a note Somnara's Vayugiti. The ultimate literary source is the ancient poem of the Harivaes.)

Of similar origin are the stories which represent the quantity of land as to be enclosed by a bull's hide. It is cut into very thin thongs, and the area is thus rendered unexpectedly great. The earliest example of this is the tradition of Dido, who obtained the site for Carthage in this way. Parallel tales are found in Britain and Scandinavia, though not without suspicion of literary influence—a suspicion, having regard to the legend of Gefjon's Ploughing, not entirely deserved. The legend is also current among the Fatast tribes of the north, and as far to the east as China. There, in one version, the settlers are Spaniards, in others Dutch; and to them the Dutch trick in India and Cambodia. The incident is even told by the Hottentots of the first settlement of the Dutch at the Cape of Good Hope (Arbouset and Dommers, Exploratory Tour in S. Africa, Eng. tr.,
The kind of rite to which these legends point may be illustrated from the practice of the Bochumua in founding a new town. A bull is taken, its testicles are sewn together, and, thus blinding it, is led to a precipice in the place where it is to be killed where it is found, roasted, and eaten on the spot. The white plume of the skin, and hair of the head it has been marked with certain appropriate markings and 'medicine,' is cut into one piece and is given as a present to the bridegroom. This is done about two feet. One of the lengths is pegged down in each of the poles leading to the new township. After this, if a foreigner approaches the new town to destroy it with his weapons, he will find that the town has prepared itself for his coming ('J. A. M. 89 (1886) 208 f.). It is clear that we have been a mystic rite intended for the protection of the town and its inhabitants.

Among some of the Kaffir tribes of South Africa, the medicine-man formally disembowells the site before the work of building was begun ('Müller's, x. (1900-01) 70, citing Magyar, Reisen in Süd-Afrika, Budapest and Leipzig, 1889). The practice of the Vasa and Masnegna about Lake Nyasa describes that the chief, with his brother and the medicine-man, shall ride on a board, and then sit cross-legged. Walking round the site, they throw the image in little knots, covering them with medicine. At the spot where they think it is to be erected they take fire and put 'medicine' upon it. Then, in burning, they sing in a spavyn the moon, which is to guard the village from man and cannibals. The moon then throws the medicine towards the sun, and close the ground (Bastian, Fabeln in Chinesen, 1897, p. 199).

Among the Ijone race of West Africa, a great mound is cast up. The priest brings over four covetises in his hands, and, walking round the spot, he throws the eggs to which they have just found 'possessed the geneal blood' for favour and human fecundity, and that nothing evil may happen. He places on the mound a piece of muslin and a cord, and, again, throws the eggs upon it. If they, or even two of them, do not fall upon the side, then the erection is always applicable. When the site has been cleared and prepared for building, the medicine is made and sprinkled on the earth, and the people all wash their faces with it, and are anointed with holy water. Largest of the creatures used for this purpose is the cow, and after it is many birds for favour ('Pfaffen', Die Ijone- und Lobi-Bande, Berlin, 1909, p. 357).

In some of the Moluccas, where the population is Muhammadan, a ceremony which, like that of the Egyptians, is led by our authorities 'conscription' is performed.

On the day of the new moon the owner's wife measures a piece of cloth by the brightness of the moon, the length of her outstretched arms—and gives it to her husband, together with a bottle of water and an egg. The rope is rolled up and laid partly in the ground, with the bottle and the egg. The owner invokes the prophet Lawom and the Wani, and explains to his ancestors the place to be chosen to obtain an angry. He watches all night. If a dog approaches, it forbids quarrels in the house; if a cow passes by, it means sickness. If neither of these customs occurs, and if next day the rope is found of the same length, the bottle still full, and the egg uncorrupted, the ceremony is successful, and the work proceeds. While it would seem to be not merely a conscription, but an endorsement, this type of conscription is often found in the Orient, and is in the highest powers ('Riedel', De standl. en bronzebares moses, The Hague, 1899).

Nor is consecration of the site, even of ordinary dwelling-houses, unknown in Europe. In some parts of Germany pious people of the old faith still sprinkle the site with holy water and bless it. Formerly a priest performed this function; and by its means all evil, all ghosts and demons, are exorcised ('Glock', xvi. (1870) 186, quoting Montaigne, Des deutscl. Fastenpflichten, Lahrn, 1884-85). Consecration (q. v.) of sacred sites is, of course, well known. It is not a specifically Christian rite, but has descended from much more archaic times and practices.

3. Laying the foundation.—When the site has been appropriated, it is cleared and levelled. The next step is to erect the materials. This is often done either by rule, or in accordance with the directions of a priest or medicine-man after divination; and certain rites must be observed. It is begun on a day deemed lucky (astrology is practised) according to the calculations of the astrologers. Except among highly civilised peoples, where manor-houses are erected and easily observable, the case of very important buildings, the fabric is usually of timber. If a block-house, as frequently among the peasantries of Europe, the lower beams constitute the foundation. Otherwise the stability depends on the centres of poles or the corner poles, and it is consequently about their erection that ceremonies tend to aggregate. Such ceremonies to procure stability may be roughly divided into those whose object is to call the spirits and destroy spells; (b) to conciliate the local spirits; (c) to provide a new tutelary power. Among many peoples the house is built in a particular direction, frequently to the east. On some of the Moluccas it faces the east, in order not to offend the divinity Upluro ('Riedel', 880). In the State of Manipur ('India') it is the rule of some of the Nagas tribes that the house must not face the west, because that is the direction taken by the spirits of the dead. As showing how utilitarian sometimes coincide with superstitions considerations and render it difficult to distinguish the real origin of a practice, it may be said that the prevailing wind is westerly, and it would, therefore, enormously increase the danger of fire to build the house facing in that direction ('Hodson, Nagas Tribes of Manipur, London, 1911, p. 43). The custom of many North American tribes is to place the entrenchment with its entrance to the east. This was always done among the Omaha, when the site was encamped for tribal ceremonies; while at other times, if the entrenchment was not made, the entrance was not always in the same direction, it was always symbolically so reckoned, and the position of the various clans relatively to the entrance was the same ('Fletcher, R. E. , 1811, 399'). In the lower culture the plan and erection of houses is always traditional, and it would be a serious breach of custom to depart from them. When a chief of the Bochumua chose a site and fixed the foundations of his own dwelling and the public cattle-kral, each of his tribemen knew the relative position of his own lot ('Mackenzie, Two Years North of the Orange River, Tweed, 1872, p. 400). In his own dwelling and the public cattle-kral, each of his tribemen knew the relative position of his own lot ('Mackenzie, Two Years North of the Orange River, Tweed, 1872, p. 400). In his own dwelling and the public cattle-kral, each of his tribemen knew the relative position of his own lot ('Mackenzie, Two Years North of the Orange River, Tweed, 1872, p. 400). In his own dwelling and the public cattle-kral, each of his tribemen knew the relative position of his own lot ('Mackenzie, Two Years North of the Orange River, Tweed, 1872, p. 400).
substituted for the pebbles with advantage, since they attract the "right" of gods and benevolent demons (JRAI xxviii. (1909) 150). The Hruszles lay incense, money, salt, and bread under the lower beams of their blockhouses to ward off evil spirits, and towards the exterior charcoal and mortar from a baking oven. The former objects are regarded as luck-bringing, the latter as efficient against enemies, probably spiritual. We may see, here a relic of the custom of bringing fire from the old house (Kaindl, 31). Salt and bread are widely regarded among comparatively civilized peoples as valuable talismans, the former as driving away evil influences, the latter as bringing plenty. They are among the first objects to be brought into a new house; and salt is commonly placed on the breast of a corpse while it is lying in the house. Money, like bread, and doubloons for similar reasons, is pre-eminently lucky.

When Pope Julius II. in full harness laid the foundation-stone of the basilica of Christi Vecchia, he spread mortar in the form of a cross (an apotropaic spell) and put under the stone a vase full of coins (RTP vi. 90, citing Romani, L'immagine summa. Fonti, Rome, 1696). During the vicereignty of Lord Dorset, Lady Dufferin laid the foundation-stone of a hospital in India and put underneath it a coin, together with a little greenish-coloured powder for the building (RTP vii. 1892) 490, quoting Lord Dufferin's Four Years of Vicereignty, in India, (1887) 488.

Pre-historic cists and arrow-heads are amulets wherever the Stone Age has been forgotten in the march of civilization. In France they are customarily placed under the foundations of houses or in the walls of houses, or even churches, as preservative against thunder or fire; or they are kept in the house for the same purpose, or hung up in the stables and cow-houses to secure the domestic animals from disease. They are also worn on the person or stuck into fruit-trees (Sébiliot, iv. 70).

Various plants, too, are held to be prophylactics. The consecrated box-twig at Dinant has already been mentioned. On the island of Rügen a juniper-bush is laid in the foundation to keep out the devil and evil spirits (Kuhn, Sagen, etc., aus Westfalen, Leipzig, 1859, ii. 60). On the island of Serang in the Moluccas, beneath the spot where the sleeping apartment will be, health-giving herbs and roots are buried to keep off evil spirits (Riedel, 119). Sacrifices of men or animals will be discussed below. Independently of sacrifices, however, blood has well-nigh magicised magical value. The Ottoman Jews, on digging a well, cut the throat of a cock and allow three drops of blood to fall into the excavation in order to destroy the evil spirit, which might cause it to fall in (Mehesen, viii. 281). To the blood of fowls, among other substances, the Nicobarese ascribe occult virtues; they smear their horse-ports, or even their own bodies, with it, either alone or mingled with various powerful ingredients, for protection against evil spirits (Intern. Archiv, vi. (1889) 13). In Aberdeenshire the first stone laid is that behind the fireplace. A chicken is struck upon it until it is covered with blood. This will ensure that the pot boiling on the fire will always be well filled, so long as he for whom the house is built occupies it (Gregor, in RTP vi. (1891) 173). It is said that the mortar used to build the Tower of London was tempered with the blood of beasts (NQ, 78 sec. cit.: 1892, quoting Fitzgerald's Survey of London, London, 1898). Blood is prescribed for this purpose in many places; whether it is actually used is another question. Not very long ago a builder at Brooklyn went to much trouble and expense to try the experiment with bullock's blood; but the results did not justify the outlay. In the Celtic barbarous customs, the use of blood tends to the adoption of a milder expedient. One of the traditions relating to the bridge in the Kwenchen, Lower Saxony, affirms that a bottle of wine is walled up in the founda-

tion (Schambach-Müller, Niederfröchte. Sagen, Göttingen, 1855, p. 18). To this origin we may attribute the breaking of a bottle of wine against the bow of a ship in the ceremony of launching. (b) Sacrifices. — In cases like those hitherto examined, the shedding of blood seems not to have involved a sacrificial object, but to be performed for the prophylactic virtue of the blood. Hence, if the sacrifices were numerous, however, are the instances in which it constitutes a sacrifice. In connection with this we shall find that, whether of men or of the lower animals, is not the only form of sacrifice at the foundation of a building.

Sacrifices are sometimes offered to ancestors on these occasions. In German South-West Africa, when a man dies at a wefrt, or village, the wefrt is abandoned and a new one founded. If he has been a man of importance, he is buried in the cattle-kraal of the old wefrt. After a lapse of years the people often return to the former site to rebuild there. The holy fire of the wefrt where they have been living in the meantime is extinguished, in order that new fire may be made with fire-sticks in the sacred manner on the site to which they are returning. Before doing this, they invoke the deceased chief of the village, telling him that they have done as he ordered. When the new sacred fire has been made, it is the custom to slaughter a sheep as a sacrifice. The occasion is marked by a call up (S. Afr. Folklore Journal, i. (1878) 61). On the island of Buru in the East Indies, as soon as a site has been decided on by divination, an offering to ancestors is made (Riedel, 12).

This also seems to be the explanation of an obscure Maori custom. The ground-plots which support the house are cleared to represent the presence of spirits who are deemed to have been sacrificed; on them the figures of ancestors stood. Taylor (Te Ika a Maui, London, 1870, pp. 90, 91) explains this as referring to "an extinct custom of killing human victims and placing them in the holes made to receive the posts, that the house, being founded in blood, might stand." The crucifixing of human victims was mentioned by G. Webbe (1731), and we shall see hereafter, capable of another explanation. But, if it were really a maoris here, it would without doubt be a sacrifice to ancestors.

More usually, however, it is to divine beings or to local or earth-spirits that the sacrifice is offered. In India the examples are very numerous. Only a few can be referred to here; some others will be considered later.

The Kula of Hoth Maggor offers an egg to the god god longaonga, the gods being his symbol (F. Pichon, in Etudes de l'Asie Central., 2, (1885) xxxvi. in the huts of the common people, and the chief's wife to be buried under the foundation, because the king was warned in a dream that 'the favours of the king's ring will be won by buying alive a man and a woman.' (Bro. xvii. pi. iii. p. 289.)

The practice of slaughtering an animal on such occasions is firmly rooted throughout the west of Asia and the north of Africa. The Arabs of Meoh, east of the Dead Sea, thus endeavour to pacify the jinn (who are regarded as malevolent spirits) whenever a tent is set up in a new place. As soon as the tent is fixed, a fat sheep is taken, its head turned to the east, and its throat cut with the words, "Permission, O possessor of this place!" This is a request for authority to enter the tent and to dwell there. Part of the blood is received from the victim in a bowl. With it the master of the tent sprinkles the four corners of the building; and sometimes the good-evil curtains during the night, on the west side is also aspersed with the blood. The holy Eastern Arabs of the same country make a similar offering at the building of a house, first on putting up the vault, again on the threshold when the tiling is laid, and at the end on the threshold at completion. The practice even extends to Christians in the Greek Latin East (Jansen, Costumes des Arabes, Paris, 1898, p. 329 et. c. 319).

Analogous to this was the ancient Roman custom of fixing a boundary stone. A victim was killed and offered as a burnt sacrifice. Fruits of the earth, together with the bones, ashes, and blood of the victim, were put into a hole, and the boundary stone was rammed down upon them. It has been suggested with probability that the
annual festival of the *Terminatio*, in the course of which a lamb and a sucking pig were slain and the blood poured over the altar. The removal of the altar, upon which the stone was originally fixed in its place (Powlère, *Roman Funerals*, London, 1888, p. 225). In the east of Egypt, it is observed that the blood is gathered in a head daubed with a sail, and commonly sacrificed; for, according to a popular adage in Greece, 'there must be blood in the foundations.' The object of the sacrifice seems to be to propitiate the evildoer, or familiar of the spot (Rodt, *Customs and Lore of Med. Greece*, London, 1892, p. 148). In the New World, similar sacrifices appear to have been made, though the exact object is not quite so clear. The Mayas in Southern Mexico, for instance, dig a hole beneath the place intended for the fireplace, and bury there canoe-shaped caskets, which are said to bring good fortune (Starr, *Incubation of Southern M.,* I [1900] 70). In Guatemala, the Kechi Indians, when building a communal house, slaughter a pig and place its blood on two beans. With this blood (J. W. H.) 1894 465). In India, when the foundations were laid of a European house, built by some German missionaries and other prisoners for the king of Ashanti before the taking of Kumasi, a goat was slain, and the blood sprinkled on certain places with prayers to the *Fetish* (Hansard-Kühne, *Four Years in Ashantih, ed. London, 1875, p. 228). When Tako-danu, the first king of the Kingdom of Delonooy, conquered the Frys about the year 1691, the English king, at this place, put to death, and built his palace upon the victim's body, whence the palace and ultimately the kingdom were called *Nyanzi*; 'the king's belly' (Ella, *Spoken Tongues, Fremantle, London, 1892, p. 579 f.).

It is perhaps open to doubt whether this last rite was performed at the foundation of temples. The central pillar of one of these was said to rest upon the body of a goat which in the time of the sanguinary deity worshipped there (Ella, *Polyg. Resear.,* London, 1831, i. 246). Similar rites were practised in Malacca (Cordrington, *Malacca and the Malacca Peninsula,* 1881, p. 401). In Western Europe numerous cases are reported from Brittany and Belgium where an animal has been killed and the foundations sprinkled with its blood. During the same period a domestic cattle was killed in the Morbihan it is said that at the building of a house or a church an ox would be killed, and its blood spread upon the earth, so as not to destroy the building. A pair of fowls was often offered. They were feathered and buried in the middle of the site. Afterwards they were dug up many pensioners whether human or not, and a request was made for something which merely symbolises the real intention. Thus in Germany, and indeed in other European countries, the skulls of horses, horns, hooves, and pottery and vegetable remains have been repeatedly found beneath the walls of buildings. In Ireland, horse-skulls have been found as well as broken querns, buried beneath houses or in recesses of the walls (v. Wiss. 1894). In Lincolnshire the old-fashioned jugs known as 'greybeards' are sometimes found embedded beneath the foundation, the tops of which have been removed by the building or the destruction of ancient buildings (FL xii. 176). Among the Saxons of Transylvania a human bone used to be buried beneath the floor to give stability to the building (von Wilamowitz, *Kulturgesch. der Siebenbürger Saxen*, Berlin, 1895, p. 202). In the middle of last century, when Corgarff Castle, Aberdeenshire, was demolished, it is said that the workmen found in the foundations of a skull wrapped in a red material. And Dr. Gregor discovered some evidences of a former custom, on the erection of important houses. He records the workmen to seize the first person or animal they met in the morning on going to work, and to touch his head with the first stone to be laid (RTP v. 558). In taking down the old Priory of Prideaux Tracey (built in 1700-1706) for the purpose of rebuilding in the year 1867, the engineers discovered, under the foundations of the second arch on the city side, and fifteen feet below the present bed of the river, the quantity of bones of cattle and sheep and some
human bones. On these the foundations had been laid (Lieberbrecht, 289, citing Illust. London News, 2nd March 1885). In medieval times, if not later, at Rome it was the custom to bury ancient statues—the smaller whole, the larger smashed to pieces—under the foundation. Between 1875 and 1885 no fewer than 500 statues and busts were found on the Esquiline alone, buried in this way; and doubtless many more have been since recovered (JFLJ 1885) 25, quoting a communication by Sigismund Schaaffhausen to the Athenaeum. Other surrogates will be referred to below (p. 110).

Many substances, however, put beneath a foundation have their own proper value as offerings. Thus a favourite offering in the Moluccas, by way of propagating the divinity of the earth, is gold or silver—either in dust or small pieces—food and drink, pigs (Riedel, 63, 200, 225, 250, 256, 425); and in the Pueblos of New Mexico sacrificial deposits of turquoise and shell-beads have been found (Am. Anthr., new ser., ii. [1900] 180).

(c) The provisions of a guardian spirit. Numerous legends relate that on the construction of an important work such as a palace, a bridge, an embankment, or a city wall, the building repeatedly fell, until a living human being was buried in the foundations; or that such a victim must be obtained to render a fortress impregnable. In the Balkan Peninsula and adjacent parts of the Levant the tale is the subject of many ballads, of which the best known is perhaps that of the Bridge of Arta, where the victim is the master-builder's wife, but in the most pious of all an innocent child is walled up; often it is a virgin or a beggar-boy, in one case a student. These legends are most numerous in Germany, the East of Europe, and India; but they are also found in the west of Asia, North Africa, throughout the European continent, and in the Celtic parts of the British Isles. Specimens have been discussed in the article already referred to (EBB ii. 850). Nor are they unknown on the American continent. The Shuswap believe that the beaver, when constructing a dam, kills one of its young and buries it beneath the foundation, that the dam may be firm (Rep. Brit. Assoc., 1890, p. 644). It is common in tales of the N. W. tribes, and indeed a matter of actual practice, that, when a chief or great man built a house, captives and slaves were put to death and the house-posts reared upon their bodies; and others were buried beneath the fireplace or the totem-pole in front of the house (Bosan, Ind. Sagen, Berlin, 1896, p. 186; JAFJ vi. [1893] 61; Rep. Brit. Assoc., 1896, p. 357; 86 BREV [1906], 437). In central America the incident is mentioned in the Popol Vuh; probably, therefore, the practice was not unknown. In S. America the palace of the Bogota, ruler of the Chibchas, was believed to rest upon the bodies of maidens (Lieberbrecht, 287; cf. Anthrope., v. [1910] 116).

So deeply engrained are these stories and the beliefs which they imply in the popular mind that in modern times and civilized countries public scares have repeatedly arisen at the erection of great architectural and engineer works.

In India they have recurred many times within recent years, notably at the building of the Hooghly Bridge and the construction of the new war works at Delhi. At the building of the cathedral at Bhangal it was said that the municipal council required a certain number of human bodies to bury beneath its foundations; and for a week people were afraid to go out by night, especially near the site. There was similar scare in the north of China during the construction of the Manchurian railway. In our pride we deny that these precautions are civilised, yet we remind ourselves that such scares have arisen in Germany, as when the bridge at Bails (finished 1849) was built (Grimm, Text. Myth., London, 1880, p. 114); at the construction of the railways; and it was seriously believed by some people that a man had been thus buried one of the towers of the great bridge between New York and Brooklyn (NQ, 7th ser., vi. [1889] 13).

and that Lord Leigh, barely a half a century ago, was accused of having built an obstruction person (some people say he put sheep pools) into the foundations of a bridge at Stoneleigh (Lieberbrecht, 285, citing Times, 15 June 1833). No adequate explanation of legends and scares like these is feasible in the absence of a widespread custom which deeply impressed the popular imagination. Such a custom was not only common; it is not yet abandoned among barbarous nations. Without going further afield than Turkey, it was reported concerning the Correspondent of the Echo de Liége, on 1st Oct. 1866, that, when building a new blockhouse at Dugs, near Rugga, the Christian workmen who were engaged on the work caught two Mussulman soldiers in the act of preparing to bury two young children alive in the foundations. In many cases we have seen that the victims are regarded as a sacrifice to a god or spirit, while in others a magical virtue attached to their blood. But there is yet another reason. The vague intention expressed in many of the legends to render the building stable or impregnable conceals the purpose expressed more clearly in the accounts we have of actual sacrifices, to provide a supernatural guardian, a daemon, to watch over the building.

'Thus when a new gate was made or an old gate was repaired in the walls of Bagdad, it used to be customary to crush three men to death under an enormous beam in a pit at the gate before it was closed. Before they were led to their doom, they were regarded at a splendid banquet; the whole court came to sate them; and the king himself charged them straitly to guard well the gate that was to be committed to their care, and if any man could cause its opening, let him be punished.

Even if enemies or rebels came to assault the city. The next moment the rope would be suddenly loosened; and when it fell, the three were supposed to have been transformed into the giant which they called pali' (Frazer, G. H., 1911, 'Taboo,' 90).

The same purpose is explicitly attributed to similar practices prevalent in Burma up to the date of the British conquest. The notion that a human being put to a violent death becomes a powerful daemon is extensively believed. Nor is such a being necessarily hostile to the murderers; it may be, at any rate, propitiated and its friendship secured. The East Indian practice of head-hunting is an attempt to convert an enemy or a stranger into a supernatural protector. The well-known legend of St. Romnald, whose reputation was so great that the community proposed to secure him in perpetuity as a tutelary saint by putting him to death and thus obtaining possession of his relics, is typical of many tales localized from China to the Atlantic. And the same notion is probably—to some extent, at least—responsible for the veneration of the relics of the Christian and Muhammadan martyrs. Mighty kings and heroes are sometimes buried on the boundary of the kingdom, to ward off attacks by supernatural powers.

Thus, according to the Norse Saga, Ragnar Lodbrog's son, Harald, dying in battle, by his will directed that where his realm was most exposed to attack. Nor could William the Conqueror penetrate the territory until he had dug up Ivar's body and burnt it to ashes. In the same vein we are told that, when Brian the Blessed, invading Ireland, was wounded to death with a poisoned dart, he commanded his men to cut off his head and take it to the White Mount, in London, and there bury it with the face toward the sea. When they did so, no invasion from across the sea came to this island while the head was in that position (C. G. B. Martin, in Monograph, London, 1877, p. 283). Roghan Bell, king of Connacht, was similarly interred for the protection of his kingdom.

The custom of living burial for the same purpose was, if we may believe Irish traditions, which are no doubt accurate on this point, carried over into Christianity in connexion with the foundation of monasteries.

When, in 590, S. Columba, offered himself, or the lot fell on him, to be buried alive under the monastery of Tona, Clunamcolm, was consecrated by the similar burial of a laver which contained the blood of the community of the monastery. Thus a protective purpose does not definitely appear, it is true, in these stories. It is clear in the case of
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sisterhood at Clif Eschallée, founded by St. Senan of Inis Cathay. They entreated Senan that the body of a lowly monk of his community might be given to them, so that his relics may protect us." Senan replied: 'Verily this shall be granted to you. Be in no distress as to one from whom your protection shall come' (ibid. 156). Probably in this case the monk was not buried alive. However that may have been, bodies or human skeletons are often found built into the foundation or the walls of churches in this country and on the Continent; and it has been conjectured that in the practice to which these discoveries point we have a relic of the belief now under discussion. The conjecture seems well-founded; but in the later Middle Ages, at all events, such burials, unless of persons renowned for sanctity, and even perhaps in their case too, may have been carried out without any definite reason beyond compliance with custom. Numerous tales of burial in the wall, whether inside or outside the church, in order to avoid the consequences of a pact with the devil, and of persons walled up alive by way of punishment, may have been founded on the custom when it was forgotten (or not, and it seems probable), there can be little doubt that the church-prim believed to haunt churches among the ancient Romans was to the ancient Romans was to provide a sense of security. Whether this was the case or not, some of the old house-spirit, who is formally welcomed to his new domicile (Ralston, 120, 127). The Hindu custom of interring earth from the parental household in the new foundations has probably a similar meaning (PNU. i. [1884] 87).

LITERATURE.—The principal works dealing with the foundation sacrifice are E. B. Tylor, Prominent Cultures, London, 1876 (*1909), i. 94 f.; G. L. Gomme, Folklore Relics of Early Village Life, do. 1899, ch. 1.; F. Liebrecht, Zuer Volkskunde, Heidelberg, 1882, p. 291 f.; E. Kohler, Anfänge des ostdeutschen und Thüringischen Volkes, Leipzig, 1883 (Liebrecht, 259). Whatever credit we may give to this story, it is quite certain that, as everywhere in the lower culture, magical virtue was attached during the Middle Ages to an effigy, and many stories illustrative of the superstition have got into literature. Its use in witchcraft is well known. A statue was often supposed to be possessed of a god or spirit who, unless a personage celebrated in Christian hagiography, was necessarily regarded as evil. The belief is still applied to the consecration of a house in some parts of India. The image of Varti, or the genius locus, is placed in a box face downward and buried in a pit near the foundation pole (BG x. 358; cf. Crooke, PL i. 159). In this way the genius secured and effectually prevented from escaping.

Even easier modes of identification with the intended victim are practised. In Europe, in modern times, the ignorant populations of the Balkan Peninsula and adjacent islands would continue the rite of burying a human being beneath the foundation-stone, or the stone is laid upon the shadow. It is believed that he will die within the year, or, as it is said in some places, within forty days. In default of a human shadow, that of one of the lower animals is measured (Frazier, 89 f.). In the island of Kleeer in the East Indies, the guardians of a house or village is the measuring-tape with which the declared purpose is to measure the foundations of the house of the village-tus. It is wound round a stick, and is then thrown on the figure of a human being, and is kept in a box (ib. 1. 2. 4). In Russia, the carpenters at the first few strokes of the axe call out the name of some dead or beast, believing that the name so mentioned will rapidly perish. (On such occasions the poets the take care to be very careful to the carpenters, being assured that their own names might be pronounced by those workmen if they were neglected or provoked (Ralston, 125). The pronunciation of the name at the moment of the stroke causes the spell in some magical way to reach the owner of the name. British law in Burma is equally opposed to the rite in its crude forms. Accordingly the Nagas tribes of Manipur, who used to put a head under the main post of a new house, are preserved that a look of hair is of equal value, for the ghost of the wretched would go there and seek the missing head, and forever compelled to remain below the post (Hodson, 116).

Thus, in order to obtain a tutelary spirit, it is not absolutely necessary to immune a human victim. Fowler is of opinion that the real object of the rite already described at the fixing of a boundary stone among the ancient Romans was to provide a sense of security. Whether this was the case or not, and it seems probable)

E. SYDNEY HARTLAND.

FOUNTAIN OF YOUTH.—The legend of the Fountain of Youth was known throughout Europe in the Middle Ages, and is even intertwined with the history of discovery in the New World, where Fonce de Leon sought the Fountain after hearing of the medicinal springs of Florida, with which he associated the Fountain of Youth the more readily since in popular belief the latter was also located in the Indies. In Europe, this tradition of the Fountain was inextricably united with that of the River of Immortality. And the two did not have the same origin, and they should be kept apart as distinct legends. The River, or Spring, of Immortal Life was Semiti; the function of the river in legendary history is to be found in the story of the Fountain of Youth was not Semiti but Hindu, and the function of this water was not to render man immortal, but to renew his vigour. The one idea easily glides into the other, and history shows
that the two national legends actually became united, the more quickly perhaps because the Semitic story with this notion of rejuvenation unites, but it was not associated with man, and not at first with a fountain. This parallel phase of the legend is that of the rejuvenation of the 'in youth' given in Semitic legend in the youth (cf. Ps. 103), not at first by means of bathing.

In India the Fountain of Youth appears in early Brahmanic legend and has continued down to the present day, although many of the modern 'Fountains of Youth' are in reality so called only by Europeans, most of them being known to the natives only as 'spring' waters. The idea that some water was curative undoubtedly formed the basis of the legend in India, as it did in Florida. On the other hand, rejuvenation, either by fire of a spiritual power or by means of drugs, charms, etc., was recognized as possible much earlier than was the special form of rejuvenation utilized in the legend of the Fountain. As early as the Rigveda water is spoken of as medicinal, and men are rejuvenated by the will of the gods; but the two ideas are not brought together till a later period. In Greece and Rome there was no Fountain of Youth attainable for man in this world, but only a spring of rejuvenation in the next or the spirit world. And so, originally, the Semitic 'Water of Immortality' was that which was only in Annoetis land, which was Paradise, not within the reach of man on earth.

The legend of the Fountain of Youth was not known in Greece till the period introduced it from the Orient. There is no reason, therefore, to suppose that this was an Indo-European myth. The kettle of Medea, which used to be brought into these ideas, is itself a myth, has a different motive, and the water here used has no similarity with the Fountain. In French and German legend the Spring is called La Fontaine de Jove, the Jove, the Juno, and the different popular versions, mixed with the Semitic legend of the Water of Immortality, are found to be clearly drawn from Oriental sources, all being originally forms of the story known as 'The Three Brothers.' The tale of Alexander's search for the Water of Immortality in India did much to facilitate the (other) the natural combination of the Semitic and Hindu legends. At the time of Sir John Mandeville, the 'Fountain of Life,' now identified with the River of Immortality, was placed definitely in India. Other names, the legend of the Fountain more vaguely to the Orient. In America there was no Fountain of Youth, only a medicinal spring, till European tradition had built upon native belief. Chinese and Muhammadan accounts have joined in spreading the tradition through the Pacific, where, again, European thought has often interpreted some other means of rejuvenation as a Fountain of Life, or the Water of Immortality as a Spring of Youth.

The tradable Hindu fable was brought from India by the Nestorians (possibly by the Arab), and was thence conveyed to Europe. In Europe, the Nestorians were constant communication with India as early as the 7th century. The Persians were not likely to have their intermediaries, as they did not have the legend of rejuvenation, but only that of the Water of Life. Nestorians in the Southern India (where European legend placed it) was the home of the Fountain. Outside of India, the eagle (see above) and the phoenix were rejuvenated. But it is to be noticed that the rejuvenation of both birds is ascribed to a fountain in the Orient. No classical writer, however, knew of such a fountain. As for the eagle, even Origen and Augustine, when commenting on Ps. 103, on the eagle's renewed youth, do not ascribe it to a bath; though Donatus (ad Herod. ill. 2. 10) attempts thus to explain the allusion to spring. Herodotus (Ep. ad Fradurium) has the legend, probably from an oriental source, since, when the eagle's fountain is first located, it is placed in India. To seek to earlier classical authorities is to lose all trace of the eagle's spring of rejuvenation. Aristotle (De Anima, ix. 22.), Pliny (HN x. 3. 5), and even Aelian (Calendar, Cebes 3944) and Aulus Gallius (in his ch. concerning marvels, ix. 4), are silent on the subject, although they have much to say of eagles, Aelian especially stating (op. cit. ii. 26) that the eagle 'needs no spring' (being superior to thirst)—a statement he would scarcely have made without modification that he knew of the eagle's spring of youth. We may, therefore, conclude that the eagle was not rejuvenated by a bath in a fountain till the Oriental version of the Fountain of Youth became familiar to the Mediterranean littoral.

To sum up the tradition and legends of rejuvenation, there are various means of rejuvenation, but the Fountain of Youth appears to be derived from India, where it is first known. In European thought it was combined with the Semitic Water of Life, and with the classical Spring Immortal, which confers endless health and life on those who have passed the bourne whence there is no return. This idea, with the ends of the earth imagined as a home for the blessed. This, in time, coincides with the belief in the immortality of the soul as described by Plotin (DeSortes, 225) as free from disease and old age. The Fountain of Youth, considered rationalistically, is medicinal water with eury,”

FRATRES ARVALES.—See AVAL BROTHERS.

FRAVASHI.—This is the Avestan name (Pahlavi Frasdrk) of a spiritual being, conceived as a part of man's personality, but existing before he is born and in independence of him; it can also belong to divine beings. The concept so many arises out of ancestor-worship that a complete account of it requires include all the material already given in art. ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD (Iranian), vol. 1, p. 454 ff.

The etymology of the word given by Lehmann (in art. cited) is still accepted by Geldner and other excellent authorities, but it must be regarded as exceedingly doubtful. A. V. Williams Jackson has abandoned it, and Bartholomew makes the name mean "the word as obscure. There are many proposals, but none can be regarded as proved. Procaccayio nataway, the Fravashis of the form Fravashis, is a world in the prose Gathas Hapangahini, which represents a desired release from Zarathushtra's teaching towards the old polytheistic Nature-worship which he tried to supersede by his spiritual monotheism. The significant absence of the Fravashis from the Gathas proper is best explained in the same way as that of Mithras and Haoma, divinities for whom Zarathushtra could find no room without compromising the unity of God. The Fravashis, as described in the oldest and most authoritative text, the Farvardin Yasht (Ys. 18), have no definite ethical character; nor is there any attempt to moralize them until the Sasanian age. Zarathushtras, who would admit the spirit of such a fountain. As for the eagle, even Origen and Augustine, when commenting on Ps. 103, on the eagle's renewed youth,
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FRAVASHI was not likely to approve of the popular mones-worship, which moved in a far lower plane. He made much of the dirād, the 'self' or 'individual,' which, indeed, may have owed its origin to his own analysis. He taught the great ethical lesson that this ego—a part of every man, good or bad—was the real determinant of a human destiny.

The Association of the individual existence is just as close to the dirād; but the difference is vital, in that the former is divine, though in a sense in which the dirād may be far harsher. Pantheism never allowed the association of the Frawashis with the personality of a bad man. This was capable of interpretation on the same lines as the sine of the Māra about the egress of a sinner; but the original reason was very different. It was simply because the maxim do mortuis nāstī, manum has a very serious significance among primitive peoples, and eschewment becomes a necessary precept; hence the 'Frawashi of the pious' in Parsism, and the Di Manes, or 'good gods,' in Zoroastrianism. In ordinary Parsism, 'unbelievers have no frawashti, it is only because the concept was too deeply rooted in ancestor-worship to be capable of association with the world of evil. The conception was not paramount as to what happened to the Frawashi of a pious man who went wrong. Two exceptions are noted from late periods in the history of the religion. The Sādār Sānchakš (ed. and tr. by K. H. Durand, M.L.S., 1880, pp. 178, 175) says that the Frawashi of an unbeliever goes to hell with his soul and his 'perceptions,' and King Astash in describing Fārvardīgūn (the All Souls festival), makes the souls of the dead return to their old homes 'from the places of their reward or their punishment.' (Cf. Jērām, 12, 14.)

The concept may be far more complex in both to the same very limited degree. The Greek ἀγαθὸς καθαρὸς is a kindred concept, less fully developed; and all three may well go back in their history to the common store of the pro-ethnic Indo-European people. It is possible that we may link it in its remote origins with the notion of the External Soul.

We come now to the ideas connected with the Frawashi in the singular. Avestan psychology made the human personality include live immanent material elements vital, 'self,' 'soul' (sōra), 'sense' (budhāna), 'soul' (śwāsna), and Frawashi (Yt. 13(21). The last was the highest, the immortal part, which, according to an important passage from the Great Dāstur, Zand-Avesta, Paris, 1882–83, ii. 600 f.; Blochert, SBE xxv. [1896] 104), dwelt with Ahura in life and united with the soul at death, thus saving it from extinction, when the others were dispersed among the elements.

The pre-existence of the Frawashi was as essential a characteristic of the conception as its continuance. Yt. 13(2) tells us that the Frawashis apportioned the paths of sun, moon, and stars. In the Sānchakš (ii. 10 f., tr. West, SBE v. [1890] 14) we read of the choice of the Ahura Mardeša, between abiding eternally in the spiritual world and becoming incarnate to join in the battle against the demons. The same great Pahlavi cosmogony makes the first of four trillions years in the world-year belong to the spiritual creation alone, the Frawashi living with Ahura above, before anything material was made. The silence of our earlier sources makes it probable that this first trillions was added in Sassanian times; but that the Frawashi existed before the other elements of human personality is beyond doubt an ancient idea. It is implied, of course, by the fact that in Yt. 13 the Frawashi of the yet unborn Saosyants are adored. They are, moreover, classed as though of those of the 'men of the primitive law' (pāthnēr-šakta), Zarathushtra and his immediate followers, as the most powerful of all the Ahuras, and the host. That the Frawashi has travelled a long way from exclusive association with ancestors is sufficiently shown by this strong and repeated connection with men yet unborn, and by the express statement that 'the Frawash, and his human counterpart are mightier than those of the dead' (Yt. 13(7).

The connexion of the Frawashi with communities was alluded to above, among points in which the Roman Genius showed kinship. In Yt.
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The earliest Masonic documents now extant are a number of MSS known as the 'Old Charges of British Freemasons,' so called because they contain certain charges of the craft that were in bygone times read or recited to a newly admitted member of the craft. Of these, 78 different versions are known to exist, the earliest of all (known as the Regius or Halliwell MS, and preserved in the British Museum) having the date of c. 1390 assigned to it by experts. These 'Old Charges,' though differing in details, all have the same general character, and consist of three divisions:

1) an invocation or prayer, addressed to the Holy Trinity; (2) charges addressed to the new member.

According to the legendary history of the craft narrated in these old MSS, masonry (as it is called in them) was originated in Egypt by Esau, and spread thence to various countries, reaching England in the time of St. Alban (A.D. 300), who is said to have obtained increased pay for masons from the king, and to have 'got them charges and masons.' It is further stated that King Athelstan (925-941) granted a charter to the English masons on the condition that they held an assembly every year. No doubt, in thus ascribing the origin of geometry to the Egyptians, the compilers of these 'Old Charges' were but following the tradition (confirmed by modern inquiry) that the Egyptians were compelled to invent it in order to restore the landmarks effaced by the inundations of the Nile. Egypt was also the birthplace of architecture, which commenced there with the construction of the Pyramids, 3000 years or more before the birth of Christ. Much, again, of the present ritual of the Masons can be traced to Egyptian counterparts, and Egypt was the home of the 'Mysteries'; but we doubt whether any connexion between modern Freemasonry and Egypt can be established.

The rules or precepts contained in the 'Old Charges' were plainly intended for the government of bodies of operative masons, and it is to such bodies that we must look for the origin of the Freemasonry of the present day. With the progress of civilization the art of building necessarily grew more and more important, and those who practised it tended to become more and more a close society with their own trade secrets and rules for their governance, just as with other bodies of men who practised the same calling or trade. Thus it is on record that, from the very earliest times of the city of Rome, there were corporations of men with common interests called collegia, which were recognized and allowed by law. Some of these corporations were formed for trade and commerce, such as the Collegium Fabricorum, or guild of workers in hard materials, the Collegium Pistorum, or guild of bakers, and others, members of which had a common profession, trade, or craft upon which their union was based, although every man worked on his own account. These corporations or guilds spread throughout the Roman Empire, until in the time of Theodosius II. (A.D. 401-450) there were, in almost every city and considerable town, companies similar to those which existed in Rome, who exercised some particular trade or occupation for the safety, benefit, or amusement of the city. One of the earliest of these was a Collegium Fabricorum in Britain is established by a reference to it on a tablet now preserved at Chichester, which records the dedication of a temple to Minerva. Probably the origin of English Freemasonry may be attributed to these Roman collegia, though it may be impossible to trace its actual descent from them. This supposition is strengthened by the number of

13th we find that each of the four concentric circles of the Iranian commonality—house (avés), family (πᾶ), clan (σπά), and district (dāwy)—has its heavenly counterpart. The much disputed phrase 'the angels of the house of God' is an analogy here with the 'princes' of Persia, Greece, and Israel in Daniel, and with the 'angels of the churches' in the Apocalypse. Actual Persian influence in NT passages speak of individual 'angels' in terms which strongly resemble the heavenly counterpart of Persi, whether or not the latter has been developed under Persi influence. Mt 18th makes the 'angels' of the little ones dwell perpetually in the Presence. The declaration is clearly interpreted if these are the heavenly counterparts, the Fravashis, of those who have not yet learned to sin; no other conception of angels suits it so well, since tuleyar angels of children would have no special reason for precedence over other angels. In Mt 18th Peter's 'angel' is clearly his 'double'—his counterpart which has taken his place while he still lives. (See on this and other Biblical passages the present writer's paper in JTSAS iii. [1895] 914–22.)

The connexion of the Fravashis with the stars was probably a feature peculiar to Magian theology, never naturalised in Persia. In Mt 18th they guard the heavenly bodies, but only in the same way as other yazatas are said to do. Identification with stars is not found till a late Pahlavi text (ZK II, p. 253), where it seems to be mentioned only as an opinion held by some. It is quite in keeping with Magian star lore—one of the most prominent notes of the Magi in ancient accounts of their visit only by its relative absence in the Avesta. If the Magi did thus identify Fravashis with stars, we have a promising suggestion for the interpretation of Mt 2, by the help of their well-known devotion to divination by dreams. An appearance of a bright Nova in the sky would suggest the Fravashi of a great and newly born king.

LITTERATURE.—In addition to that cited in vol. i. p. 465, references may be made to C. Bartholomaeus, Altiria. Wörterbück. Nuremberg, 1904, col. 194 t., and to the chapter on the subject in the present writer's forthcoming Gilbert Lectures on Early Empiricism.

JAMES HOGH MOUTON.

FREE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.—See REFORMED EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.—See PRESBYTERIANISM.

FREEDOM.—See EMANCIPATION, FREE WILL, LIBERTARIANISM AND NECESSARIANISM.

FREEMASONRY.—The Freemasonry of the present day, organised as we now have it with its associations of Lodges (as the various units are called) grouped territorially under what are known as 'Grand Lodges' with their hierarchies of 'Grand Officers,' took its rise from very humble beginnings in London in the year 1717, when the famous 'Four Old Lodges' 'Thalatta' were constituted under the first 'Grand Lodge' of the world. Until that time there had been isolated Lodges of Masons, working for the most part independently of each other, as far as is now known, in different parts of Great Britain. Whence, then, had these various Lodges come? What was their origin? These are the problems that occupy the mind of one who would write a history of Freemasonry.
points of resemblance that can be traced between the organization of a Roman Colloquium and that of a Masonic Lodge. It may be asked, Why did these men, who trade preserve their organization? Because, being largely employed to erect ecclesiastical buildings, they came specially into contact with churchmen, as the 'Old Church,' and therefore the order was supposed to have been more highly organized than other combinations of workmen, besides being more skilled; and because this was the time of the Reformation, wherever their services were in request, they would need such organization more than the others would.

It is known that the masons of the Middle Ages, when employed to erect the important buildings, used first to make for their own use a temporary hut or shed near the place where the work was to be carried on, which they called the 'lodge.' Thus, in the Fabric Rolls of York Minster, we find an order for the workmen issued in 1302 as follows:

In summer they are to begin work immediately after sunrise until the ringing of the bell of the Virgin Mary; then to breakfast in the fabric lodge (l主营ium fabrici); then one of the men shall make the door of the lodge, and if the sun goes up with all are to return to work until noon. Between April and August, after dinner, they shall sleep in the lodge; then work until the first bell for vespers; then sit to drink until the end of the last bell, and return to work so long as they can see by daylight.

Hence we see that the masons employed on a particular building, and living together in the lodge, would naturally become a more or less exclusive and organized community. Such bodies existed in the sixteenth century. Lists of the members of the lodge keep in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, which contain the names of the members of what is called the 'lodge Lathamorum,' or Lodge of Masons, attached to the Priory of Canterbury for the years 1543, 1541, 1542, and 1543. Such bodies of skilled workmen would naturally have their own operative secretaries, and would be jealous of admitting outsiders to a knowledge of them, and would have some system of keeping a record of the work done by the workmen. There can be little or no doubt that the Freemasons of the present day are the descendants of such bodies of operative masons, who moved about the country and set up their lodges wherever their services were needed, having a system of secret signs and passwords by which a craftsman who had once been admitted could be recognized by the members of another lodge. They were called 'Free Masons' because they were free to travel about in times of feudal bondage and to remove themselves from one part of the country to another, their services being in process of construction. The earliest instance known of the name in this sense is found in a list of the members of the Lodge entitled to send representatives to the Common Council, dated March 1376, and now preserved in the Corporation Records of the Guildhall, London, in this the nineteenth century.

These organized bodies of workmen, with their rules and regulations, seem to have been more common at one time in Scotland than in England, or at all events to have left behind them more records of their existence in the north than in the south of Great Britain; thus two codes of rules for operative masons were written up in 1488 and 1500, respectively, which dates they bear, are still preserved in Scotland. They are signed by William Schaw, Master of Work, Warden of the Masons, and by William Schaw, Master of Works in Scotland in 1584, and had under his care the royal buildings and palaces in the Northern Kingdom. The Lodge of Edinburgh shall be the first and principal lodge in Scotland, Kilwinning the second, and Stirling the third, and contains an elaborate code of rules for the government of the craft. The Lodge of Edinburgh possesses minutes commencing in July 1599, and has been in continuous existence from that time, and, inferentially, from an earlier date.

In England the Masons Company of London, though its extent date only from 1620, is considered by its historian (Edward Conder) to have been established about 1220. If not earlier, at which time there was great activity in the masons' trade in London, consequent on the building of London Bridge, which was commenced in 1176, and of Westminster Abbey, of which the foundation-stone was laid in 1221. These works, especially the latter, would naturally attract to London the members of such operative lodges as that previously mentioned as having existed at Canterbury, which were attached to religious houses, and possessed certain signs, secrets, and symbols relative to their craft. These symbols had doubtless descended from a remote antiquity, together with some knowledge of geometry, which was then regarded as a trade secret.

We have now to trace the gradual process by which the lodges of operative masons lost their operative character and were converted into the present-day Lodges of speculative Masons, who meet in secret, and have changed the working tools of the operatives into symbols inculcating moral lessons, so that the square with which the operative masons tried and adjusted rectangular corners of buildings is now regarded as a teacher of morality, the level denotes equality, and the plumb-rule uprightness. The earliest instance known is that in 1717, and various instances can be mentioned of the admission of non-operative into the craft before that time. Thus it is on record that, on 8th June 1600, John Bowell, Laird of Appenzelles, was present at a meeting of the Lodge of Edinburgh, when, like the-operative members present, he attested the minute by his mark. In England the earliest proof of the existence of a non-operative or speculative Freemasonry is afforded by the records of the Masons Company of London, from which it is made clear that this practice existed as early as 1620, and, inferentially, from a remote past, certain members of the Company and others met from time to time to form a Lodge for the purposes of speculative Masonry, and they were known as the ' Accepted' Masons. Hence comes the familiar title of 'Freemasons,' implying a combination of operative and speculative Masons. Then it is also on record that Sir Robert Moray, who was Quartermaster-General of the Scottish army which occupied Newcastle in 1641, was admitted into Masonry in that year at Newcastle by some members of the Lodge of Edinburgh, who were also serving in the army. Next we find the celebrated antiquary, Elias Ashmole, founder of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, stating in his diary that he was made a Free Mason at Warrington in Lancashire in the year 1646; he also gives the names of the members of the Lodge, and it has been ascertained that they were all men of good social position, without a single operative mason belonging to their number. He also records in his diary that in 1659 he attended a Lodge at Mason's Hall, London, when six persons were admitted into the Fellowship of Freemasons. In 1668 was published the Academic of Armoury; by Randle Holme, who was a herald and a professional genealogist, and acted as Deputy Garter for Cheshire, Shropshire, Lancashire, and North Wales; it is said that he wrote, 'I cannot but Honor the Fellowship of the Masons because of
its Antiquity: and the more, as being a Member of that Society, called Free-Masons.' It is, therefore, obvious that symmetrical Masonry must have existed in London before the admission of Abbeville, and in London before 1700; and that the gradual change of operative into speculative Freemasonry had begun early in the 17th cent., if not before.

However, we have no means of tracing the change with any completeness, until, in 1716, four of the theses exist. Lodge's met together and determined to unite under a Grand Master 'as the Centre of union and harmony'; and accordingly, on St. John Baptists' Day in 1717, the Grand Lodge of England was established at the Goose and Gridiron in St. Paul's Churchyard, London. Apparently the operative masons were already in a minority, for of the three principal officers then appointed, one is described as 'Gentleman,' one as 'Captain,' and the third as 'Carpenter.' Dr. James Anderson, the historian of these events, says that they 'revived the Quarterly Communication of the Officers of Lodges (call'd the Grand Lodge), resolved to hold the Annual Assembly and Feast, and then to choose a Grand Master from among themselves, till they should have the honour of a Noble Brother at their Head.' Hence the establishment of this Grand Lodge in 1717 is commonly known as the Revival of Freemasonry, though there are no authentic records of its new extent of any previous Quarterly Communications or Annual Assemblies. But some sort of Annual Assembly must have been held, for the 'old Charges' previously mentioned constantly refer to the duty of a Mason to attend the Assembly when properly summoned to do so; and possibly the note in Aubrey's 'Lives of Men of Military and Religious Fame' (ed. 1847, p. 99), that on 18th May 1701 'there was to be a great convention at St. Paul's Church of the Fraternity of the Adopted Masons,' may refer to this occasion. It is impossible to be known even to a non-Mason. However that may be, this 'Revival' in 1717 forms the starting-point from which continuous Masonic history dates.

A similar Grand Lodge is known to have been in existence in Ireland in 1725, though the precise date of its establishment has not yet been ascertained; and in 1738 the Grand Lodge of Scotland was erected. From these three Grand Lodges have come, directly or indirectly, all the other regular Grand Lodges throughout the world, so that modern speculative Freemasonry has descended from the operative masons of Great Britain, who, in turn, may possibly have been descended from the Roman Collegia.

The founders of the premier Grand Lodge were quickly able to get a 'Noble Brother at their Head,' for in 1731 the Duke of Montagu was their Grand Master, and from that time onwards an unbroken succession of noblemen or members of the Royal Family have presided over the Craft in England, the present (1913) Grand Master of English Freemasons being H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, who succeeded the late King Edward VII.

In 1754 a rival Grand Lodge was established in London by some Irish Masons, who claimed that they alone preserved the ancient tenets and practices of Freemasonry, and that the regular Lodge had made innovations; so they called themselves 'Ancient' Masons, and styled the members of the 1717 Grand Lodge 'Moderns'; the two lodges continued in rivalry until 1815, when the 'United Grand Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons of England' was formed, and this body has continued ever since.

The spread of speculative Freemasonry throughout the world since 1717 has been something marvelous, especially of late years, until there are now in existence about one hundred and ten independent Grand Lodges, besides thousands subordinate Lodges, from which the operative element as such has quite died out, and with over two millions of members owning allegiance to these various Grand Lodges and Freemasonry in all civilised countries, except Russia, China, and Japan.

Besides the pure Ancient Masonry, the growth of which we have been trying to trace, which consists of three degrees and no more, and is known as the 'Craft' or 'excellence,' there are a number of other organisations calling themselves Masonic, a few being of real antiquity, but most being of quite modern growth. Among them may be mentioned the Masonic Knights Templars, a body of great strength in the United States of America; the Mark Masons, who are very flourishing in England; and the members of the Ancient and Accepted Rite, besides many others which it is needless to particularise in the present article.

The question is frequently asked, Is Freemasonry a religion? The answer to this must depend upon the meaning to be given to the term 'religion.' The latter may be defined as 'a system of faith in, and worship of, a Divine Being.' Freemasonry is defined to be 'a peculiar system of morality, veiled in allegory and illustrated by symbols.' But 'morality' is concerned with man's duties to his fellow-men, and is therefore different from 'religion,' which is concerned with man's relations to the Creator. Thus our question may be answered in the negative—Freemasonry is not, and does not profess to be, a religion. At the same time it may be called a handmaid of religion, for it is founded upon the purest principles of piety and virtue; and no man who endeavours to live up to and act upon its teaching can fail to be a better man for doing so. As the early optimism of the young Masons in England, from whom our modern Freemasonry is descended, were mainly employed upon ecclesiastical buildings, it is only natural that Christianity should have been the religion of the early Masons, as is conclusively proved by the 'Old Charges' previously mentioned: it was not until the formation of the Grand Lodge of England in 1717 that they were left free to belong only to that 'Religion in which all men agree that is, to be Good Men and True.' Freemasonry has never met with favour even from the Roman Catholic Church; and has been expressly forbidden by several Papal Bulls; and some writers have maintained that its symbolism was only a cloak for a conspiracy against government and religion. But, whatever may have been the case with Continental Freemasonry, such an accusation is groundless as regards British Freemasonry; and Masonic Lodges in Great Britain were specially exempted from the operation of an Act passed in 1799 for the suppression of secret societies. Cf. art. FREE-THOUGHT, p. 1226.

Now, with the spread of Freemasonry over the whole world, men of all religious faiths are admitted as members, and work together under its banners in harmony, as also do men of most varying political views; and Freemasonry has become a potent factor in promoting a feeling of universal brotherhood among mankind.


FREE-THOUGHT.—The term 'free-thinker,' as applied to certain writers and others who,
individually or in societies, impugned the supernatural authority of the Christian Church, came into use during the 18th cent., and gained general currency largely as a result of its employment by Shaftesbury and Collins (cf. Collins, Discourses of Freethinking, London, 1713; Fr. tr. 1714). In France, those belonging to societies of this type were called libéres généraux. liberty, liberty, liberty of countries was not the term to themselves. This fact indicates the two most salient characteristics of the free-thinkers—the one negative, viz. their opposition to the Church of England, and its implication on freedom and independence of the Church; the other positive—

its French representatives, Rousseau alone adhered to a form of religion in essence identical with Christianity. In the Netherlands and Germany, on the other hand, the Reformed Church predominated, producing a more decidedly Christian variety of freethought, the adherents of which, from the time of Grotius and Leibnitz, maintained the essential identity of Christianity with Nature and Religion, and differed in opinion only as regards the extent of the positive additions and guarantees which the form assumed. In England, free-thought was, in a religious regard, extinguished by the rise of Methodism, and, as a philosophy, transcended in the historicoc Psychological religion of Hume. In Germany it gave way before Herder's doctrine of development, and the poetic pantheism of philosophy. In France it succumbed to the anti-metaphysical principle of Positivism and the historicocritical method. In the purely religious sphere it declined greatly before the rehabilitation of ancient creeds which set in slowly with the modern movement, and then effectively asserted itself after the Napoleonic wars. More recently it has suffered further impairment at the hands of Socialism and its newfangled ethical and metaphysical theories. It must not be forgotten, however, that amongst the people generally, in so far as they have freed themselves from ecclesiastical authority, and yet do not desist from providing for religious education and edification, the tendency towards a form of free-thought that will meet this need is still active at the present day. Though the outward elements are predisposed towards such a type of free-thought precisely as in former times, by the natural theology which commingles with Christian teaching. The tendency is due partly to the elements of Christianity which survive when it has abandoned mysticism and the belief in miracles, and, accordingly, it continually re-emerges from the work of criticism in the Christian Church. Pardly again, it rests upon ideas towards which the moral and religious emotion of mankind, emancipating itself from all historical data, is daily growing; and, indeed, such ideas have a natural affinity with the moral and religious instincts of mankind, are so far not unjustifiably called 'natural.' To these influences we must add that residuum of tradition from the desistico and rationalistic epoch which has all along continued to operate powerfully in poetry and general literature, and in positive and apologetic theology, and from the popular popular prejudice that Christianity may ever anew be developed. It is to be noted, moreover, that almost all endeavours to enlighten the masses, and all democratic movements and organizations inspired by modern philosophy, tend naturally to approximate to the same position. Virtue, love of mankind, belief in Providence or in development, progress, the unification of the race, and an all-embracing philosophy of teleological optimism—such are the features of a phase that ever recurs in this sphere.

It is true that this holds good only of the earlier stages of free-thought, i.e. of its English forms. In France, where Catholicism, conformably to its nature, had drawn a much more rigid line of demarcation between religious doctrine and modern thought than that found in Protestant England, freethought, as employed by Voltaire, remained all connection with Christianity, and in the Encyclopaedists and their adherents it broke away from religion altogether. In England the free-thought of the 18th cent. was not so confined, and while the revolution having positive religious aims and subject to powerful religious influences, whereas in France it was associated with a purely social and political movement, and the ideas of progress have come to be focused more upon the present world, upon the social and humanitarian factor, and—in place of personal immortalit—also the permanence of liberty in religion with the Catholic State Church, and so took up a position of fundamental antagonism to both at once. It was in France, accordingly, that the movement assumed its most radical form. Of
favourably disposed towards the belief in God, immortality, and a responsible freedom: regarding these, in fact, as originating from the light of reason.

But, discounting these changes, we may venture to assert that, in all civilized countries where the people have not been under the control of the Church, a widespread tendency to free-thought pervades the lower and middle classes. Within the sphere of pure science, on the other hand, and among the higher classes—as far as they have been influenced by science—the clash of fundamentally antagonistic systems and the habit of scientific scepticism have conspired to produce sheer anarchy in such things; and to speak here of science cannot exhibit any kind of unanimity in its conclusions is out of the question.

This brings us to a phase of the subject which, though of great importance, is usually overlooked. The characteristic feature of free-thought, as distinguished from modern science, properly so called, is the pervading sense of an axiomatic unity amongst its adherents, based upon the assumption of certain self-consistent, universally binding, and 'natural' truths. The sociological aspect of ethical and religious thought manifests itself here in the assumption—'natural' and self-evident—that all independent thinkers will inevitably arrive at unanimity in their moral and religious thought. On the foundation of natural religion arises, so to speak, a 'natural' Church of free-thinkers. At the outset, indeed, the free-thinkers proposed simply to alter the process of purifying the Church by criticism, and the English Deists and free-thinkers had originally no other end in view; their object was the conservation of the Church as a Church. But, with a purified or natural knowledge of God, which, after all, was the true essence of Christianity. But, in proportion as the Church resisted their efforts, and their internal development carried them beyond the Christian sphere of thought, they found it necessary to form communities and societies of their own. It would certainly be wrong to dissociate this tendency from the purely theoretical and dogmatic side of the movement, where, on the assumption of a free, autonomous, and individual thought, it might appear, of course, as something altogether individualistic. As a matter of fact, however, such movements in the sphere of doctrine, like all other human interests, have a social aspect. This is found, first of all, in the axiomatic character which the free-thinkers expected to attach to the uniformity of their assumed principles, and in the fact that, being invincibly united in these, they were feeling their way towards becoming a power of the future and of progress—a spiritual federation of mankind, which would by itself come to prevail in virtue of the mere force of natural thought. Thought, just because it is free, i.e., because it is free from the necessity of nature, which is everywhere the same, is likewise a socially uniting factor. But, again, they were, of course, forced to recognize that, though the community of man would come into being of itself, it nevertheless required the aid of education and propaganda. They were thus brought to realize the necessity of organization, and, in the nature of things, their organizations became known as Church. But they went further still. Even for fully developed and mature minds they felt the need of some visible means of cementing and deepening the convictions held in common—some kind of ceremonial and worship which should present these convictions to the imagination in vivid form and thus serve the increasing force of solidarity. The result was the establishment of something analogous to Church worship, which, indeed, has to some extent the same end in view, while the only elements thereof that the free-thinkers consider the Church is holding a real influence upon the Deity and the preaching of ecclesiastical dogma.

It was in this way that the movement was led to adopt the policy of forming associations, and became allied with the forces working for the disestablishment of the Church. Of outstanding free-thinkers, Rousseau alone wished to make the new religion an official and compulsory one, proposing at the same time, however, that the individual be allowed to cultivate his distinctive tenets in his own sphere of free-thought.

Here, then, we have the explanation of the fact that the 18th century was crowded with secret societies and free-thought unions, the secret being recorted to partly as a protection against the power of the State Church, and partly as a means of drawing the masses, or, as it might be, of out-rivalling the attractions of Church life. The academies of the 17th century had already pointed the way. From the soil of Deism sprang Toland's scheme of a Secret Socieites Sociolitissimes, for which his Paracelsuses was to serve as a litmus. But the most outstanding example is found in Freemasonry (g.e.), which was instituted in England by the foundation of their Order in 1721 and 1726, and introduced into France in 1762, and found a footing in Hamburg in 1763, and which now pervades the whole civilized world. Freemasonry created a sacred symbolism, lived out the process of purifying the Church by criticism, and the English Deists and free-thinkers had originally no other end in view; their object was the conservation of the Church as a Church. But, with a purified or natural knowledge of God, which, after all, was the true essence of Christianity. But, in proportion as the Church resisted their efforts, and their internal development carried them beyond the Christian sphere of thought, they found it necessary to form communities and societies of their own. It would certainly be wrong to dissociate this tendency from the purely theoretical and dogmatic side of the movement, where, on the assumption of a free, autonomous, and individual thought, it might appear, of course, as something altogether individualistic. As a matter of fact, however, such movements in the sphere of doctrine, like all other human interests, have a social aspect. This is found, first of all, in the axiomatic character which the free-thinkers expected to attach to the uniformity of their assumed principles, and in the fact that, being invincibly united in these, they were feeling their way towards becoming a power of the future and of progress—a spiritual federation of mankind, which would by itself come to prevail in virtue of the mere force of natural thought. Thought, just because it is free, i.e., because it is free from the necessity of nature, which is everywhere the same, is likewise a socially uniting factor. But, again, they were, of course, forced to recognize that, though the community of man would come into being of itself, it nevertheless required the aid of education and propaganda. They were thus brought to realize the necessity of organization, and, in the nature of things, their organizations became known as Church. But they went further still. Even for fully developed and mature minds they felt the need of some visible means of cementing and deepening the convictions held in common—some kind of ceremonial and worship which should present these convictions to the imagination in vivid form and thus serve the increasing force of solidarity. The result was the establishment of something analogous to Church worship, which, indeed, has to some extent the same end in view, while the only elements thereof that the free-thinkers consider the Church is holding a real influence upon the Deity and the preaching of ecclesiastical dogma.

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It was in this way that the movement was led to adopt the policy of forming associations, and became allied with the forces working for the disestablishment of the Church. Of outstanding free-thinkers, Rousseau alone wished to make the new religion an official and compulsory one, proposing at the same time, however, that the individual be allowed to cultivate his distinctive tenets in his own sphere of free-thought.
central organisation in Berne (1868); it owes much to the influence of Auguste Forel. Similar aims are pursued by the societies for moral culture which have been set up throughout the world. The latest organisation of the kind is the Monistic Society inaugurated in Rome by Ernst Haeckel, but it is not likely to be the last. It stands to reason that, if modern thought should eventually prove unable to remodel the Churches, and find itself totally incapable of coming to terms with them, it must provide something to take their place. The alternative organisations which it has hitherto produced have been mainly imitations of the Church in one or other of its aspects, and a really sufficient substitute has not yet been found.

On the whole, we may affirm that the principle of an autonomous and non-theological type of thought for which the free-thinkers contended has, so far as science is concerned, been fully vindicated, and is now regarded as axiomatic and outside the sphere of controversy. But their other principle—their belief in the universally valid conclusions of Natural Theology—has completely broken down in the face of modern historical relativism and the great philosophical systems. Free-thought is thus, in one of its aspects, a self-evident principle, and, in the other, a shallow illusion now finally dispelled. This leads us to believe that it will produce new associations and groups, though fresh efforts in that direction are always being made.

Cf. also


E. TROELTSCH.

[Additional Note.—Owing to a lack of sufficient material on which critical inquiry can profitably exercise itself, it is a work of peculiar difficulty to trace the progress of freethought in the religious life of the Ancient East. But, as Max Müller long ago pointed out, the religion of Buddhism was originally a pure a-theism. It was only as a reaction set in, and the popular mythology began to exercise itself in the British East, that Western thought and the system of atheology decayed. In the Brahmanic cults it is not, perhaps, incorrect to say that pantheism took its rise and developed itself from the semi-developed attitude towards 'free-thinking' in its widest application; while in Persia the reaction from polytheism in favour of a partially enlightened Mithraism, and the later Mithraism, issued in nothing that deserves the name of free-thought. In Egypt, despite the vast store of materials that bear upon the problem of religion, but of which definite knowledge has come to hand; though it is arguable that the religious reform of Akhenaten was prompted by what may, for lack of better nomenclature, pass as Rationalism.

With China, different tendencies were at work. Apart from ancestor-worship, the religion of China has been, and still is, rationalistic in a pronounced degree. The arrested growth of the church, as generally understood, is one of the significant facts that face the historian. In the 'religious' reformation connected with such names as Kung-fu-tse, Lao-Te, and Mencius, there is merely every sign of a religion, and the reduction of the supernatural elements to a minimum, are points that deserve consideration.

From all the facts above, it seems that the rationalists really realized save partially and sporadically; of a system of Rationalism we cannot properly speak in this connection. It is true there are traces of a freethought movement in the later books of the OT, such as Job and Eccl. But the characteristics of the main current of the nation's religious development, which was in the direction of a rigid monotheism, akin in many respects to the creed of Islam.

Not until we reach Greece do we find those forces vitally at work out of which a co-ordinated system of freethought springs; but, once there, we realize that those forces were active all down the stream of Greek history. Many reasons might be alleged for the unique place which Greece holds in the evolution of human freedom; but they are not germane to the present inquiry, which is to indicate the direction of the movement itself. It may be noted, however, that nothing contributed more to the rationalizing of all religious thought, which characterized the most progressive epochs in Ancient Greece, than the fact that for the people generally there was no definite creed, no sacred book, no universally acknowledged priesthood. 'Each local cult had its own ancient ritual,' says J. M. Robertson (Short Hist. of Freethought, 1, 187).

Of any definite cult of freethinking in Ancient Rome there is scarcely a trace. Religion was largely based on purely material considerations, and the element of 'mystery' was noticeable by its absence. It was the very lack of this element which brought about the hankering after weird emotional cults, which became such a feature in the last days of the Republic and the early days of the Empire. Lucretius is, perhaps, the one genuine exception to the statement made above; his great poem, de Rerum Natura, based on the teaching of Epicurus, is one of the last and most Rationalistic, and a poem, in hexameters, to the spirit of Rationalism.

Coming to a later period, we must briefly mention the rise of Rationalism in the Muslim world. No free-thinker of any country—Voltaire alone excepted—is more celebrated in England than Omar Khayyam, the high priest of free-thought and of pessimism. But, though Omar has attained no great vogue in Islam, he does not stand alone; the names of al-Kindi and Avempace (to mention two only) as once spring to the mind. Of freethought in later times there is less to record; but that the foundations of Islam are being gradually undermined by the modern Muslim through the influence of Western thought, no serious student can doubt; and this in spite of phenomenal successes secured by the followers of the Prophet in Central Africa during the past half century.

Of Rationalism in Christian Europe during the Middle Ages we find many traces; but the questions that arise in dealing with its progress must be sought for in a history of heresy. With few exceptions, a free-thought propaganda during those centuries was mainly confined to the struggles of the heretics and the semi-'orthodox' to assert for themselves a right to worship in accordance with what they held to be reason and revelation.

It is with the Renaissance (p. 5) that free-thought, in the modern sense of the term, begins to make itself powerfully felt. The free-thinkers of the 15th and 16th centa, once more set aside the torch of human liberty which had been smoldering for a millennium. The complex ecclesiastical organization which had its centre at Rome had tried—and almost successfully—to quench it; but the re-discovery (so to speak) of Greek ideas opened the opening up of vast avenues of thought which was the consequence of that discovery, finally broke the domination, mental and spiritual, exercised for ages over the minds of men. A beginning
was made by Boccaccio and Petrarch; the movement culminated in Machiavelli, the politician, and Giordano Bruno, the philosopher and man of science.—E. H. BLAKENET.

FREE WILL.—I. GENERAL.—1. Freedom a vital question. The Free Will controversy is sometimes regarded as turning merely upon words and ambiguous expressions to which a few intelligible definitions would immediately have put an end (Hume, Philos. Works, Edin. 1854, vol. iv. 'Liberty and Necessity'). Historically, a vague terminology—will, motive, necessity, determination—undoubtedly caused confusion too; while the controversy has often been verbal, there is a real issue at stake. 'The government of God and the responsibility of man are equally involved' (H. R. SMITH, Faith and Philosophy, Edin. 1878, p. 399). Again, the Free Will controversy is not an indifferent one, as SIdgwick implies (Methods of Ethics, Lond. 1901, ch. 7). Historically, indeed, thinkers of the most diverse moral systems are indiscriminately found on both sides of the discussion. Anthony Collins the free-thinker defends necessity against Clarke. Brunschweig defends freedom against Hobbes. Edwards and Chalmers seem to fall into the same ranks as Hume and Mill. This quasioccasional seems to cut athwart well-defined moral affinities. The cautious manner in which man 'of high-toned character and devoted piety' (J. Martin, A Study of Religion, ii. 190) is affiliated to either side of the controversy is irrefutably true; however, that the question of freedom is an ethically indifferent one. For (1) this caprice is more apparent than real. Though Bain, for instance, could define compatibilism as the idea of the world, yet the Weltanschauungen represented by the two are separated tota causo. Leslie Stephen and Green also may both be called determinists, but in a very different sense. Frithjof B. Cunningham took Hamilton to task for identifying predetermination and philosophical necessity, and historical justice demands such differentiation (W. Cunningham, Reformers and Theol. of Reformation, Essay i, p. 120). (2) We must also discriminate between what thinkers are defending and what they are denying. Thus Augustine denied free will in order to defend God's free grace. The defense was the real aim, the denial was incidental. There are those which are, outwardly considered, entirely unimportant, but in a way are a great deal. The doctrine of sin and grace to be judged. As an expression of popular religious experience it is true; but projected into history it is false (Herzberg, Outlines of the Hist. of Dogma, Lond. 1890, p. 272).

This is really a vital point to remember. Many who oppose free will do so because they wish to conserve the effects of good actions already done (so T. H. Green, Prolegomena, p. 130), while many who champion free will do so to give some ground of hope to those who feel the burden of the past (W. James, Pragmatism, New York, 1907, p. 120). The problem of freedom is neither a linguistic nor an ethically indifferent question. It is a permanent problem of thought.

2. Freedom of problem in human nature. Kant has emphasized the difference between man's theoretical and his practical activities. Man, as intellectual, demands coherence in experience. From this point of view, the problem is 'empirical'; i.e. it falls under the law of causation. Man belongs to the realm of Nature. But man, as moral, looks on himself as an 'intelligible' character, and 'the intelligible character has his prerogative and all other beings that he fixes his end for himself' (Werke, ed. Hartenstein, Leipzig, 1867-68, iv. 85). Virtually this man belongs to a realm of ends. Whatever may be the external facts of history (see J. Ward, The Realm of Ends, Lond. 1894, for a discussion both of its importance and of its liability to abuse), the distinction itself is recognized as an absolute one (for us, as for Kant, the question of freedom takes the form of a deep-seated antithesis between the 'intelligible' and the 'intuitive' or 'intellectual consciousness on the one hand, and the moral and religious consciousness on the other' (J. Seth, A Study of Biblical Theology, p. 242)).

The moral life is a real part of human experience, and it must not be denied in the theoretic interests. This at once obviates many objections to freedom. (a) When the psychologist denies freedom, he does so in the theoretic interest. Psychology is in the third person, its point of view is that of the spectator (cf. F. H. Hocking, Outlines of Psychology, Eng. tr., 1892, p. 245); morality is in the first person, its point of view is that of the agent. To raise the question of freedom at all is to transcend the ground of psychology, unless, indeed, we get a psychology, such as Boyce Gibson outlines in Personal Idealism (London, 1902, pp. 156-192), how takes the first person of view. (b) In the same way arguments against freedom based on the law of the Conservation of Energy lose their force because such discussions are carried on in a universe of discourse which leaves the moral attitude outside. (c) It is quite true also that historians and statisticians are able to appeal to uniformities of experience due to material conditions without regard to the questions of the spectator. (W. James, Hist. of Civilization, 1887-88, p. 26), but that is just the function of the statistician (cf. W. James, Will to Believe, p. 155). This analysis shows a vital objection. (d) We always explain the voluntary action of all men except ourselves on the principle of causation by character and circumstances (H. Sidgwick, his biographer, Chalmers on his side). We excuse our own actions on this principle, yet if one really seeks to excuse himself in the sequel, by trying to show that it was impossible for a man with his particular antecedents to act otherwise than he did, he is regarding the action entirely from an external and non-moral (which is to say, circumspective) point of view (Frithjof Cunningham, The Philosophical Radicals, Edin. 1907, p. 103; cf. p. 89).

These and all similar attempts to deny freedom shatter on the moral consciousness. W. James, in 'The Dilemma of Determinism' (op. cit. 145-183), has shown by a series of arguments a consequent materialism. Butler also dismissed necessity from the same point of view with a 'disrespect amounting to contempt' (W. E. Gladstone, Studies Subsidiary to Burke's Politics, Oxford, 1890, p. 169).

The problem of freedom may thus be said to be grounded in human nature. To discuss it is to raise the validity of the moral consciousness. It is a philosophical and theological question, not a question of physics or empirical psychology.

The admission of a freedom from co-action or compulsion is not merely a moral demand. To man in normal conditions this is not denied by any one. It may be impaired by disease, it may be limited by inadequacy of material, it may be compulsorily taken away, but otherwise it is a common human possession. Such a power, however, is purely non-moral. It does not distinguish man from life in general. But freedom has meaning only in reference to the moral nature of man. 'It is the reason's postulate for the dicta-
does it in the latter interest. ‘The action is as necessarily related to the character and circumstances as any event to the sum of its conditions’ (Fregey, p. 126; cf. p. 129). Logically, in either case, the question is, according to this view, things could not possibly have been otherwise; and praise and blame, punishments and the like, are illusions. In short, the moral point of view is disregarded. For, morally viewed, ‘action is referred back to time to the circumstances and predispositions of which it is the legitimate outcome, but the man brings his action face to face with a “thou shalt” which lies not within him, and according to its conformity or want of conformity with this law he approves or condemns his conduct’ (ibid., p. 126).

We must take our stand on the moral nature of man; and, while admitting the prevalence of habit, the power of inherited character, and the force of circumstances, and so refusing a literal a priori utter indifference which is dismissed now by indeterminists as a contradiction in terms (cf. Wendt, System der christi. Lehre, 1908), we at the same time have to determine whether the consciousness that things could have been otherwise—that evil might be avoided, that responsibility is a fact, that punishment is not fiction—is possible of vindication on any Wellestian theory that can gain the respect of the reason. This is the problem of Freedom.

1. PHILOSOPHY AND FREE WILL. I. Free Will and Naturalism. —Naturalism explains all Reality in terms of matter and motion. It carries necessity all through experience. On this view, freedom has no meaning. So the philosopher who believes in free will has to defend its possibility against this system. This can be done (1) by an argument from consequences.

2. The concept of the ‘Uniformity of Nature,’ which is the foundation of Naturalism, may be shown to be not opposed to mental activity, but a fruit of it. It is a reflection, in short, of the activity of the self into the realm of Nature—a metaphorical explanation of Nature in terms of human action. Natural laws are symbolic formulae of explanation, not ontological dogmas. They fail even to earmark individual cases in their own sphere. They are inadequate to explain all reality. This offspring, then, of the active self cannot be used to discredit its parent. (3) Again, in conscious life we find all along a subject as well as a matter. Our reason by its very nature is incapable of excluding a subject. Hume’s sensationalism is inadequate to explain cognition. For feeling and sensation depend on interest and attention. W. James finds that the ‘duration and intensity’ of mental effort are not dependent on the object, but on the subject. He calls this an ‘independent variable’ at which science has to stop (Text-Book of Psychology. N. Y., 1895, p. 456); but it is not so. It is only one phase of the activity of the subject which is all along present. This we may call the psychological possibility of freedom, and

3. Pluralism and Freedom.—Pluralism recognizes the distinction between the self and the character. Freedom is its watchword; but, as expounded by some, the objective element in experience is under-valued. As a reaction against Naturalism it makes truth wholly pragmatic. Nature is absolutely plastic. There are no laws that tie us to make them. The world is an θέρμη, and chance governs all. This ‘Tychism,’ however, errs in overlooking the possitiveness of character. For, even in the case of a sinner converted, his past is recognized somehow as his own. Moreover, civilization and Nature, impersonal and mechanical in some sense, are very media through which the self acts. Moral ideals, again, though self-accepted, have the characteristic of universality. We are in danger here of laying exclusive stress on a bare activity of the subject. But this is not enough; objectivity and unity are also required. These are given us in the physical and psychical orders in which our freedom is as well as in the universality of the moral ideal itself.

We have already attempted to give a view of the freedom of the subject in relation to the character. What is this freedom in relation to
outward reality? This is the most living problem in modern metaphysics. It involves not only the relation of man to Nature, but that of Nature to God and of man to God.

Freedom touches the problem in so far as the power of obeying the moral imperative is concerned, and thus it postulates at least that the mechanism of Nature must not be either indifferent or hostile to its own teleological activity. The difficulty of the problem is increased by the fact that between man and Nature there is what Comte called 'Humanität, i.e. Nature as modelled by man.

The aspect of Nature is the hope of the moral consciousness—that all Nature is in reality a fit vehicle of spirit. When moral endeavour has already done so much to make the world familiar and subervient, may it not also? On the other hand, 'Humanität often fills moral endeavour with despair. For here progress against evil customs and perverse institutions seems to be helpless; and even customs and institutions, good in themselves, hinder progress when taken as final resting-places of the living spirit.

The relation of persons to Nature, then, is actually one neither of freedom nor of slavery; but, ideally at least, moral effort demands that Nature become a fit mechanism for realizing worthy ends. This suggests that much of 'Humanität (in the Comscan sense) must and can be subtended; it does not imply, however, that Nature itself is inherently opposed to freedom; for mechanism here may become media of purposive acts (cf. R. H. Lotze, *Microcosmus*, Eng. tr., Edin. 1886, i. 261; and H. Bergson, *Creative Evolution*, Eng. tr., Lond. 1911, for the relation between persons and Nature).

III. Free Will and Theology.—Theology refers everything to God. Its great danger in so doing is that the personal attitude inherent in moral experience may be submerged. It is always difficult to do justice to God and man (cf. Pringle Pattison, *Hegelianism and Personality*, Lond. 1887, p. 163). Man's moral nature is threatened from this side even more than from the side of Nature, because, while the moral life rises up in self-defence against Nature, it feels secure in dependence on the Divine.

The religious consciousness asserts both the sovereignty of God and the freedom of man. Platonism and Judaeism both see God and man as closely related issues. The latter from the religious point of view is an *own rational*—every man is related to God, and is—within the movement of history—open to influences of sin and grace. For St. Paul, God is the author of redemption and his profound spiritual experience (G. Welles, *Paul and Jesus*, Eng. tr., Lond. 1906, p. 112).

St. Paul, however, did not deal with free will from the standpoint of an insulated individual. The latter from the religious point of view is an *own rational*. Every man is related to God, and is—within the movement of history—open to influences of sin and grace. For St. Paul, God is the author of redemption experience: they are not the effect of his free choice; they came to him from God. But they free him also to make free choice. They are a gift; they are also a task.

Within the individual religious experience, freedom thus tends to coalesce with necessity; this freedom is not Nature acting irrespective in the character, nor is this necessity physical coercion. This is the *fælisk necessitas hominum* of Augustine (cf. Luther's *Familie* and *Ohrenmenschen*, opening paragraphs). This freedom is perfect in God. It is the *non posse peccare* of a holy character. In man it is a progressive attainment nurtured by the Holy Spirit. The sovereignty of God is thus essential to this freedom, because of the conservation of spiritual values, and it gives the individual certainty of moral victory while it frees him from the tyranny of sin. Negatively, it is freedom from sin; positively, freedom for righteousness.

It was in the interests of this ideal freedom that Luther and Calvin tended to neglect its natural basis in man's moral nature (cf. J. Oman, *The Problem of Faith and Freedom*, London, 1906, p. 14). This ideal freedom (cf. T. H. Green, *Works*, iii. 308 f., for philosophical cognates) is not an attained reality in religious experience. 'A power of choice is not thought of in this freedom, but a state of the fixed and actual will of man, or God' (J. Müller, *Christian Doctrines of Sin*, ii. 12). Hence, till we reach that ideal, we need a conception of freedom to represent present experience. 'Freedom' in a world already perfect could only mean freedom to be worse, and who could be so insane as to wish that? (W. James, *Pragmatism*, New York, 1907, p. 120).

Can God's sovereignty be reconciled with such a freedom of choice as we require? It cannot if God's absoluteness is asserted without qualification; then the moral life becomes unintelligible. Butler has warned us against speculating on how God ought to reveal Himself. We ought rather to find out how He has revealed Himself. So, God's absoluteness and freedom are the two sides of the same coin. The defect of Augustinianism and Calvinism is that they start from a knowledge of God's absoluteness above experience, deduce logically from this eternal decrees, and so explain immediate experience. We must start from experience, however; and, doing so, the problem is to reconcile God's absoluteness in grace with man's freedom. If we deny the latter, we make the former, we are in a world which is a moral chaos, where ideals have no reality that can be depended on, where the world of men may never be satisfied. The history of Free Will within theology is an oscillation between these two interests. The Greek Church had to conserve human freedom against the Gnostic atomism, with its three fixed unalterable types of men (pneumatic, psychic, hyletic). This was done in such a way as to obscure the distinction between nature and grace. Augustinianism, made an impassable gulf between the moral consciousness of responsibility and the new life of grace. In any attempted reconciliation both interests must be conserved.

1. Freedom and Omnipotence.—It is not enough to admit freedom in *civitatem* or in *moralius* and deny it in *spiritualius*. That is not the way to safeguard religious experience. So even Calvinists like Chalmers, who adopt the Edwardian position, insist on their right to make a free gospel offer (cf. T. Chalmers, *Works*, Glasgow, 1849, iii. 312 f.). It may be said that this is speculatively inconsistent, and it is so because God's omnipotence is logically started from instead of being explained from experience. The power to embrace God's offer of salvation must be granted to man. The difficulty is created by starting with an individual cut loose from God, beyond the sphere of any individual, making an impassable gulf between the moral consciousness of responsibility and the new life of grace. In any attempted reconciliation both interests must be conserved.
of freedom can satisfy the moral demand as it shows itself negatively in guilt, and positively in responsibility for future obedience.

Nor can we be satisfied with a bare foreknowledge unrelated to experience. It is true that, on the human analogy, we have seen how a man acts without knowing being its efficient cause; and so some theologians (Rothe, Martensen; cf. Gladstone, op. cit. 273, and Jowett, Epistles of St. Paul, 1894, ii. 370) have regarded God's knowledge as a logical knowledge of everything apart from any causal connexion with anything; but we are in danger here of lapsing into the Epicurean view of God as careless of mankind. Again, thinkers (e.g. Royce) who regard God's knowledge as timeless, as knowledge at one glance of the whole of reality, are analogous to them. While God must thus be actively aware of all possibilities, and cannot be surprised, or His purposes ultimately frustrated, yet there is within this real contingency.

To regard the Divine presence as a logical knowledge of everything apart from any causal connexion with anything, but we are in danger of lapsing into the Epicurean view of God as careless of mankind. Again, thinkers (e.g. Royce) who regard God's knowledge as timeless, as knowledge at one glance of the whole of reality, are analogous to them. While God must thus be actively aware of all possibilities, and cannot be surprised, or His purposes ultimately frustrated, yet there is within this real contingency.

Cf. also the artt. ELECTION, FATE, LIBERTARIANISM, and NARRATIVISM.


FRIENDLY SOCIETIES.—1. The theory of mutual aid.—Friendly Societies are institutions formed for the purpose of mutual insurance, and have been one of the chief means employed by the working classes for providing against the risks of sickness, old age, and funeral expenses. The inadequacy of purely shrewdness in the working classes as a result of the uncertainties of life and health among working people has been recognized from very early times, when religious and social fraternities have everywhere devoted some attention to granting relief to members from losses due to these vicissitudes. The Greek euripides appears frequently to have undertaken provident functions, and the medieval guild in Germany and England used its 'box' or 'chest' for the purpose of assisting members in distress.

Grants of burial money were a remarkably frequent, generous feature of such fraternities, and, when the common purse was used mainly for feasting, or when the primary object of association was the control of a craft. Some writers, indeed, assert that the modern Friendly Society is an actual descendant of the medieval guild; but, except for some similarities in their fraternal functions and the fact that the English guilds decayed about the time when Friendly Societies took shape, there is no evidence to warrant the belief in any direct connexion. Feasting, attendance at funerals of members, solemn entrance oaths, contributions to church, and assistance in times of distress, were common characteristics of fraternities of all kinds, and the fact that they appear in the earlier Friendly Societies does not prove that these institutions had any organic relation to the guilds. Possibly the customs of the guilds had an influence upon those of the Friendly Societies, but there is no evidence for any close connexion between England, although in Scotland, where the guilds continued in existence to a later period, some of them gradually merged into Friendly Societies as they lost their trade privileges. Cf. art. Gilds.

The Friendly Society is not a mere institution for promoting thrift. It must be sharply distinguished from Saving Banks, Building Societies, and similar organizations, which have afforded facilities for investment in small sums to the working classes. Its distinguishing characteristic is that of mutual insurance as contrasted with individual investment, and in some important respects the security and welfare of the contributor may be more adequately promoted by becoming a member of a Friendly Society than by depositing small savings in a bank. Death, though certain, may come early or late. Sickness may fall upon one before he has had time to make any savings commensurate with the burden; to another, who has saved more, it may be so protracted as to consume all his reserve long before he is again fit for work; to a third it may not come for twenty or thirty years, and even then may be only of brief duration. Old age, again, when the earning capacity is reached by a minority, and the power of being protracted in any particular case. Mutual insurance meets these contingencies as individual saving can seldom do, because the uncertainties of life and health for a single person may be almost translated into certainties when a large number of persons are concerned, so that, instead of taking account of the extreme possibility of the particular case, it is necessary only to proceed on the basis of average probabilities.

Many men could not possibly save sufficient to maintain themselves even on the lowest necessaries of life during a protracted old age; still more could not do so without undergoing very great privation during their working years. As it is also problematical whether they will ever reach old age, it may be quite unsafe in some cases for them to trust...
undergo the discomfort of saving much for this purpose, particularly if that would reduce their present income or affect the future support of their families. But if, on a calculation of average probabilities of life in that social class, it can be shown that a contribution of a few pence a week will suffice to provide for the superannuation of those who do attain a given age, it may be well within the means of most of them to pay on this basis of average probabilities, although it would be unwise to save on the assumption of the extreme possibility of the individual case.

The risk of illness is precisely similar. Any individual may be suddenly stricken down with a long illness or even permanent disablement, and few working men could by private thrift provide against this extreme possibility, while even a brief illness may occur before sufficient has been saved to meet it. But provision for the average probabilities may come within the reach of the vast majority. The mutual insurance of Friendly Societies is based upon this principle of average probabilities; and, while ensuring systematic contributions from each member, it also shares the risk among a large group.

2. Recent growth of scientific methods.—Although there has been always implicit in Friendly Society activities some recognition of the principle of averages, it is only during the present century that methods have been evolved to calculate the proper contributions and benefits are a late development. The fact that certain contingencies occur with remarkable regularity, when sufficiently large numbers of persons are considered, may be generally known before even approximate estimates of the degree of frequency can be made. But, when account is taken of the further circumstance that mortality and sickness vary according to the occupations, economic conditions, and habits of the people, so that a table which is adequate to one class of trade cannot be applied without modification to quite a different section of the population, it is scarcely surprising to find that a host of early Friendly Societies worked almost at random, and yielded a dismal story of insolvent and inability to meet the obligations which they had undertaken. For a few years, while the members were mainly at the healthiest periods of life, the Societies would appear to flourish; but it soon became manifest that, as the average age increased, the contributions and levies were insufficient to meet the higher risks, and dissolution precisely at the period when the needs of the members were greatest has been the melancholy experience of thousands of these institutions. Many of them had so little appreciation of the factors to be allowed for in the calculation of risks, that they proceeded on the assumption that a contribution from each member which sufficed to meet the outlay on benefits during the first year would also suffice permanently to cover all claims. It was not understood that the risks are largely prospective, so that even a Society with an accumulated fund might not be actuarially solvent. A valuation of its assets and liabilities might well show a deficiency. A Friendly Society is in a sound financial position only when the sum of its existing funds and the present value of the future contributions exceeds the present value of the benefits which those members may be expected to claim in the future, together with the expense of management. The value of these prospective benefits depends upon appropriate estimates of sickness and mortality, which, again, depend upon such factors as the age of the members, similarly, the present value of prospective contributions is dependent upon the expectation of life at different ages, as well as upon the rate of interest. It follows that a premium adequate to cover the risks must vary with the age of the Society and its average duration.

In the light of these general principles it is easy to account for the failure so abundantly manifested in the history of Friendly Societies. Ignorance of the actuarial factors, sometimes combined with disinclination of religious societies to disown, among the thrifty labouring people who sought to provide against the risk of pauperism through ill-health and old age. There are still many small Friendly Societies in existence which cannot stand before a valuation test, and every year adds a few of them to the long list of disasters. As, however, the long experience of some of the largest societies has been analyzed by competent actuaries and made available to the public, sound statistical data have accumulated, and a proper appreciation of the elements which must enter into calculations has become more generally diffused. One change which has there is a marked improvement both in methods and in stability during the last thirty years.

3. Historical development and legislative recognition.—The oldest existing Friendly Society is the United General Sea Box of Borrowmasterness in Scotland, which was founded in 1384. But England is interesting to note that the Societies which can trace their history farthest back are those founded about the beginning of the 18th century by the Huguenots in Spitalfields. Some of the earliest Societies were confined to workers in a particular trade, while others had distinctive religious restrictions, as in the case of the Society of Lintot, founded in 1708, in which the members must belong to the church of Lintot and be good Protestants, loyal to Queen Anne. These were all isolated local associations, and before the end of the 18th century such Societies had grown up in nearly every part of Great Britain. There are preserved in the British Museum the rules of a large number of these small clubs, including the Newcastle-on-Tyne in the second half of the 18th century; and there is abundant evidence that in most districts such organizations were then meeting at the village ale-houses, and included a large proportion of the population. The social and convivial side appears to have been pronounced, and one of the earliest references to them in the Statute book describes them as "societies of good fellowship."

Meanwhile there arose a new class, distinct from the local sick clubs, which has now become in some respects the most important form of Friendly Society, viz. the Affiliated Order, owing its inspiration mainly to Freemasonry (q.v.), and borrowing from that movement its rites and ceremonies, secret signs, and gorgeous costumes. Of greater moment is the fact that the Orders adopted the model of Friendly Societies in their organization and method of local branches or lodges; and, though the chief emphasis at first was convivial, by the end of the 19th century the Free Masons, Oddfellows, Druids, Foresters, and Comical Fellows had developed into Friendly Societies with many branches.

The growing importance of the associations led to a general interest in them and a desire to afford them a better legal status, and to this end in 1798
there was carried through an 'Act for the encouragement of Friendly Societies,' which granted to them valuable privileges on condition of sub-
mitting their rules to the approval of the justices in
Quarter Sessions. While a large number of local societies were enrolled and obtained a definite
legal status under this Act, the Affiliated Orders
were being repressed by other legislation aimed
at Secret Societies whose members took any oath
not required by law. Hitherto the enrolment of
Societies under the Act had not restricted their
financial management, and there were growing
complaints of their instability and failure. In
1858 Parliament demanded that it face this phase of
the problem by requiring the justices, before
confirming the tables of contributions and benefits,
to see that they had been approved, by at least
two persons who were professionally skilled
as persons skilled in calculation, as fit and proper
according to the most correct calculation of which
the nature of the case would admit. Yet this
bold attempt to secure financial soundness had
little effect in practice. On the one hand, there
was nothing to prevent Societies from operating
without becoming enrolled by the justices, and
any stringent requirements of this nature simply
led to a decrease in registration. On the other
hand, persons skilled in calculation in practice
freely passed on their knowledge to others who had no special training for the work, so that
numerous Societies were still enrolled without
sufficient qualification.

In 1859, provision was made for central regis-
tration, a barrister being appointed to examine
the rules of Societies; while, instead of the appro-
priation of fines demanded by law, Hitherto the enrolment
of persons, it was simply required that the justices
should be satisfied that the tables could be adopted
with safety to all parties concerned. This meant,
in practice, that the utmost care was exercised by
Societies to ensure that their tables were soundly
by legislation was relaxed; and in 1834
even this mild proviso was repealed, so that
thereafter the Societies could adopt whatever
rules, benefits, and levies they pleased, so long as
the barrister certified that they contained nothing
contrary to law. After this, Parliament vacillated
on the question. In 1866, when a registrar took
the place of the barrister, he was required to
obtain an actuarial certificate before registering a
Society; and it was enacted for the first time that
every registered Society should be valued
once in five years. But in 1860 these provisos
were repealed, and in the amended Act of that
year no arrangement for valuation was demanded,
while a distinction was drawn between certific-
ed and registered Societies. The former had their
tables approved by a qualified actuary, while
others were merely registered; but in point of
fact very few Societies sought to obtain certifica-
tion, and in 1855 a new repealing and consolidating
Act abandoned all pretence to regulation of the
financial tables of the Societies.

By this time the Affiliated Orders, which had
been studiously ignored by the Friendly Society
legislation until 1855, began to be recognized,
though prior to 1875 they could register only as
if each branch were a separate organization. They
were the pioneers in securing financial stability
by securing Actuarial disclosures. The importance is diminished to this day,
the basis of the Oddfellows made a complete valuation of all
its branches in 1870, and a partial valuation was
made by the Order of Druids, thus laying the
foundations for the future. In 1875, which,
in spite of later amendments and consolidations,
contained almost all the chief legislative regulations
affecting Friendly Societies before the National
Insurance Act of 1895, which, as in the case of
Friendly Societies, is very similar to that of the Industrial
Assurance Companies, which do an enormous
business in petty death polices; and from the
standpoint of thrift they have received
a criticism of high cost of management. Here, as

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Members</th>
<th>Amount of Funds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>1880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collecting</td>
<td>5,149,009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Societies</td>
<td>28,092,184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affiliated Orders</td>
<td>1,768,217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ordinary</td>
<td>5,728,217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Societies</td>
<td>1,767,670</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Burial clubs. — The Collecting Societies, which, while registered as Friendly Societies, are also
regulated by a Special Act of 1896, may be said
broadly to deal with a poorer section of the
population than do the other organizations, and to
insure only for burial money. In 1869 they were
63 in number, and had a larger membership than
the other two groups combined; but their relative
importance is diminished to this day. They had to
account for their accumulated funds and to the fact
that, as a rule, they do not provide for sickness or
old age. Moreover, the majority of the members
are young children. The work done by the
Societies is very similar to that of the Industrial
Assurance Companies, which do an enormous
business in petty death polices; and from the
standpoint of thrift they have received
in so many other cases, the poor have to pay proportionately much more than the well-to-do for the benefits they receive. The premiums are collected by cashiers at the houses of the insured, and the cost of this and of general administration absorbs about one-half of the contributions, so that for every penny invested for his own benefit the member pays to agents and their officials. Three Collecting Societies, the Royal Liver, the Liverpool Victoria Legal, and the Scottish Legal, together embrace about six millions of members, leaving under one million to the remaining ninety Societies. The accumulated funds appear to be very small relatively to the membership, but, in fact, a very high proportion of those who become members cease after a time to contribute, and the membership lapses. Thus, in the year 1909, 2,534,709 new members were admitted to Collecting Societies, 130,941 members died, while no fewer than 1,565,855 members lapsed in the single year. The melancholy conclusion at which the investigator arrives is that a large part of the membership is temporary, and never obtains any return for the premiums. That there is a claimant need for the institution of a system of such insurance payments at death, in which the poor would receive benefits commensurate with the premiums, is manifest to all who have practical acquaintance with the lives of the poor; but so long as the contributions have to be collected in pence from door to door every week, there seems to be little chance of meeting this need. Nor are the cost of management and the number of lapses the only drawbacks. Despite the small number of Collecting Societies, there are almost every year some that collapse after obtaining the money of the poor. Speculative assurances on the lives of persons in which the contributor has no real interest are believed to be frequent, although they are contrary to law. Sometimes, too, there is said to be danger to infant life in the practice of insuring babies, though for a child under five years of age the maximum payment at death is fixed by law at £5. It may be granted that the Collecting Societies induce some provision for burial, and for small benefits to survivors, among a poor and improvident class who would otherwise remain untouched by the institutions for thrift.

6. Sickness insurance by Friendly Societies.—The Affiliated Orders provide for sickness as well as for death, and are consequently for superannuation and other minor risks. Their aggregate funds are higher than those of the other two groups, although their membership is the lowest. They differ from the Collecting Societies in the following important respects. (1) They administer sickness benefits, which it is generally impossible for a Collecting Society to do because of the supervision required as a check on malingerers. These benefits usually include medical aid, as well as the more important grants of weekly sums to members who are ill and, consequently, incapacitated of earning. (2) They are organized on a basis of self-government by the insured, while the Collecting Societies are managed by a hierarchy of paid officials. Consequently, the expenses of management are about 10 per cent of the receipts as contrasted with 50 per cent in the Collecting Societies. (3) They permit of a common bond among the members who meet in the local lodges, courts, tents, or divisions, for social purposes and for the discussion of topics relating to their general welfare.

These advantages are generally found in the ordinary or single Friendly Societies as well as in the Affiliated Orders; but the latter have the distinctive merit of supplementing local independence with a salutary central control. The lodge manages its own affairs in an area sufficiently small to admit of thorough supervision and social life, thus providing an excellent unit for fostering political training, and discussion, as well as for checking malingerers; while the lodges are usually grouped into districts in which the claims for funeral money are met by the district lodge, and the funds invested to better advantage than could be done by the lodges themselves. It was customary until recently for the district body, composed of delegates from the lodges, to levy sums from the lodges to meet the funeral expenses when they occurred; but later this has developed into a system of charging premia in 1899. The centralization in accordance with the age-constitution of the members. Above these there is the central body, or general meeting of delegates from the districts and lodges, which is either held perniciously in some city or moves from place to place. This "high court," or "moveable committee," secures capable men for the guidance of the Order, makes general rules which the lodges must observe, often prescribes the rates of contributions, and administers a central fund for the aid of branches that are in difficulties, whose adherents are led by the fact that such assistance. This, however, does not amount to a guarantee of the solvency of each lodge by the central body. The relative importance of the different forms of sickness insurance is indicated by the fact that out of nearly £30,000,000 paid to the members of the Ancient Order of Foresters during the thirty years from 1876 to 1906, 72 per cent was devoted to sick pay for the maintenance of members during illness, 12 per cent to medical aid, and 16 per cent to funeral allowances.

The group designated "Ordinary Friendly Societies" includes a great variety of bodies, from the small local benefit club to the centralized class, the strongest of which is the Hearts of Oak, with a membership of over 200,000 in 1896. The centralised Societies dispense all benefits from the head office, and they are unable to check malingerers so efficiently as a local society or branch, since they must depend on the medical attendant without the aid of the visits of fellow-members. Consequently, the rate of sickness, even in the best centralized Society, is in excess of that experienced by the Foresters or Oddfellows, where the local court or lodge provides against fraud. There are also local Societies confined to particular trades, especially among the callers at public houses, the Societies of juveniles and of females. Moreover, in addition to the membership shown in the foregoing table, there are a great many village clubs and county Societies that have not registered and, therefore, do not enter the returns.

7. Dividing Societies.—Some of the small Societies still adhere because of the supervision required as a check on malingerers. These benefits usually include medical aid, as well as the more important grants of weekly sums to members who are ill and, consequently, incapacitated of earning. (2) They are organized on a basis of self-government by the insured, while the Collecting Societies are managed by a hierarchy of paid officials. Consequently, the expenses of management are about 10 per cent of the receipts as contrasted with 50 per cent in the Collecting Societies. (3) They permit of a common bond among the members who meet in the local lodges, courts, tents, or divisions, for social purposes and for the discussion of topics relating to their general welfare.

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do not leave the club, the younger and healthier members break away and form another Society of their own, so that the original Society soon collapses. The inadequacy of a Dividing Society is manifest from the fact that, while the expectation of sickness is about one week per annum at the age of 20, at the age of 48 it is 2 weeks, and at 70 it is 77. Hence the expectation of sickness increases rapidly thereafter. Hence insurance against sickness is mainly a provision for the later years of life, and a Society which accumulates too much fund can scarcely be said to cope with the chief problem. Despite this disadvantage, however, the Dividing Societies attract large numbers of members, who use them for the purpose of saving for Christmases, expenditure as well as for sickness benefits; and since 1878 they have been permitted to register on condition that no division of funds takes place before existing sickness claims have been met.

3. Liabilities from membership and deficiencies of funds. One of the greatest weaknesses attaching to Friendly Societies as a whole, and, indeed, to every kind of friendly insurance, has been the large number of liases from membership. In recent years the Affiliated Orders and the Ordinary Societies have experienced about three liases from membership for every four new members added. Thus in 1905, while 456,854 new members were admitted, 44,833 members died, and 531,667 members lapsed. A large proportion of these liases would have been temporary difficulty in maintaining the contributions. In the Collecting Societies, as was observed above, the number of lapsed was a large percentage in the earlier years.

The other serious weakness is that a very large proportion of the small Societies still show a deficiency in their periodical valuations; and, beyond ensuring publicity in the case of registered Societies, the law imposes no obligation upon them to take steps towards solvency. A large Affiliated Order is usually financially sound, because the orders between them can often combine for an official valuation, but, if a deficiency is revealed, the branch is compelled to readjust its contributions or benefits. Lacking this salutary control, however, the small independent Societies promise benefits out of proportion to the contributions, which they may succeed in granting for many years when the average age of the members is low, but, as a result, many of them show increasing deficiencies at every valuation, until they finally fail to pieces when the rate of sickness and mortality becomes excessive.

0. The Friendly Society work of Trade Unions.

Many Trade Unions have undertaken the provision of sickness and burial benefits, in addition to the more distinctive unemployment and strike benefits. It is estimated that about 1,500,000 trade unionists subscribe for burial money, and about 900,000 for sick pay. But the friendly functions of Trade Unions have been carried on without reference to actuarial calculations, since the primary object has been to have all the funds available for strike purposes at any moment. No adequate reserves have been kept, and from the stand-point of mutual insurance the Unions have always been financially inferior to good Friendly Societies. They have never viewed their contract to pay sickness benefits as binding. They may expel a member at any time if he disobeys orders during a strike or otherwise offends the rules. Although he may have paid for years to the sick and superannuation funds, he can claim nothing. They may alter or abolish the benefits in any period when the fund is short, and the old, although paid for years to the sick and superannuation funds, can claim nothing. They may alter or abolish the benefits in any period when the fund is short. The advantage of the entire absence hitherto of any guarantee that the funds would be reserved to meet the sickness benefits, this system cannot be ranked with the health insurance of Friendly Societies.

10. Effect on Friendly Societies of the National Insurance Act. The National Insurance Act of 1911, which made insurance against sickness compulsory upon a large proportion of the population of the United Kingdom, is, in the main, being worked through the agency of the Friendly Societies, subject to the approval of their rules by the Insurance Commissioners. This measure has led to a great increase in the membership of the Societies, and to a strengthening of their financial position. Allowing for the many persons who belonged to more than one Friendly Society, and for the overlapping of membership between these Societies and the Trade Unions, it is probable that in 1911 net more than 8,000,000 individuals in the United Kingdom were insured against times of sickness by the voluntary system. The actuaries who worked out the statistical data for the Insurance Act estimated that in 1912 the persons compulsorily insured against sickness would number over 13,000,000, in addition to those who may voluntarily avail themselves of the provisions. From the data now available (Jan. 1913) this estimate seems likely to be realized, the vast majority of this number having already become members of existing Friendly Societies or formed new ones. The conditions attached to approval of Societies under the Act, and the financial supervision by the central Government for which provision is made, are sufficiently adequate to afford due protection to the members. Indeed, the plan of finance is so arranged as at the same time to increase the assets and to reduce the liabilities of existing Friendly Societies, thus putting most of the small insolvent Societies on a sound basis as a start, while it will keep them solvent in future by the rules and supervision imposed upon them. It will no longer be possible for a Society to run on indefinitely with a deficit, as it will cease to be approved under the Insurance Act, and so cannot receive the contributions of the workman, the employer, and the State. The benefits or contributions must be adjusted every three years to the position shown in the official valuations. A Collecting Society can be approved under the scheme of health insurance only if it institutes quite a separate branch for the purpose; while Trade Unions must keep the funds quite distinct from their 'fighting' resources, and must observe all the regulations applicable to other Societies, if they wish to take part in the administration of the Act. See also art. 19.


STANLEY H. TURNER.

FRIENDSHIP. One of the numerous 'essayists upon friendship' justly observes that 'there is no subject of morality which has been better handled and more exhaustively than this' (Addison, The Spectator, no. 68). The leading Greek thinkers represent the view of this subject propounded in the ancient world; and perhaps the things they said first on the subject are not only the most original, but the best. Roman friendship was formed on the model of the Greek, and the celebrated treatise of Cicero, de Amicitia, apart from its attractiveness of style and reminiscence, seems to have been drawn in substance from Aristotle's successor, Theophrastus. In viva loco the entire absence hitherto of any guarantee that the funds would be reserved to meet the sickness benefits, this system cannot be ranked with the health insurance of Friendly Societies.
ship, which knit together heroic pairs like Achilles and Patroclus in the Homeric age, and bound nations and the like-minded; you, in the gymnasia of Greece. Friendship, as a modern sentiment and force, is directed by ends and motives that were not present in pagan society. We shall see this by considering the subject in some of its historical phases.

1. PLACE AND DISCUSSION OF FRIENDSHIP IN ANTIQUITY. — In the poets, and especially the philosophers, of Greece who present the ancient view of friendship, and from them we see its extraordinary influence in intellectual discourse, and in social life and institutions. The conditions of society explain the rise of this sentiment, and the prominent place it was allowed to fill. Ordinarily the position of woman was inferior, and the State, as in Plato’s Republic, dwelt on the individual. The traditional religion failed to supply adequate motives for conduct, and thus friendship became a social distinction, a moral safety-valve, and an intellectual and religious inspiration. The citizen or politician who sought an escape from the hardness and corruption of society could say with Socrates, “I have a passion for friends” (Plato, Lytus, 211). Friendship, indeed, touched Greek life and morality with emotion, and acted with the explosive power of a new affection.”

Excerpts from “ friendship,” in Exposition of the Constitution, 1986, pp. 23-34. See, further, the following article.

II. FRIENDSHIP IN THE OT AND IN CHRISTIANITY. — I. Dignity and attractiveness of Hebrew friendship. Biblical religion (e.g., Judaism and Christianity) had much to do with this interest. The Bible is a book of friends, and friendship is a prominent feature in the Hebrew literature. Vexels points out that “the history of the Greek schools of philosophy is at the same time the history of friendship” (Excerpts from “ friends,” in Exposition of the Constitution, 1986, pp. 23-34). See, further, the following article.

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of ‘ friends’ of God (Ex 33:1, Is 41:6). This conception or relationship never entered the mind of a thinker like Plato, nor of the sociologists, nor of those who held that friendship is destroyed when persons are separated by a wide inequality; and therefore between God and man, or between personalities so far removed from one another, friendship or intercourse was not conceivable [Ezech. 33:1, Is 41:6]. We may glance at some of the examples contained in the OT. The friendship between Ruth and Naomi, recorded in a charming fragment of literature, is a specimen of what is not often celebrated in classical writings, viz., an independent and beautiful expression of affection and loyalty (Riv 115) corresponds to the warmth and disinterestedness of friendship incorporated in the Greek and Roman ideals, and in this age, the two composite elements which, in Emerson’s view (Essays, “Friendship”), make up friendship, and are named truth and tenderness. That author, in the course of his sparkling and paradoxical essay, describes unreservedly, in defining the end of friendship, the traits that distinguished the friendship of Ruth:

- It is the aid and comfort through all the relations and passages of life and death. It is for earnest days and for feasts, and for the gifts and country rambles, but also for rough roads and hard fare, shipwreck, poverty, and persecution.

More celebrated and influential is the relationship between Jonathan and David, who form the classic pair, the Pythias and Orestes, of the OT, and whose friendship was formed spontaneously, and was deeply and intimately bound. (1 Sam 18). Each of these noble characters, in their perfect intercourse and devotion, felt to the other as to himself, and their attachment was, in Aristotle’s words, “cable to the friendship of the good, incapable of being disturbed by accusations” (Grant’s Aristotle, ii. 259). No friendship on pagan soil can rival the qualities displayed in the stories of Jonathan and David, and it is the best that Greece and Rome have to show of friendship looks pale beside this” (J. C. Shirar, “Friendship in Ancient Poetry,” N. Amer. Rev., Nov. 1884). In the tale of a Jewish trial, required by prudent moralists, was unnecessary. As Jeremy Taylor puts it, in a sentence marked by less than his usual amplitude (Works, i. 86), “some friendships are made by nature, some by contract, some by interest, and some by souls.” The beauty of Jonathan’s friendship has been immortalized in David’s elegy (2 Sam 19), and the intercourse of these twin souls stirs fresh admiration in the historian, who sees in it a healthy testimony to the period in which it was realized, and the spectacle of a friendship which shines for all ages as an eternal type” (Ewald, Hist. of Isr., Eng. tr., i. 1878, p. 76). In the personal attendants who accompanied and ministered to the Hebrew prophets (e.g., Elisha, the servant of Elijah (2 K 5:2)), in the band of disciples who gathered round Isaiah as their spiritual leader and guide (Is 8:16), and in the circle of godly people who drew together in degenerate and dangerous times (Mal 3:1), we see further interesting developments of this principle, and how various are the sympathies and services that test and prove the worth of friends.

What may be termed the “Directory” of the OT on the subject of friendship is to be found in the Book of Proverbs. It pointed and scattered sayings crystallizing. But the story of the friendship of Israel the faculty of spiritual intuition was being trained, and God’s entrance into friendship with humanity is given to some of the most astonishing lines of experience. Abraham and Moses, the outstanding figures of Hebrew history, not only towered above their fellows in virtue of their leadership, but, on account of these supernatural experiences, they were admitted to, stood in the unique position as “natural relationship”: a friend loveth at all
times,' etc. (177, cf. the latter half of 198). This expression is noticed also by Cicero: 'whereas you may eliminate affection from natural relationship, you cannot do so from friendship' (de Amic. ch. v.).

5. Plain speaking is sometimes a duty, and is better than fiction: 'faithful are the wounds of a friend' (277).

4. A primary virtue in friendship is loyalty: 'thine own friend, and thy father's friend, forsake not' (Proverbs 17:17). Manners, whom he describes as:

'These friends thou best love, and their adoption tried, Grasp them to thy soul with hoops of steel.'

5. Intercourse is the life and soul of friendship: 'strong is sharpeneth iron; so a man sharpeneth the countenance of his friend' (277). Similarly, in Aristotle's judgment (Eth. Nic. ix. 12), men brighten each other's powers, and add to the rest of life, by frequently coming together; cf. Tennyson's tribute to Hallam, in Memoriam, canto cx., 'Thy converse drew us with delight.' So cordial and practical is the Hebrew appreciation of friendship and its blessings (cf. Sir 8:8 'a faithful friend is a medicine of life').

2. Distinctiveness and reality of Christian friendship.—It is an old and almost a stock objection that friendship occupies a subordinate place in the NT, compared with the prominence assigned to it in ancient ethics. Certainly, it is nowhere made the subject of formal discussion and of express precept. This reproach has been traced to the period of the Renaissance and the rise of Humanism. Since then, however, the models of classical art and literature, and when the worship of friendship became a romantic and religious passion. The objection has received attention. It has been less unfounded upon Christian ethics (Roth, followed by Luthardt, Martensen, and König, and is reproduced by Aristotle's sympathetic commentator in the passing judgment that 'Christian ignored friendship' (Grant, Aristotle, ii. 250).)

The difficulty is hardly solved, in Roth's manner, by distinguishing between the writings of the NT and Christianity, and still less by the admission that no proper examples of friendship meet us in these writings. It is true that the relationship of Jesus to the Twelve, and in particular to individuals like John and Lazarus, did not contain the element of 'equality' which marks ordinary friendship. But this feature should not be pressed much; that the love of the followers to his higher platform of His friendship, and made their admission to His confidence and intimacy a matter of distinct recognition: (158). It is right, therefore, to take the friendships we find in the NT in their natural and honest sense (see Stalker, Image Christi, 1889, ch. v. pp. 83–85, where this objection is vigorously challenged).

But, while Christianity does not ignore friendship, it absorbs it in a deeper current, and creates out of the ancient relationship a special and distinct type. The ordinary category of friendship is no longer prominent, and the virtue characteristic of pagan ethics is transformed. The contrast is noteworthy. The ancient world was distinguished by friendship, which was enjoyed as a privilege by few; the new world originated by Christ and the gospel is distinguished by love, which includes the highest of life and inspiration of all. While, therefore, Christianity enters into the natural order of society, and assimilates institutions like the family and friendship, it tranforms them, and to some extent algebra, knows the types and ideals that formerly prevailed. Love to Christ is the mainspring of the new moral world. 'All souls are knit together by a bond of their Divine Master and to each other; and this friendship, on the part of Christ's followers, is prompted as the response to His own supreme act of friendship, and must be evidenced in each case by the virtues of sincerity and obedience (159).

Apart from this general conception of friendship which distinguishes Christianity, and the use of the term 'friends' in its ordinary and natural sense (Lk 19, Jn 11), there are two instances that call for remark. In Ac 27, mention is made of Paul's friends (votis, a friend to whom someone has promised to visit. The expression may be taken as simply synonymous with Christian brethren and disciples, previously known. Again in 3 Jn they, the closing salutation runs: 'The friends (of all ages) salute thee. Salute the friends by name.' This shows that the primitive communities of the NT, or groups of Christians, constituted an inner circle of disciples and brethren, and that the term adopted by Jesus continued to carry a special and spiritual meaning. But in neither of these cases need we infer that the term is used in a technical sense, or that the first Christians applied this title to each other as it had been used professionally by Greek philosophers or the Epicurean school. Harnack points out that the early Christians, in accordance with the fellow-feeling which animated them, preferred the warm and close term of 'brethren' to that of 'friends,' and that later, in the 15th and 17th centuries, with the rise of the so-called Christian friends (FRIENDS OF GOD) in Germany and of the Quakers (see FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF) in England, the term 'friends' was appropriated to special usage (Expansion of Christianity, Eng. tr., ii. 31–34).

III. Questions in the Study of Friendship.—A few remaining points involved in the elucidation and appreciation of this subject may be presented.

1. Friendship and youth.—It is generally acknowledged that youth is the golden period of friendship. Aristotle did not fail to notice, however, the impulsive tendency of youth to enter on and dissolve friendships in one day (Eth. Nic. viii. ch. 3). On this account Cicero observes that such enthusiastic attachments, readily contracted at games, are not to be trusted, and that men must come to maturity before their friendships can be regarded as solid and permanent (de Amic. ch. xx.). On the other hand, modern ethical writers (e.g. Schleiermacher and Rothe) properly show that, when the two parties of the relationship are behind, and character is still open and imperishable, friendships may be considered not only natural but invaluable. This fact suggests that the friendships of youth should not be arbitrarily hindered, but wisely fostered and directed. The question as to the place of friendship in modern education arises here, and has been commonly neglected. The Greek custom of turning friendship at this stage into a recognized institution, and of laying down rules to guide older youths who are responsible for those under them, is worthy of imitation (Muirhead, Chapters from Aristotle's Ethics, 1900, p. 135; and E. Carpenter, art. 'Affection in Education,' in J.E., 1896, pp. 493–494). In a curious 'Fragment of an Essay on Friendship,' the poet Shelley refers to an attachment, at the age of eleven or twelve, to a school-companion as his introduction to 'the sacred sentiments of friendship.' In this sphere the discipline of healthy moral training is indispensable (cf. Locky, The Map of Life, London, 1898, p. 237).

2. The number and kinds of friends.—(1) If friendship is viewed as an example of the concentration of feeling and sentiment, then Aristotle's opinion that a plurality of friends is not possible or desirable seems justified. The classical friendships were in pairs, and it is contrary to human nature to stand the strain of intimacy or intense
where the requisite amount of installation in individuals or tribes, is not assumed, seems, The Emotions and the Conscience, 1903, vi. p. 67. In this case, artistic, literary, and scientific friendships may be examined. The criterion of friendship in these relationships is that same keep growing, and the same is of something to enrich the common stock of ideas. To keep friendships in repair, in accordance with Dr. Johnson's maxim, is a matter of intellectual as well as social duty and difficulty. The friendship of Goethe and Schiller is a celebrated example of this class, and shows how men of culture come gradually to appreciate each other, and the subordinate differences of temperament and character to community of aims in pursuit of art and truth (see Carlyle's Life of Schiller, pt. ii. and App. vol. 2). (3) Religious friendships. Here friendship reaches its highest intensity (Roths), and friends' 'treat of the deepest of human affairs' (Martensen). The respect and reverence due to persons are shown at their best in this circle of relationships, and it is in the practical religious life that the fruits of friendship are most valuable and necessary. In 'peace in the affections and support of the judgment' and 'aid and bearing a part in all actions and occasions!' (Lord Bacon). A typical example of such friendship is that of this class is when Melancthon—another evidence that friendship at its deepest rests not on agreement of opinions, or identity of constitution, but on those underlying principles and sentiments and are rooted in common spiritual experience.

The characteristics and atmosphere peculiarity type of friendship—friendship to the pagan world—are seen in volumes, now rare, published by Delespinse in 1843, consisting of essays by others, and two by himself, on the life of Jesus (quoted below). The titles are such as these: 'The Character of Christian Friendship,' 'The Observance of Good Habits in Christian Friendship,' 'On Friendly Prayer,' 'Indecent Tidings,' 'Godly Character': 'Christian Friendship.' One of the authors of these essays was Samuel Cath. von Ritterberg, a friend of Goethe's mother, the 'Schöns Ueberliefs' of Wilhelm Meister (Carlyle's 'Br. vol. iv. 221, 'The Fair Share').

Ordinary friendship, as seen long ago, is rooted in nature and society. This highest type of friendship is rooted in God, and is the goal of man's spiritual experience and endeavour.

The Seven Sages.—Each of the seven sages had his say on the matter. Thales of Miletus admonished men to remember their friends, present or absent (Diog. Laert., i. 77). Pittacus of Mytilene gave the advice, 'Speak not ill of a friend,' adding, 'or even of an enemy' (ib. 78). Bias of Priene suggested 'loving as though one might hate,' giving as his reason that 'most men are bad' (ib. 87). Solon's word of wisdom to the world was, 'Get not friends quickly; but, when you have got them, cherish them, and let not their friendship weaken, and cannot flourish under conditions.
book of the *Memorabilia*, with the exception of the first chapter, might be entitled *φίλας*.

The second chapter is a homily on filial affection. In the *Sophocles*, Socrates' son Jionas is exhorted to bear with his mother, in spite of her shrillness and tongue. He is reminded of all that a child owes to a parent, especially to his mother, and it is pointed out to him that, while the State neglects all other forms of ingratitude, ingratitude towards a parent is punishable by law. As a fitting sequel to this chapter there is a little sermon on brotherly love, which might have been preached from the text:

*Behold, how good and how pleasant it is
For brethren to dwell together in unity!* (Ps 133).

Then, extending his view beyond the family, Socrates dilates in ch. 4 on the value of friendship, and insists that a good friend is the most useful of all possessions. In ch. 5 he even appraises the money-value of friends. Ch. 6 begins with advice as to the choice of friends, and ends with directions as to how to gain them. It appears in the course of it that there is a natural basis for friendship in men's need of one another, in the instinct of pity, in the benefit derived from cooperation, and in the feeling of gratitude (παντός) which is thereby engendered; but it becomes plain also that friendship is possible only through the good. The rest of the book dwells on certain commercial aspects of friendship, closing with advice to a rich man to buy friends when they are cheap, on the principle enunciated by Horace (Ep. 1. xiv. 24):

*Ville umbilicum esse bona hosque uit quidem dese.*

Thus we see that the views of Socrates on friendship were, as on other matters, thoroughly utilitarian.

The *Lysis* is a very 'Socratic' dialogue, of the kind known as 'meant to elicit'. It is designed to stimulate, not to satisfy, inquiry; it discusses everything and decides nothing; it opens wide vistas, where we seem to be loyally told of a principle which shall carry us far beyond the immediate subject, and then suddenly blocks our view by interposing some logical obstacle. In its pictorial setting it is among the most charming of Plato's dialogues, but, like others which reach the highest point of artistic perfection, it is poisoned by the taint of perverted amoralism. The Socrates of *Lysis* begins where the Socrates of *Xenophon* left off. For the first position maintained in the *Lysis* is that whether a person will be loved must depend upon whether he is useful (210 c). Then, after some word-play, he introduces the new and passive meanings of *φίλας*, which lend themselves to verbal contradictions (212, 213), and during which the valuable idea is started that reciprocity is requisite for friendship (212 D), Socrates appeals to the poets as the fathers of philosophy (214 A). 1 Does not Homer authorize us to believe that likeness is the basis of friendship, when he says (Od. xvii. 218):

*aie...*  

But this principle, though it falls in with the philosophy of Empedocles (q.v.), 1 is soon found to be only a half-truth, since there can be no friendship between the bad. It amounts, therefore, to saying that friendship is confined to the good. Against this, however, there lies the objection that like is of no use to like. Therefore the good are friends to the good, not in the way like, but merely in so far as they are good. But against this, again, there lies the objection that the good man is supposed to be sufficient to himself.

1 Cf. *Philo*, ii. 467.

The quotation is put in a more gnomic form than it really possesses in the text of Homer, which reads not *aie...* but *ai...*  

friendship exists either among fools or sages. With the former authority, but sceptical of the latter it is superfluous (ib. 98). Of Simmias of Thebes, another of the immediate disciples of Socrates, we can say only this, that in his book containing two books of dialogues the fourteenth was περὶ φίλων (ib. 124).

Cicero mentions friendship among other topics connected with moral and political philosophy, which had been treated in orante and weighty language by ‘the old Peripatetics and Academics’ (de Fin. iv. 8), whom he always maintained to have been really the school under Plato. Plato was succeeded in the Academy by his sister’s son, Speusippus, among whose numerous works there was one περὶ φίλων (Diog. Laert. iv. 4). His successor Xenocrates had also a treatise in two books on the same subject (ib. 12).

5. Aristotle and his successors.—We come now to Aristotle, to whom, directly or indirectly, we owe the greatest pronouncements of antiquity on the subject of friendship. These are to be found in bk. viii. and ix. of the Eth. Nic.; bk. vii. chs. 1—12 of the Eth. Eud. and bk. ii. chs. 11—17 of the Magna Moralia. The treatment in Eth. Nic. is far more finished than in Eud., but the two treatises proceed ultimately from one mind. The author of the Magna Moralia seems to have both the other writers before him.

The Greek word φίλος, which we render so inadequately by ‘friendship’, corresponds more nearly to ‘love’. It is one of the basic concepts in human nature generally. It is to mind what gravitation is to matter. It has its roots in animal nature, in the desire to be close to others, especially to the mother, for offsprng. It is the bond of the family, the tribe, and of the State, and generally the principle of political cohesion, the main object of the bond. It is a love for one’s own, and the interlocutors in e of political thought are usually morally and religiously, especially of the mother, for offspring. It is the bond of the family, the tribe, and of the State, and generally the principle of political cohesion, the main object of the bond. It is a love for one’s own, and the interlocutors in e of political thought are usually morally and religiously, especially of the mother, for offspring.

Walving aside the wider and quasi-philosophical speculation as to whether it is likeness or unlikeliness that produces friendship, Aristotle confines himself to such questions as concern the philosophy of man. Friendships differ in kind according to the several objects of love. Now, there are three things that attract love—the good, the pleasant, and the useful. Hence there are three kinds of friendship according to the end that is sought to be attained. These are also three conditions of friendship: (1) that it should be a feeling of goodwill; (2) that this feeling should be reciprocated; (3) that the object of the feeling should be aware of its existence. Friendships for the sake of the useful and the pleasant are at bottom selfish, and are easily dissolved. The former is found chiefly among the young, the latter among the old. It is the friendship of the good, who love each other because they are good, which alone is lasting. And this includes the characteristics of the other two kinds, since the good are at once useful and pleasant, both in themselves and to one another. Such friendship is naturally rare, and is slow of formation, but, when formed, it is above calmness and distrust. It, therefore, is alone truly entitled to the name. Hence friendship in the highest sense is confined to the good, but the friendships of pleasure and utility are open to good, bad, and indifferent. He denied that sense also friendship implies equality and perfect reciprocity, though there are forms of friendship in all three kinds, in which there is a natural superiority on one side. In such forms reciprocity is not to be expected.

Any form of association among men, even down
to dining-clubs, is regarded by Aristotle as having its appropriate 'friendship.' And all these lesser associations are included in the great fellowship of the State, which aims at the common interest.

There are three normal forms of constitution—kingship, aristocracy, and commonwealth or timocracy (România). The examples of these—tyranny, oligarchy, and democracy. Among the latter, tyranny is the worst, as being the opposite of the best, and democracy the least evil, as it involves in the individual the same sort of action from the corresponding form. The analogues of the three normal forms of government may be discerned in family relations. Paternal rule corresponds to kingship, the relation between husband and wife to aristocracy, and that between brothers to timocracy. The relation between husband and wife is founded on a natural instinct, and continued on the principle of the division of labour. It involves both profit and pleasure, and its friendship may also be based upon virtue. Children constitute an additional bond, so that childish couples more often separate.

Returning to friendship as existing between individuals, Aristotle lays down that all the characters of friendship must be inherent in the material, and that friendship is the bond between two persons, so that if it is possible for the man to be the bond, and for the other to be the friend, then friendship is a relation between two different people, so that it is a bond between two different people, and not something inherent in the material, as it is in the case of some other relations, such as those of parent and child or husband and wife.

The friendship of the Stoics and Epicureans—The Stoics, of course, had their say upon friendship, but their style was excusable after that of their predecessors. It is told of Zeno that, when asked what a friend is, he replied, 'Another one.' (Diog. Laert. vii. 53) But we have seen that the idea was familiar to Aristotle, and that in substance it goes back to Pythagoras. The Stoics naturally confined friendship to the wise, as they did every thing else to which they attached value (Stob. Ec. i. 601, Gaisford). They made friendship to consist in social intercourse coupled with harmony of opinion in relation to life (ib. 600). They also displayed their usual verbal subtlety in the distinction of terms on this subject.

1 Cleanthes, who succeeded Zeno in the Peripatetic school, as is well known, was celebrated for the charm and fidelity of his friendships (Cic. de Fin. i. 65). Atticus, the friend of Cicero, inherited its traditions.

7. Cicero.—Theophrastus died in the year 287 B.C. Some two or a half centuries later Cicero, having enlisted his rhetoric in the service of philosophy, selected the work of Theophrastus as the basis of his celebrated treatise 'On Friendship.' The Laetus, end of Amicitia—to give the work its exact title (An. Gell. xvii. 5 1) it is part of Cicero's astonishing literary output during the year 44 B.C. when, his main duty must have warned him that his time was short. Admirable as this work is, it still does not possess quite the charm or the transparent lucidity of diction which characterize the companion treatise de Senectute, and therefore it suffers somewhat by comparison. While awaiting himself is provided by Theophrastus (Anl. Gell. i. 3), Cicero displayed his discretion by not following that philosopher into the case between friendship and justice, but by passing the matter over in a vague generality (Lec. 61). His purpose in his philosophical writings was always to edify. His practical solution of the problem raised by Theophrastus is 'write large' in the pro Milone. There is reason also to believe that Cicero in this treatise was indebted to Stoic works on the same subject. His obligation to Xenophon in one passage is obvious.

The definition of friendship given in the Laetus appears unsatisfactory. For to describe friendship as 'agreement on all subjects sacred and secular, coupled with goodwill and affection' (§ 20), is to put intellect before feeling, where the latter ought to come first, while he also leaves the question of the account. In his juvenile treatise, the de Intemisti (i. 165), Cicero gave a happier definition of friendship when he declared it to be 'the willing good to another person for his own sake, together with the same will on his part towards you.' Cicero follows the Peripatetics in tracing the origin of friendship to nature, not to utility. There is much in his work that reminds us of Aristotle, yet he has nowhere the air of directly borrowing from him. This fits in exactly with what we know of his relation to Theophrastus. The chapter 'de Amicitia' in Valerius Maximus (iv. 7) is merely anecdotal, after the manner of that writer.

8. Seneca.—Seneca has brilliant passages on friendship scattered up and down his works, especially in the Moral Epistles. His sentiments, indeed, are so fine as to suggest the question whether they were quite sincere. You ought to wish for a friend, he tells us, not, as Epicurus said, 'that you may have somebody to sit by your bedside when you are ill, and to succour you in imprisonment or poverty,' but that you may have somebody by whose bedside you may sit yourself, and whom you may rescue from the dungeon of the enemy (Ep. x. 8). Now there are a great number of things for one another, without being sages, but even a Florence Nightingale or a John Howard

1 a.g. γεωργίαν και οικονομίαν (Stob. Ec. 600). The four terms which follow—λαος, εφίτης, αμιας, φιλόκερος—were four species of friendship recognized by the Peripatetics (Stob. p. 602).

2 Cf. Lec. 29 with de Nat. Deor. i. 131.

3 Cic. Lec. 62 with Xen. Mem. iv. 4; §§ i, 3, 4.

4 Lec. 57; cf. Stob. Ec. i. 1, § 3.
FRIENDS OF GOD.

hardly regards them as choice-worthy in themselves. No one, however, will challenge the truth or beauty of the maxim which Seneca quotes from Hecaton, a pupil of Pannius, 'I will show you a lovely rose, but accord a black berry the spell: if you wish to be loved, love' (ib. 6). On the loss of friends, which he admits to be the greatest a man can sustain, Seneca, after the manner of his school, is not very sympathetic. Instead of mourning them, he tells us (Ep. civ. 11 f.), it is better to make new ones. 'But they will not be the same.' Neither will you be the same, is the rejoinder; 'you are changing every moment of your life.' Yet he allows a measure of tears in one of his terse and glittering antitheses (Ep. xil. 1):

'Neque amo semel neque solem. Letciantandam est, non plorandum.'

'For whoever is the "I" and "the mine," Neither the creature must needs insult.'

This is Epictetus' way of saying: 'For where thy treasure is, there will thy heart be also' (Mt 6:21).

10. Marcus Aurelius. — In the Meditations of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus there is much about fortitude and consideration for others, but no word on friendship. Was it part of the tragedy of that crown of thorns that the monarch who would fain have been a friend to all was himself without a friend? He is too fond and too rich to be saved and the ministry purged by unordained persons; but those men do not show any spirit of revolt from the existing system, they have not gained the Protestant temper, and they never demand grace or of the mediation of any form, though they occasionally admit that spiritual life is possible without such mediation.

Nevertheless, the prominence given to 'unordained persons,' whose authority as guides lay simply in the fact that they had been taught of God, marked a radical divergence in principle from the Church—a divergence which did not become 'Protestant' only because it had not yet become explicit.

3. The movement was necessarily supernatural. In this respect the Friends of God were children of their age. They shared the common belief in the virtue of relics, the objective reality of visions, the power of precognition, the gift of tongues, the ability of speaking in strange languages, and the ability to hear—being to the medium of a

1 Harnack, however, points out (Hist. of Dogma, Dogm. tr., 1894-95, ii. 60) that these errors—apostolical and non-apostolical—were not sharply opposed to the Church.

2 Justin, Dialogue with Tryphon, 100.
Divine revelation. Visions especially were looked for and often experienced—visions which declare themselves at once as hallucinations born of the abnormal psychic conditions into which the subjects of them are brought by their too rigorous treatment of the body. 1

(c) It was strongly apocalyptic. The influence, on the one hand, of the 'great German prophetesses' St. Hildegard, St. Bridget, St. Marguerite, and St. Matilda of Magdeburg—of which there are marked traces—and, on the other hand, the state of Christendom at the time of the Great Schism (1378-1417), during which each of two rival popes demanded the allegiance of the Church. In addition, there were the terrible social evils due to the great civil war which followed upon a double election of Emperors. Finally, these human terrors were accompanied by what seemed to be dreadful signs of the Divine wrath—notably the 'Black Death.' 2

The effect of such phenomena upon the Friends of God was such as might be expected from the simplicity and fervency of their faith. It made them seers and prophets of the End. 3

(d) Asceticism was a prominent feature in the practice of the Friends of God, but not so much for its own sake as for the sake of the higher stage of spiritual experience to which it was supposed to open the way. Asceticism disciplined the soul through the body for the purpose of reaching that mystical ladder whose top reached to the enjoyment of God by clear vision and perfect union. The leaders of the Friends, at least, were mystics at their own account for this. 4 And their idea of God as a Being absolutely transcendent, with their notion of the way to Him as a process of complete self-emptying, and with their yearning for those secret and hidden paths of spiritual communion, were the result of their ascetic practice.

The chief note in leaders and followers alike was not this or anything else abnormal. It was meekness—a life of simple faith, hope, and love derived from personal fellowship with God and flowing out in all the moral virtues. What these were, was a first-hand spiritual experience. They believed in the living actual eductive work of God in the soul. They were pupils in the 'upper school of the Holy Spirit,' a school to which every one of humble and sincere heart may have free access. 5

4. Leaders.—(1) For the friends of God the leader possessing intellectually and spiritually was Heinrich Eckhart (see MYSTICISM [Christian]). He was so, at least in two respects: (a) in the first place, by his constant emphasis on the capacity of the soul for God in virtue of its very nature. Not merely in the soul of prophet, priest, or scholar, but equally in the soul of 'every man,' there is something which is Divine. It may be designated 'the ground of the soul,' or 'the spark,' or 'the soul's eye,' or 'right Reason.' Names do not matter. The essential point is that there is in man what can rise to God and know Him and enjoy the bliss of friendship with Him. (b) In the second place, the type of piety prevailing among the Friends of God was Eckhart's. For he taught that the goal of religious living was practical as well as something inward and spiritual. He was a highly practical man, who did his day's work with fidelity and telling effect. 6 Similarly,

1 Rufus Jones, p. 388 f.
2 Th. 264.
3 Th. 296.
4 Th. 266, p. 457.
5 Th. 256.
7 Th. 256.
8 Th. 266.
9 Th. 264.
10 Th. 266.
11 Th. 296.
12 Th. 342.
13 Th. 352.
14 Th. 324.
15 Th. 342.
16 Th. 324.
17 Th. 352.
18 Th. 332.
inward, and had also a clear understanding in those things which afterwards were dark to him, and he wondered greatly with which ease this came. His friend assured him that now at last he had received the light of the Holy Spirit; and that thus illuminated he could become a more clear interpreter of the Scriptures than he had before. He might now begin again to preach. He was not at all overcome by emotion. This made him a laughing-stock. But, being allowed to deliver a lecture in Latin at the university, he at last such an excellent lecture as they had never heard in their lives before, so grand and deep and godly was his doctrine. Next, therefore, he was permitted to preach in the church where he was 'wont to preach.' He did so with amazing power. Thereafter for full eight years the Master preached both to clergy and laity, his influence growing all the time. Thus he drew to his end. For more than twenty weeks he suffered sorely. His last hour was laden with dreadful and amazing anguish, which the Master himself, in an appearance to the Friend three days after his death, explained to his physiognomy.

This picturesque story was first questioned in 1719 by Quist and Ricard, who, in their Scriptores ordinis predicatirum, treated it as an allegory. More than a century later this view was accepted by Weiss in the Biographia universelle, art. "Tauler" (1836). But the traditional view held its ground until H. S. Denifle, the great Dominican scholar, published his pamphlet (Strassburg, 1879) entitled Taulers Bekehrung kritisch untersucht. Here he worked out the following conclusions:

1. The epithet "Master" means Master of Holy Scripture. This Tauler was not. (2) The Master's two years of seclusion (between 1454 and 1556) are placed between 1449 and 1552. Tauler during this time was active as a preacher. (3) The Master died in 1452. Denifle dates Tauler's death. (4) The Master shows himself (benevolent sich) a very sudden-acting, inexperienced, unimportant preacher. Tauler is seen in his sermon to have been entirely the reverse of this. (6) The Master exhibits a distracted nature. Tauler is a harmonious personality. (6) The Master gives no hints of obedience to his style. Tauler's mind is evident within him as one of the great German speakers of his time. (7) Tauler did not identify with Tauler until a hundred years after his death, and then as the result of conjecture, not evidence.

Who then, was the Master? Had he really existed? Denifle at this time did not fear contradiction when he identified him either with the "Gottesfreund" himself or with Ralman Merewin. Merewin was certainly a historical, participating, native of Strassburg, belonging to an important family of the city, and born in 1307. At the age of 21 he retired from his business as merchant with a large fortune, and devoted himself entirely to Divine things. Though married—to Gertrude of Bietenheim—he resolved to live henceforth as a celibate. But he did not then away his money; he kept it „for use for God“ as it might direct from time to time. In 1348, John Tauler became his confessor. In 1350 he found occasion for a pious use of his money in building a house for the Brethren of St. John on an island at Strassburg called the Grüneweicht ("Green Meadows"). In 1359 he died. Merewin is entitled „das Eichlein von den vier Jahren seines anfänglichen Lebens“; purporting to be autobiographical, not only tells the story of the "stages of spiritual experience" through which he passed during the first four years after his conversion, but also relates the first appearance of the Gottesfreund, and how, at his instigation, the book was written.

By Merewin the Friend is represented as the son of a rich family, who had spent a dissipated youth, was suddenly changed by the grace of God, withdrew into solitude and drew to his others like-minded, and by the illumination of the Holy Spirit became able, in the space of 30 weeks, to understand the Scriptures as thoroughly and speak as learnedly as any in the best university. He appears at the castles of nobles and knights—even in the palace of the Pope—holding up to all alike, in writing and speech, a mirror of themselves; and affecting conversation everywhere from the love of this

1. Printed separately as in p. 20 of Quellen und Forschungen zur Früh- und Culturgeschichte der german. Völker, Strassburg, 1872.

2. See Giebel, Kölner Gesch., 2. Band, 186.
FRIENDS OF THE TEMPLE

Friend of God." 1 In 1863, Preger (in the third part—"Tauler, der Gottesfreund vom Oberlande"—of his Gesch. der deutschen Mystik), armed with overwhelming evidence, aimed a direct attack on Demiél's results, but utterly failed to do more than emend or correct them in details. Their foundation has stood sure. In fact, Demiél's view as to the second of the two foundations may be said to have found general acceptance among German scholars. See especially P. Strach's art. on 'Rulman Merwin,' in P.R.B.


FRED. J. FOWICK.

FRIENDS OF LIGHT. — See DEUTSCH-KATHOLICISMUS.

FRIENDS OF THE TEMPLE (Tempelfreunde, Templers). — A sect which originated in Württemberg in 1861; now Unitarian, with headquarters in Palestine, where the colonists form an important economic factor. It was derived from Pietism, as developed in Württemberg by J. A. Bengel, with a chiliasm trend. Early last century this gave rise to a scheme outlined by J. M. Hahn, and sanctioned by the king on the advice of G. W. Hoffmann. It contemplated new settlements, exempt from control by those Church authorities, where colonists should live model lives, morally, socially, and educationally. Germany has been prolific in such plans, the most famous being the Brethren of the Heavenly Father, the Holy Church, the Moravians in Moravia, the Moravians at Herrnhut, etc. The first of the new colonies was planted in 1819 at Kornthal, seven miles from Stuttgart, and was governed with much success by G. W. Hoffmann till his death in 1846. In its strongly chiliasm atmosphere, under the influence of Philip M. Hahn, grew up his son,

1 Bahr, Jves. p. 293. He adds: "This view, if proved sound, would be one of the most interesting psychological 'subjects' in the entire range of history."

2 Cf. Rieder, Der Gottesfreund vom Oberland, Innsbruck, 1906, p. 16.


5 See Strach's ed. of Schröder's, Halle, 1898, p. 55.

6 See "Nachtrag" to the article, where he says that it was written in 1897 and not published before 1906. Rieder's work was also written in 1894—at least the preface bears date, 2nd Nov. 1904—and came out in 1906.
FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF I.

The name — The first Friends called themselves 'Children of the Light' — a name used by the oldest Quaker community at Mansfield in 1648; and 'Friends in the Truth' or 'in the right way' (as in 1694).

The terms prevailed throughout practice and politics. An American colony under Adams settled at Jaffa, acted by the same general idea of transferring a body of Christians, under local autonomy, under the Treaty, destined to extend, and to leave the native population. It might have been expected that this would fare better than the 1648-53 migration led by Mrs. Minor, also with the intention of preparing for the Return of Christ. But both American schemes collapsed, and Hoffmann saw his opportunity. Negotiations were opened through Basel, when a previous German colony had gone to Jerusalem with slightly different aims; and by 1888 the Friends of the Temple acquired the Jaffa property. It was soon occupied, and a second plantation was opened at Sarona, a few miles away; also a new one close to the north-west of Haifa, which seemed better as a port, being sheltered by the Carmel, and lying at the mouth of the valley of Esdraslon, with easy access to the lake and to Damascus. These model villages absorbed most of the Kirschenhardt adherents; and in 1889 they had been the most numerous of all dissenters in Wurttemberg, though hard run by the Baptists, that centre rapidly sank to be little more than a recruiting and forwarding depot, so that Hardegg resigned in 1874. New colonies were planted at Nazareth and Tiberias, at Beirut and Ramlieh, and even at Alexandria. To secure immigrants, other depots were opened in Saron and Ras to, with which the Universalist church furnished an even better seed-plot. Finally, the headquarters were transferred to Jerusalem itself, and this phase of the movement closed with the death of Hoffmann in Frankfurt, through his guidance the religious movement had become Unitarian.

Eight years later, his son Christoph became Guardian of the Temple, and the movement received an impulse from the visit of the German Kaiser in 1889. The colonies are an important German asset in the complicated politics of Syria; their economic value seems now to exceed religious interest. After overcoming the legal difficulties as to holding land, they have settled down to steady work. Their example in agriculture and trade has greatly altered Jewish methods. They have introduced new industries — brewing, improved milling, soap-making, woodcraft, silk-spinning, and good hotels. The settlements are laid out as garden cities, with substantial stone buildings; the colonies have built good roads to link Nazareth and Jaffa with Haifa. Here the community numbers 300, with church and school of its own; the total number settled in Palestine is variously estimated at 1900-1400.

LITERATUR. — C. Hoffmann, Die jiddische und der Orient, Stuttgart, 1875; Mein Weg durch Jerusalem, 1883-84; C. Hoffmann, Die Gemeindezusammen und Soter Wirk, Tübingen, 1877; Wirk, Kirschenhardt, Stuttgart, 1883; P. Lang, Jaffa, Jerusalem, 1883; P. Poll, Jaffa, 1888; P. Kemnitz, Jaffa, 1889; B. Kall, Jaffa und Ramlieh, 1890; E. F. A. Kall, Jaffa, 1890; K. G. 1890; L. Alphart, Haifa, Bibl., 1887; Murray's and Bennett's current Treatise on Syria and Palestine. W. T. WARR.'

FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF I.
felt that Christ was come to teach His people Himself, and to call them away from the world's ways and teachers to His own living teaching.

The indwelling life of Christ became to him the supreme fact of religion.

The far-reaching consequences of this experience, with its spiritual, intellectual and ministry, and to the practical cross-bearings of daily life, are vividly shown in the following from Edward Burrough, who was 'convinced' in 1655:

"In all things we found the Light which we were enlightened withal, and all marked (which is Christ) to be alone and onely sufficient to lead us, to lead and direct us to God. . . . And so we crossed from the teachings of all men, and their words, and their worship, and their Temples, and all their heathenism, and Christ was met together open, and walked upon the Lord in pure silence, from our own words and all men's words, and heartened to the voice of the Lord and felt his word in our hearts to burn up and best all that was contrary to God, and we obeyed the Light of Christ in us, . . . and took up the Crosses to all earthly glory, Crowns and wages, and denied and yielded up the Crosses of the world, and the Light of Christ in us, . . . And, while walking upon the Lord in silence, as often we did for hours together, . . . we received often the pouring down of the spirit upon us, . . . and our hearts were made glad and our tongues loosed and our mouths opened, and the bright beams of the Light shone upon us, and made God's ordinances as his spirit led us, which was poured down upon us, on Sons and Daughters believers before the whole church was revealed, and then began we to sing praises to the Lord God Almighty and to the Lamb which was slain, and were not ashamed to confess our faith, and contended out of the captivity and bondage of the world, and put an end to sin and death, and all this was by and through and in the Light of Christ within us" (Burrough, Preface to his Works).

In this passage we see how naturally the 'distinctively religious' experiences of Friends flowed as corollaries from the main proposition— their distrust of an instituted ministry, their position as to the non-necessity of outward ordinances, their views as to a worship of creaturely silence and spiritual spontaneity, their encouragement of the ministry of women, their nonconformity to the customs of the world, and to make life a walking in the light. Seldom has a great spiritual truth been followed along its untried consequences with more resolute steps. In the indwelling Light of Christ, the whole of life became sacramental and incarnational, penetrated with religion of the prophetic type, which draws its strength and its vision from intercourse with God. The cardinal principle of the Inward Light was, however, very imperfectly formulated, even by the Quaker Apologist, Robert Barclay, who has to be studied in experience rather than in his statement. It was also held by Ranter, and other mystical groups, who sometimes believed themselves freed thereby from all law. But the Quakers, the 'House of God,' is from the first safeguarded the experience on the ethical side by insisting that there could be no real presence of Christ apart from a walking in the Light. In other respects their conception was seriously limited by the mental outlook of the age.

They tried in vain to express this (the 'Divine Immanence') in terms of the Augustinian doctrine which had moulded the religious thinking of the Western world. So long as God and man were placed in separate chambers of thought, the light was necessarily either wholly human or wholly Divine. To make it human meant denial of the need for both revelation and salvation; hence it was claimed as absolutely Divine. But this involved the inhumanity of each person to whom the Light was given, and the ceasing of human faculties from any place to dealing with the things of God. Man had no religious faculty requiring discipline, no spiritual instrument was necessary; the more his mind was emptied—the more it became like a sheet of paper—the more it would be for the writing upon it of divine creases' (Edward Grubb, Authority and the Light Within, p. 69).

The 'Light' as 'Seed' was, in Barclay's words, 'not only distinct, but of a different nature, from the soul of man and its faculties.' Especially was it 'not to be distinguished from the Light of Christ as God gave two lights to every spirit and the more the Body, so hath He given man the Light of His Son, a spiritual Divine Light to rule him in things spiritual, and the light of reason to rule him in things natural' (Barclay, Apology for the True Christian Divinity, prop. vi, sec. 16).

3. Congregational principles and organization.

The Church is regarded as a body of disciples of Jesus Christ, plus Jesus Christ Himself, as its very life and Head, the whole forming together 'one flock, one Shepherd' (Jn 10:16). Friends do not practise water-baptism as a condition of Church membership, lest it obscure the necessity for the vital spiritual experience (see art. Baptism [Later Christian] in vol. ii, p. 400), and they find their spiritual food and communion in Christ Himself, and not in the use of symbolic bread and wine. They distrust formal creeds, and their doctrinal statements have been intentionally framed with a close adherence to Scripture language. The earliest of these was put forth by the Quaker Mission to New England in 1667; the latest is the Declaration of Faith issued in America by the Richmond Conference in 1887. For Robert Barclay's Apology, see art. Confessions, in vol. iii, p. 888. Membership in the Society is now either by 'convinement' of the spiritual truths to which Friends witness, or, in England, by birth if both parents are Friends. Many American bodies give these children at first only an associate membership.

For fifty years or more after the founding of Quakerism there was no regular membership; those who were 'grown in the Truth' were invited to sit in the business meetings, but few such persons were kept. In 1737, in connexion with poor relief, a rule as to settlement was set up by the London Yearly Meeting, which incidentally directed 'the wife and children to be
deemed members of the Monthly Meeting of which the husband or father is a member, not only during his life, but likewise after his decease, until they shall gain another settlement elsewhere.'

The Society is opposed to aseccedantism, believing that all true disciples—men and women—are a chosen people, which grace may flow to others (Jn 7:26). This involves a responsibility upon the whole membership to be good stewards of the manifold grace of God. Persons—men and women—whose gifts are approved by the Church may be ‘recorded’ as ministers, but they have no salary or separate duties. The spiritual stimulus of Quakerism is a very real thing; but other types of meeting for teaching and evangelistic purposes are also found helpful, now that the Society is again expanding its borders. In them a group of selected believers, responsible, and spiritual guidance are usually emphasized. In many parts of America, however, a pastoral system has been established under the stress of local conditions.

The Quaker movement had at first little organization; it depended mainly on group-life and inspired leadership. General meetings of neighboring groups were held, and each group had its local leaders or ‘elders’, and received occasional visits from the itinerating leaders or ‘Publishers of Truth’.

In 1663 and 1665, business meetings for quarterly districts began in the North, and by 1680 we find a general business meeting for the whole country held at Skipton. This incipient organization did not survive the years of persecution after the Restoration, and the present system is due to the labours of Fox in 1667 and succeeding years. The Monthly Meeting, consisting of a group of meetings, is the executive unit of government, receiving and ‘disowning’ members, appointing ‘elders’ and ‘overseers’, and caring for the meetings’ composition. The superior meeting held quarterly links together a group of Monthly Meetings, while the Quarterly Meetings form the Yearly Meeting, which legislatively for the whole body and does centralize executive work through its own committees, the name of its general executive committee, ‘the Meeting for Sufferings’, placing us back to the old days of persecution. These Church-meetings are now open to all members, both men and women, and questions are not decided by voting, but by the ‘Clerk’ recording ‘the sense of the meeting’ in a minute that expresses the weight of spiritual judgment on the matter in hand. The practical result is conservative and unifying, for minorities are respected, and there is no squeeze into parties.

4. Antecedents,—The first Friends spoke of their experience as the revival of primitive Christianity after a long and dark night of apostasy. R. M. Jones, in Studies in Mystical Religion, has pointed out how the Separatists sects of the Long Parliament period were the product of centuries of striving after spiritual things in a material God. 'There was in England...a real contagion of the idea of God as indwelling' (p. 498). The Familists and Bookists on the one hand, and the General Baptists on the other, show many points of affinity to Quakerism, although the proof of direct connection is forthcoming only in the case of the Baptists (see below).

In Journ. Friends’ Hist. Soc. vii. 104–105, A. Neave Brayley mentions the death of Edwards' Gangraena (1646–47), that all the distinguishing views of Friends are found somewhere or other in Edwards' list of 'errors, hesireties, and blasphemies.' ‘A magnet into a mass of rubbish and drawn out what few bits of iron there were in it.' The 'Seekers' (cf. the parallel Dutch ‘Collegiantes’) were persons who had used the new religious liberty of the time to make a quest after truth, and, having found no rest in current forms or doctrines, were waiting, in a fellowship of prayer, for a further revelation and a new demonstration of the Spirit. The message of Fox found a quick response in the honest and good ground of their hearts. See SECKERS.

5. History.—George Fox, of Fenny Drayton, in Leicestershire (1624–1691), the founder and prophet of Quakerism, was the direct fore-runner of Quakerism, and developed a singular purity and sincerity of character. He spent some years, from 1643 onwards, in a fruitless quest for truth; no man could satisfy his search.

'And when all my hopes in...all men were gone' he says, 'so that I had nothing outwardly to help me, nor any toward me to do, then O then I heard a Voice which said, There is one, even Christ Jesus the Son of God, who can comfort thee; and when I heard it, my heart did leap for Joy...for, though I read the Scriptures, that speak of Christ and of God, yet I knew Him not, but by Revelation, as He who hath hid these things from me, and as the Father of Life drew me to His Son by His Spirit' (Journ. 1644 ed., p. 8).

A direct experience of truth came to Fox through these 'openings,' as he called them, and the Light and Life within him gave the young prophet a spiritual outlook on the whole of life, and forth with a burning message. At Mansfield, in 1648, a company of 'shattered' Baptists accepted his message, and became a group of 'Children of the Light.' In 1651 he gathered Quaker groups in Yorkshire, especially among Seekers at Bally, near Doncaster, and at Wakefield, where William Dewsbury (1691–1698) and James Nayler (1651–1680) were 'convinced.' But June 1655 was the creative moment in the history of Quakerism. Fox found 'a great people in white raiment,' waiting to be gathered in large numbers of Seekers in Westmorland, who had meetings throughout the district, and who met from all parts once a month, for religious fellowship, at Preston Patrick. They were men of deep religious temper and wide Bible knowledge, and many hundreds of them, under the influence of a few powerful meetings, won for themselves the same first-hand experience of a Living Christ which Fox enjoyed. Their leaders, Thomas Taylor (1617–1662), Francis Howgill (1618–1669), John Audaun (1630–1684), Edward Burrough (1633–1683), and others, furnished the movement with the 'Publishers of Truth' who, with help from the Yorkshire Seekers, carried the message through the North of England in 1653 and 1654, and then, in the summer of 1654, spread over the South, paying special attention to London, Bristol, and Norwich.

By the end of 1655, Quakerism had run like fire through England, and was being carried to Ireland and Scotland. It was readily accepted by many Seekers and some Baptists, but roused the dominant Puritan sects to great hostility.

'Gatan,' say the Cumberland and Westmorland ministers, 'despised from his lawful stomach a swarm of Quakers; these...comes upon us like a furious torment; all is on fire on the sudden, many are unseated, the foundations shaken, and some apostasize; here we are beaten off, and lay other things aside, that we might more fully blinde ourselves to quench those flames.' The Anti-Quaker Ministers, etc., 1660, cited from R. Nightingale, The Epistles of John, ch. 2, pp. 63, 64 in Cumberland and Westmorland, Manchester, 1911, i. 60.'
Extravagances of conduct attended the beginnings of the movement, especially in the disturbances of ministers, vituperative and aggressive controversy, and unwise testifying by signs, culminating in Naylor's Messianic entry into Bristol in October 1650. The new order 'expecting certain things that Christ was come and was revealed in His saints. In spite of much sporadic persecution, the qualified religious freedom of the Commonwealth gave the ardent itinerating 'Publishers of Truth' their opportunity, and Quaker groups multiplied throughout England. Opposition, known as the Wilkinson-Story controversy from its two chief leaders, showed itself from those who distrusted all human arrangements; it lasted from 1673 till after 1700, but at the time the strengthening of organization greatly assisted the Friends, and their numbers increased in spite of persecution. Ex cult of the Enclosures, which the movement, Isaac Penington (1616-1679), convinced in 1658; William Penn (1644-1718), convinced in 1667; Robert Barclay (1666-1748), also convinced about 1690; and Edward Bearman (1653-1692) led a separation from Friends. With the passing of the Toleration Act (1689) a period of uncertainty and traditionalism set in, in which the Society devoted itself to its discipline instead of to the raising of spiritual leaders and the aggressive work of the Church. In 1751, Samuel Bowmas (1752-1753) proposed 'a young generation of this age don't seem to come up so well as could be desired. The church seems very barren of young ministers to what it was in our youth, nor is there but very scanty witness of the Abolition to a living witness on great human causes, such as antislavery.

Friends, at their first entrance into America in 1660, had met with fierce hostility from the Puritan rulers of Massachusetts, and in 1659 and the following years four Quakers were hanged on Boston Common—William Robinson of London, Martha Dukes and William Dyer of Rhode Island, and William Leddra of Barbados. Quakerism, however, gained great importance in the New World. Rhode Island welcomed the message, and for more than a hundred years Friends were continually in office. They came into possession of West Jersey in 1674, and of East Jersey a few years later; and in 1811, William Penn began the 'holy experiment' of Pennsylvania. North Carolina also owed much to their influence, while in other colonies, and even in Massachusetts, they became a growing power.

'Their failure to appreciate the importance of the fullest expansion of human personality by education is the primary cause of their later failure to become the dominant force in American civilization of which their early history gave promise. They are described as a people, properly understood, 'called for a better education, for there is no safety in individualism, in personal responsibility, in democracy, in civil or religious masters, unless every individual is given a chance to combat his narrow individualism in the light of the experience of life. . . . The absence of constructive leaders, the later tendency to withdraw from civic tasks, the relaxing of the idea of reshaping the world, were due to the main to the lack of expansive education' (R. J. Jones, The Quakers in the American Colonies, xvi.).

This same failure, leading to lack of Bible knowledge and of teaching ministry, paved the way for the serious 'Hickite' errors of the 17th and 18th centuries. Elias Hicks (1748-1830) was a Quaker minister of commanding personal influence, whose emphasis on the 'spirit and power of God in the soul of man, as his Creator, Preserver, Comforter, Redeemer, Saviour, Sanctifier, and Justifier' (Journal, 1822 ed., p. 330) caused him to put himself in the background of the person of Christ. Towards the end of his life he came into conflict with the section of Friends who held 'evangelical' views with regard to Christ and the Scriptures. In 1797 and 1828 a division took place in Philadelphia and some of the other American Yearly Meetings, in consequence of action by the 'elders' against Hicks, those who withdrew not necessarily identifying themselves with his views, but taking the position that God alone is Sovereign of the conscience, and that this inalienable right must be preserved 'unstained by the hand of man and unalloyed with prescribed modes of faith, frame in the will and wisdom of the creature' (see Thomas, Hist. of Friends in America, 134 f.). The Society of Friends in America was left in two sects, losing the balancing influence of the other. English travelling ministers had supported American Friends of the 'orthodox' school, and the separations powerfully reacted on the London Yearly Meeting. In 1829 a declaratory minute was passed, affirming belief in the inspiration and authority of the Bible, and in the work of Christ. In 1835, Isaac Crewdson (1790-1844) of Manchester, a strong 'evangelical,' went beyond this by publishing A Beacon to the Society of Friends, in which he freely criticized the writings of Elias Hicks. The attack developed into a rejection of the central doctrine of Quakerism regarding the work of Christ in the heart; and, in 1836, Crewdson and about 200 of his friends left the Society. London Yearly Meeting, meanwhile, adopted a mediating position, asserting on the one hand, in 1835, the value of the writings of the early Friends, and on the other, in 1836, its faith in the authority of the Scriptures. The Society in England followed, as a whole, the leadership of men like Joseph John G. Division in 1843, an ardent philanthropist and Bible student, of evangelical but spiritual views, though a visit he paid to America in 1837 caused opposition from John Wilbur (1774-1850), who distrusted his views and his 'creaturiously activities,' and led to a series of small 'Wilburite' secessions in some of the American Yearly Meetings. That in Ohio in 1854, carried with it the sympathies of many Friends in the important Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia, which gradually retired into the semi-isolated position with respect to the other Yearly Meetings which it has since occupied. During the last half-century there has been much expansion and change in the group of Yearly Meetings styled 'Orthodox' in the United States Census, and a Pastoral System with arranged Services has gained great hold. This group has found a unifying and conserving force in a representative Five Years Meeting and a uniform discipline, which date from 1905, but sprang out of a Conference held at Richmond, Indiana, in 1887. Education is now provided for a number of good schools of which Haverford, Pennsylvania, is the best known. Philadelphia Yearly Meeting preserves a somewhat conservative type of its own. The so-called Hickite bodies have declined in numbers, but are now showing signs of fresh life, especially in philanthropic and educational directions.
FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF

'Willful' bodies, though reinforced by other Friends who disliked innovations made in some of the 'orthodox' Yearly Meetings, are reduced in numbers and have little outlook.

In England, a great deal of liberty has taken place as the fruit of a large tolerance. The fence-
in life of a peculiar people has passed away, and the spiritual experience and message of Friends has been freely expressed in home and foreign mission work, in philanthropy and education, in the service of business and public life. The effect of these have been by no means lessened, and most characteristically, in the great Adult School movement, with a membership of over 100,000, which bears throughout the impress of its Quaker origin.

In the year 1856, the Maplewood Conference, held at Oneida, showed that the Society was receptive to the fresh life and thought of the age, and a strong educational and spiritual stimulus has been given through Summer Schools and the Woodbrooke Settlement at Birmingham.

Irish Quakerism, begun by William Edmondson (1857-1712) in 1654, became organized as Dublin Yearly Meeting in 1798. Friends maintained their peace principles and succoured the distressed at the cost of great peril and suffering.

In the following year a separation took place, associated with the influence of an American travelling minister, of rationalistic views, Hannah Bannard. In more recent years the Society has responded to the same influences that have been at work in England.

Scotland forms part of London Yearly Meeting, which also includes some groups of Friends in Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. Friends in Canada have their own organization.

English and Irish Friends have important foreign missions, to Madagascar, to the islands of China, Ceylon, Constantinople, and Pemba, mainly under the care of the Friends' Foreign Mission Association which was begun in 1838. American Friends' work in Alaska, Mexico, Cuba, Jamaica, Palestine, Africa, and Japan.

Consecration has almost crushed out Quakerism in France and Germany. Holland at one time had a number of Quaker groups, and produced the Quaker historian, William Sewell (1654-1720). There are several small groups of Friends in Belgium.

6. Ethical and social features. Quakerism has been called 'practical mysticism,' and has always had a moral earnestness and a social intensity which saved it from the easy pitfalls of mystical quests. Fox laid constant emphasis on walking in the Light. Seeking to see the Light and to obey it, Friends gained clear vision on moral and social issues. Their use of 'thee' and 'thou' to all ranks of men, and their refusal of 'hat-honour' and of oaths, were parts of their witness for reality in life and for a simple standard of conduct before God and man.

The Children of Light lived, as Fox said in 1651, 'in the virtue of that life and power that took away the occasion of all wars,' and the Society of Friends has steadily maintained the unrighteousness of war to the Christian. Friends were among the first champions of liberty of conscience, and kept their public meetings in the Restoration period. In the face of persecution, refusing to conceal or foign their meetings, 'for such practices are not consistent with the nobility of the truth, and therefore not to be owned in the Church of Christ' (Yearly Meeting Minutes, 1678). They were the first Christian body to free themselves from complicity in slavery, and became the most active of the anti-slavery agitation both in England and in America, and, later, of the anti-opium movement. They have taken a leading part in prison reform, temperance work, and popular education; they have originated and shaped the 'Adult School' movement, and are keenly interested in the investigation and improvement of social conditions. In the American colonies, especially in Rhode Island, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, they attempted the difficult task of righteous government, and have no reason to be ashamed of their record. The following states their present standpoint as to the duty of public service:

'Our conviction of the unrighteousness of war to the Christian, which prevents its progress on the society of our country gladly rendered by many, should specially call us to voluntary service in other ways, even at the cost of much personal sacrifice. Those who devote themselves with public spirit to the building of national character, the shaping of righteous policy at home or abroad, or the manifold tasks of local or central government, are doing work of high value for the kingdom of God.' (Book of Christian Practice, London, 1871, p. 195.)

In private life, Quakerism has tended to produce a definite type of character—straight, strong, and serious—which has resulted from the habit of bringing the conduct of life to the test of the inward Light, and from the personal responsibility in matters of religion thrown upon each individual member. The younger generation of men as John Greenleaf Whittier (1807-1892) and John Bright (1811-1889), and such women as Elizabeth Fry (1788-1845). The way of love exercised by Friends seems primarily due to this cultivation of a spiritually enlightened judgment and an alert conscience.

7. Problems. In this section especially, the writer cannot do more than give expression to his own personal views. The Society of Friends has to-day an opportunity not unlike that which it enjoyed at the time of its formation. The existence of numbers of earnest-hearted seekers after truth, to whom the ascetic and institutional forms of religion make little appeal, but who look for the help that comes from group-fellowship, penetrated by the living Spirit of Christ. At their best the Friends have this to offer; but, while they are now alive to the adequate intellectual presentation of their message, its actual embodiment in worship and in life is often feeble. The two pressing problems which are now being faced are (1) to re-interpret Christian discipleship to meet the religious and intellectual conditions of the 20th cent., and (2) to give this group-discipleship free scope in moulding the meetings and other corporate activities of the Society. The social conditions and the aspirations of the age challenge such a body as Friends to a new taking up of the cross in daily life. George Fox 1856 laid bare a principle that has proved to be the besetting weakness of modern Christianity (Ep., no. 131):

'There is the danger and temptation to you of drawing your minds into your business and dogging them with it, so that ye can hardly do anything to the Service of God, but there will be crying, My business, My business, and your minds will go into the things and not over the things, and so therein ye do not come into the Image of God, in which is Dominion.'

As Friends open their hearts to see and obey the Light on the great social and moral problems of the day, their witness for truth will acquire fresh vigour, and they will be made 'friends of God and prophets.' True discipleship of this kind brings with it a kindling of group-fellowship which will make the meetings for worship and the other meetings of the Society grow with a new life. Thus only can Friends vindicate their great witness for the freedom and spirituality of the gospel order.

8. Statistics. The following statistics relate to members only: there is also a large number of adherents. The figures in most cases are for the year ending 31st Dec. 1910.
GABARS.—The name popularly applied to the Zoroastrians still residing in Persia, in contradis- 
tinction to their co-religionists in India, the Parsis (q.v.).

1. The Name.—The term 'Gabar,' 'Gahr,' or 'Gaher' is of uncertain origin; it is connected with some Persian lexicaophors with the Arabic kəfər, 'infidel,' which sense it bears, signifying both 'infidel' in general, and 'Zoroastrian' in particular (C. Ullers, Lexicon, Bonn, 1856-64, ii. 860). The abstract derivative Gabrī accordingly denotes 'the religion of Zoroaster;' the Perso-
Turkic Gədər (popular Turkish Gendar), which is given as the source of Gabr, is itself derived from kəfər. Other variants of the Pers. form Gəbr are Gədər and Gəwər. It is also noteworthy in this connection to observe that in Bohemian, here denoted, 'infidel,' and in Kurdish the corresponding loan-

words gəbər and gəwər connote 'Armenian' and 'Russian' respectively (Geiger, in ADAB IV, i. Cl. xix. [1881] section 2, p. 440), thus favouring the derivation of the Pers. Gabr from the Arab. kəfər. The view sometimes advanced that Gabr represents the modern Persian gubr, 'man,' is far less likely. It should also be noted that for kəfər the Kirghiz say kəms, first noted by Vambery as the name of an unidentified people who inhabited the Bokhara region; this family time as folkloric were collected by Wernicke in Wörterbuch der Türkdischen, St. Petersburg, 1889-98, ii. 51). Though in modern travellers the appellations 'Guébres,' 'Genuveys,' 'Genarev,' and 'Gaurt' are found, the latest Eng-

lish form is 'Gabar.' The Gabars designate them-
selves, however, as Zardasht, 'Zoroastrians,' or Bāh-dīnā, 'those of the good religion,' and also Pārshā, from Pārs or Pār, the old province of Persia Proper. Gabr, in other words, is a derogatory term not used among Zoroastrians.

2. Statistics.—It was impossible before the begin-
ing of the 19th cent. to form an idea of the numbers of the Persian Zoroastrians, after the Arab conquest, remained faithful to the old Zoro-

astrian creed. From this time, however, we can refer to some approximate figures by European travellers. Dupin (1807-1809) and Kin- 

neir (1813) give an estimate of 4000 families; 
Tressei (1807-1809) mentions 8000 Gabars at Yazd 
and in the surrounding vilayet; Dozy (1800) and 
Fraser (1821) 3000 families in the whole of Persia; 
Abbot (1845) 800 families at Yazd and in the 
neighbourhood; Petermann (1854) registers 3000 

crations in Persia, of which 1000 were at Yazd; 
Goldsmid (1856) 4000 at Yazd and Kirmān; 
Evan Smith (1870) 3800 families, etc. (cf. Houtum-
Schindler, ZDMG xxvi. [1869] 64).

If we omit the censuses taken in 1854 by order of the Persian Zoroastrian Amelioration 

Fund of Bombay, the first shows a total of 7711 
individuals, distributed as follows: at Yazd (3810 men and 3348 women); 922 at Kirmān; 
100 at Teheran; and 21 at Shērān (cf. Houtum-

Schindler, p. 56).
In October 1879, Hontum-Schindler obtained the following figures: total population, 8,499 individuals (4,947 men and 3,552 women), distributed as follows: Yezd 1,042, and in the neighbourhood 5,541; Kirmān 1,486, and in the neighbourhood 238; Bahānābād 58; Tahez 110; Kasbān 16; Baha 23; Husain 99. The figures, as it appears, indicate that the number of Zoroastrians is increasing slightly instead of declining.

3. Ethnography.—Ancient authors are agreed in placing the Persians, especially the women, amongst the most beautiful types of the human race (e.g., Xenoph. Anab. iii. 22; cf. Brison, Des peuples persans, ed. Lethurrin, Strassburg 1710, pp. 561-563). The sculptures of the Achaemenian and Sassanian periods have fixed the features not only of the Persians but also of the conquered nations, which allows the establishment of valuable comparisons. After the Muhammadan conquest one can follow the intermixture of races which have successively obtained the throne of Persia through conquest or invasion—the Semites with the Arabs, the Turanianes with the descendants of Tamerlane; under the Safavid dynasty (15th-17th cent.), the Tcherkin and Armenian elements prevailed and played a preponderant part in the crossings of race. It was only in the 19th cent. that Persia became restricted to its own national resources.

As for the Garbars, the isolation caused by their religious faith and by persecution must have created special conditions for them and perhaps explains the deviation of the type, if one could be perfectly sure that, in conformity with the sentiment which opposed marriage with non-Zoroastrians, legitimate or illegitimate unions were never contracted between the Garbars and the other nationalities. Travellers who have met them have often described them. It seems that the fine Persian type is absolutely Aryen with minor Garbars of Yezd—has suffered because of their persecutions, their difficult life, and their toilsome occupations. The amelioration of their material welfare will naturally tend to the physical elevation of the race.

4. History.—The battles of Buwiyāt and Qalīn, 635-637 and the last defeat of Nikawa at Dorkān (637) put an end to the great Sassanian empire which had lasted more than four centuries (522-627) (see art. Sassanians). The king Yazdagird III escaped, and after painful struggles at last fled for refuge to Merv, where he was murdered by a miller who coveted his jewels (651-2) (Tabari, tr. Zotenber, Paris 1887-84, ch. Ixivii.). The Arab conquest did not spread at once throughout the whole kingdom; the Persians continued for some time to resist, entrenched in different countries, especially in Fars, the heart of the dynasty and kingdom, and in the region of Tabaristan where the Ishapshadas, or military governors of the Sassanian rulers, maintained their independence till 760. It was probably from this that the Zoroastrians who settled in India came (see art. Parsis). The results of the conquest were neither so rapid nor so complete as is generally supposed. The choice between the Qur'an and the sword was not strictly imposed on the population. The Zoroastrians shared the same fate as the Christians and the Jews, and were allowed to profess their religion on condition of paying the jizya—a just arrangement, on the whole, as the non-Muslim subjects of the Caliphs were exempt from military service and the alms (zakat) of the Prophet's followers. According to al-Baladhuri, it was a rule (see below), but it did not prevent the storming of cities, bloodshed, and all the evils inseparable from military expeditions; hence the miserable fate of the conquered race, over which historians have always lamented.

If the position of the natives, including not only Zoroastrians, but also Jews and Christians, immediately after the conquest, was fairly tolerable, it grew worse under the Umayyad Caliphs; war had degenerated into mere robbery from Damascus obliged the Governors of the Persian provinces to grind down the population and to drain money from them. The subject races suffered much on account of that policy, and the burden of the exactions fell chiefly on the peasants, who were unable to make their complaints listened to by the ruler.

The old aristocracy and landed proprietors (dīdān) were able to preserve power, money, and property by embracing Islam and serving the conquerors, who put them over the Persians through conquest or invasion—the Semites with the Arabs, the Turanians with the descendants of Tamerlane; under the Safavid dynasty (15th-17th cent.), the Tcherkin and Armenian elements prevailed and played a preponderant part in the crossings of race. It was only in the 19th cent. that Persia became restricted to its own national resources.

Under the cruel government of Hādr ibn Yāmān, converts to Islam were compelled to pay the jizya, which caused great discontent among them, and led them to join a rebellion which was quashed in blood. The non-Arab Muslims were sent to the villages with their names branded on their hands. Their discontent was further increased by the loss of the hope of ever becoming the equals of their conquerors, and greatly contributed to the fall of the Umayyads and the rise of the Abbasids, in spite of the efforts of the tolerant and enlightened Umar ibn 'Abd-al-Aziz. The revolt of Sīnbadh the Magian (755-56) was connected with the Shi'ite movement, and is considered as the last effort of the Persian nation to recover its independence.

Sīnbadh was a great friend of 'Abī Musa, a pious and upright man who had embeemed the cause of the Shi'ites. He was the natural leader of the movement and chief of the region of Tabaristan, the land of the Ishapshadas, or military governors of the Sassanian rulers, maintaining their independence till 760. It was probably from this region that the Zoroastrians who settled in India came (see art. Parsis). The results of the conquest were neither so rapid nor so complete as is generally supposed. The choice between the Qur'an and the sword was not strictly imposed on the population.
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Tahbaristan, Shih advantages, and others, upon whom he persuaded that Abe
Muslim was not dead. Shahbod was defeated and killed by an
Abbasid force so strong that it had lasted about seven days according to some,
seven years according to others.

The fall of the Umayyad Khalifate marked the end of the purely Arab period,
and the accession of the Abbasid Khalifate inaugurated a new era. The invasion played an
important part. The seat of the Khalifate was transferred from Damascus to Iraq, and the
administration was more and more entrusted to the Persians. Some of the old customs were renounced;
the festival of the Nawwars (first day of the Persian year;
see FESTIVALS AND FARTS (Iranian)) was resuscitated: on the 2nd of the Khor. it appeared
clothed in the true Persian fashion, while the Persian garb was the official court-dress. During
fifty years a family (some say, of Zoroastrian origin), the Barmakids, directly the
affairs of the Khalifate, till the jealousy of Harun ar-Rashid led him to destroy the
grandsons of Barmak and many members of that family. The Barmakids glorified in being the descendants of
the Magian Barmak, the high priest of the temple of Newbahar at Balkh; and during the
time of their favours the Zoroastrians enjoyed a sort of protection, since the government appears to have
retained a certain partiality for their former co-religionists (cf. L. Bouvot, Les Barmakides, d'apres les

It was in the 9th cent. that some province began to separate from the Khalifate, and local
dynasties were founded by descendants of the Banu Ansar. Thus the Saffarids (872-907) were succeeded by the Samanids
(902-999), who were the grandsons of Saman; a Zoroastrian, converted to Islam by the caliph, was appointed as governor of
Khorasan; the other ruling families of Baluchistan (932), Ghaznavids (973-1088), and Seljüqs (1088-
1194) disappeared after the fall of the Seljüq dynasty.

The murder of the last Abbasid Khalif at Baghdad (1228) by the Mongols under Hulagu Khan, the grandson of Jenghiz Khan, put
an end to the Khalifate. Next came Timur and his horrors of invasion. It is supposed
that the small Zoroastrian communities of Gujarat were reinforced by the fugitives who fled before
the invasion. Gabars and Muslims alike contributed to Timur's ghastly pyramids of heads so often alluded to.

For a long period the Persians had gradually embraced Islam, and the number of the
faithful worshipers of Ahura Mazda yearly decreased. The Zoroastrians were still quartered in the
Fars and Kirman, but down to the present day their history is shrouded in obscurity. It was
only under the Safavid dynasty, after the conquest of Khorasan by Shah Ismael II, (1510), that Persia
recovered for the first time a political unity. Under Shah Abbas I we find the Gabars at Isfahan,
and we can obtain some particulars about them through the accounts of the traders who visited the
Safavid court. Shah Abbas had sent for them and allowed them to settle in the
outskirts of the city beyond the river Zandah-Mud.

We owe to Feste della Valla a good description of that settlement (1616-22):

"A few days ago I went to see their new town (that of the Gabars), which was near the new Choleh (the suburb Julfa) inhabited by the Christian Armenians. The new Tauris, or
Abbasid town, which the Gabars brought from Tauris, touches Isfahan as a suburb, and, though it is at present separated by gardens, etc., in course of time, the number of the inhabitants daily increasing in a wonderful way, Isfahan and that residence of the Gabars with the two adjacent towns is a place distinguished by the excellence of its buildings. The reason why I do not know whether I can call them either separate cities, or suburbs, is doubtless that same town of Isfahan. Like the region beyond the Tiber and the borough of our Rome, that place of the Gabars has no other name than

I know of than "the residence of unbelievers," just as we call the
place inhabited by the Jews "the Ghetto." It is well built; the streets are large and spacious, not less so than those of Choleh, because it was built more carefully; but all the houses are low, one in two-storied, and plated only with iron, the result of the poor condition of the tenants. In that respect they differ from Choleh, which are very good and rich; in which the Gabars are poor and destitute; at least they appear to be so." (Ed. Paris, 1821, ii. 144).

Don Garcia de Silva y Figueroa, in his description of Isfahan ('J. de Malacasa de Don Garcia de Silva y Figueroa en Persia, tr. Wimpfort, Paris, 1697, p. 179), says: "On the outskirts of the town, and in several places on the outskirts, there was a koum at the place, which he calls Garabed, which was 'within a walled spot' of the building where the ambassador had put up. He estimates the number of the houses about three thousand, forming streets and straight streets, in some places shaded by trees to protect the people against the heat of the climate, so that it passed for a large and handsome borough, and even for a city; but this was only ten years since the king of Persia had obliged the Gabars (called Garee by Don Garcia) to leave their
native land and to come and live near Isfahan. (This gives the approximate date of the foundation of Gabaristan, Figueroa being in Persia in 1613).

Tavernier, later on, referring to the bridge of the Gabars (Gabars) at Isfahan, says that it was built partly for the Gabars of Isfahan, who had their own ward beyond the river, in order to prevent them from passing through the great avenue of the Tashkar-Bag, and to allow them on their way home to take the shortest cut and reach their dwellings more rapidly. That ward was constituted by a big village of which the first houses were not far from the river. The avenue which led from Isfahan to that bridge was larger and longer than that of the Tashkar-Bag, and was usually planted on both sides with a handsome row of trees, but without any channel in the middle (cf. Tavernier, Voyages en Turquie, et en Perse, etc., 1699).

Chardin registers the destruction of that prosperous place. Besides the suburbs of Isfahan (already described by him), he mentions two others laid out beyond the river, built by Shah Abbas II - one with trees and houses, the other with a row of houses and a zoroastrian temple. (Ibid. pp. 97-98). Chardin also mentions the place surveyed by the Gabars in the 7th cent. of the Christian era, and rebuilt by Shah Abbas II, who transferred the Gabars to the other end of Julfa (cf. C. de Malacasa, et al., 1614). Chardin explains that the Abbas the Great had brought to Isfahan the Armenians and Gabars, who had been located outside the town, because they were artisans. Those families (Chardin says 1600) had come from Kirman, and at Abbas' death many returned
to their country (Ibid. pp. 97-98). Dastur still mentions Gabaristan as a
zoroastrian village. It was, of course, the new one on the (Tavernier, pp. 51-52). Its vestiges still existed in the early

Kar Porter mentions the settlement as follows: "The liberal spirit of Shah Abbas tolerated the existence of the Gabars at Isfahan, a location which afterwards the Agham Mahmoud gave them a mark and enlarged the suburb called "Gasabish," but, like that of the Armenian colonists in Julfa, it began to decay: nothing now inhabiting its ruined streets, but houseless dogs and the ruins of the people." (Tavernier in Georgia, Persia, etc., ii. 69).

No trace of Gabaristan can now be found. Three hundred yards below the bridge of Julfs, and at about the same distance above the Pul-i-Khas, the river is crossed by the Pul-i-Jumbl, a brick bridge of fourteen arches-a sort of aqueduct to convey water to the palace of Hafiz-dast on the northern bank. The suburb on the opposite bank at this spot was known as Gabaristan because it was inhabited by the Zoroastrians; but the ground was cleared by 'Abbeh II, who transformed the place into a royal residence (see above) which was named Sadat Ablâ, or 'Abode of Fidelity," where he kept his seraglio. The name alone has survived. Another sound trace of the Gabars' suburb is preserved in one of the many apppellations of the Pul-i-Khas; it was called 'Bridge of the Gabars,' because it led to the suburb of Gabaristan and was built by 'Abbeh II, in order that the Gabars might not pass across the main bridge of Julfa (Curzon, Persia, etc., ii. 47-49).

The condition of the Gabars under the Safavid kings, if not enviable, was still respectable; but it grew worse after the Afghan invasion. Mir Vâ'si having taken possession of Qandahar, the Persian king sent him emissaries who were imprisoned in contempt, and Mir Vâ'si's son and successor, in order to invade Persia, took advantage of the opportunity which occurred when the Afghan of Herat threatened the N.E. frontier of the
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kingdom and the Arab prince of Muskat settled on the shores of the Persian Gulf. That invasion caused the direct calamities to the Zoroastrian communities, while the Persians having chosen Kirman rather than the deserts of Stān, Kirman and Yazd were the places where the bulk of the Zoroastrians lived. Kirman was still more important, as Tavernier says (op. cit. p. 421) that, when he visited Kirman (1654), there were ten thousand Zoroastrians there. Slaughter and enforced conversion disturbed the faithful.

At the time of the second invasion of Mahbūd, the prince persuaded the Zoroastrians of Yazd and Kirman to join his troops and to save the villages they had sustained for centuries (Op. cit. p. 193). The Revolutions of Persia, i. 149). The simple Gabars were easily persuaded, and enlisted under the name of their religion. Their fate, after the siege of Isfahān (21st Oct. 1722), is unknown. One of the captains of a Gabar corps bore the Musalmān name of Naṣrallah, but Hānway considers him the Pāri or Gabar (op. cit. p. 182). Under Nādir Shāh and his successors enforced conversions, exactions, and slaughter again harassed the Zoroastrians.

The siege of Kirman by Muhammad Āghā dealt them a deadly blow, and they shared the general fate of the native population (1594). In 1610, H. Pieterse saw a body of six hundred skulls, a trophy of the Kajjar escutcheon's victory. As for Timur's old trophy, skulls of Gabars were certainly blanching in the same pile with those of the Muslim inhabitants. The ruin of the quarter of the Gabars is ascribed to that time as well as the loss of their valuable MSS. Khamnikoff says that their number amounted to at least 12,000 individuals (Mémoire sur la partie méridionale de l'Asie Centrale, p. 193).

Ker Porter, who visited them after those awful calamities, describes the Gabars 'with eyes bent on the ground and pouring tears for internal water on their disconsolate shrouds'. Yazd still offers a pyre of six hundred skulls, a trophy of the Kajjar escutcheon's victory. As the Timur old trophy, skulls of Gabars were certainly blanching in the same pile with those of the Muslim inhabitants. The ruin of the quarter of the Gabars is ascribed to that time as well as the loss of their valuable MSS. Khamnikoff says that their number amounted to at least 12,000 individuals (Mémoire sur la partie méridionale de l'Asie Centrale, p. 193).

At all times the fallen condition of the former lords of the land impressed travellers. We may quote the opinions of some of them.

Pietro della Valle, who saw them in their suburb of Gabarkhut near the tomb of the Safavid prince, describes them as poor, simple husbandmen, carrying on no trade, earning their livelihood (op. cit. p. 104). They were all dressed in the same manner, and dressed in the same mode, similar to the costume made of bricks (p. 106). Figueras, at Gabarkhut also (p. 179), points out the gentleness of their manners; the women were quite free and used to sit at their doors, spinning and weaving. At Kirman they were subdued their old habits of living, dress, and religion (p. 117).

According to Thémond, they were easily recognized by a dark yellowish colour that the men had adopted for their garments and the women for their veil; besides, the Gabar women, most of whom had fine features, never covered their faces (Rabatation d'un voyage fait au Levant, 216).

Chardin thinks them not so well made or so white as the Muhammadan Persians (op. cit. p. 127). The men, however, were lusty, of a lofty stature, and had a good complexion. The women were coarsely dressed, of a dark and olive-complexion, which he ascribes to their poverty rather than to their nature, some of them having handsome features. The men had long hair and a full beard; they wore a short tight jacket and a cap of the wool, very much like a hat. They dressed either in linen and wool stuff or mobah, preferring the brownish or blackish-coat colouring more suitable to their fallen condition. The women were coarsely dressed, and Chardin emphasizes the fact that the women had not even anything that was so ungainly and devoid of elegance. In fact, he thought that the dress of the Gabars was so much like that of the Arabs that one would be inclined to think that the Arabs had borrowed it from them when they conquered the land. They were agriculturists, traders, in and they wore carpet, caps, and staffs of a very fine wool.

Thémond (op. cit. p. 56) describes them as clad in a wollen stuff of a tawny colour; the dress of the men was of the same shape as that of the other Persians, but the women's dress was totally different. The latter used to go out unveiled, and were on their heads a sort loosely twisted up (sépecta à la ménagère) with another veil which covered their shoulders, after the fashion of the Bohemians. Their trousers were like the livre breeches which go down to the heels. Most of the materials wore by the Gabars were of cotton, and also noble and deserving—a view quite in keeping with their sacred books. Their manners were gentle and simple; they lived under the rule of their elders, who were their magistrates, recognized by the Persians (op. cit. p. 128).

That taste for agriculture was to be their chief characteristic up to the 19th century. Ker Porter found them employed as labourers and gardeners. At Teheran they were for a long time gardeners in the precincts of the Seraglio on account of their strict morality (Baudracco, 1769). In the middle of the 19th century in the north-west of Persia.

In the middle of the 19th century the poll-tax (jizya) had become more and more onerous to the non-Muslim subjects, not to speak of the Armenians and Jews. As regards the Zoroastrians, the annual taxation (it has been verified) amounted to the sum of 600 tomans (£230), but, since the governors and collectors used to increase it, in order to make a profit, it was raised to about 7000 tomans (£1000). According to statistics, a thousand Zoroastrians were compelled to pay; two hundred could not pay without difficulty; and the rest were unable to pay, even under the threat of death. Considering the prosperous position of the Zoroastrians of India and the renewal of the ties with their communities, it was highly desirable that something should be done through their influence in favour of their Iranian brethren.

The position of the latter was, in the main, as follows; they were branded with the appellation of 'Gabars' (inflates), and had to bear the same vexations as those experienced in India by the 'Mahārs' at the hands of the high-caste Hindus. Houtem-Schindler, before the abolition of the jizya, stated (op. cit. p. 69) that the position of the Gabars was better than that of the Jews at Teheran, Kāshān, Shirāz, and Bushire, while at Yazd and Kirman the status of the Jews was preferable. The chief grievances of the Zoroastrians were the following: they were threatened with forced conversion; the property belonging to a Zoroastrian family was forfeited for the use and benefit of the proselytes, in spite of the rights of the legitimate heirs, and property recently acquired could be taxed to the advantage of the mulâdah up to the fifth of its value; it was forbidden to build new houses or to repair old ones; the merchants were subjected to taxes besides the ordinary customs-duities. The murder of Zoroastrians was not punished; and their seances were often desecrated. The Gabars could not wear new clothes or ride a horse; they were obliged to put on dull yellow garments—a permanent reminder of the disabilities which had been equally shared by the Jews and Christians who, under the reign of Mottawaki, were compelled by enactments (A.D. 850) to wear honey-coloured gowns, parti-coloured badges, and caps and girdles of certain ignoble patterns; to ride only on mules and asses, with wooden stirrups and saddles of strange construction. Again, any intercourse with the Gabars being pollution, all lucrative occupations had been forbidden to them. Besides, the inequality of the law in any Muhammadan country, which gives only the Faithful help and assistance, but denies it to unbelievers, is.

The Parās, i.e., India, whose lot had been so different, could not see the miserable destiny of their brethren without trying to better it. In the middle of the 19th century a Bombay Parām wrote:
One who journeyed to Persia found the Zoroastrians in a state of great distress, alarmed at the prospect of becoming a conquered nation. They were, however, cheered by the knowledge that their faith was both inviolable and eternal, and that the Zoroastrian doctrine was rooted in the eternal principles of truth and justice. The Persians, on the other hand, were deeply concerned about their future, and the preservation of their language and culture. The Zoroastrians were also concerned about the future of their religion and the survival of their language, which were both threatened by the spread of Islam and the decline of the Persian Empire.

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The Persian Zoroastrian Amelioration Fund was started in 1864, and the trustees sent an agent, Manakli Limji Antara, who left India on 31st March and was soon able to communicate a report, which was quite calculated to rouse the general feelings of the Bombay Parsis. A meeting held under the presidency of Manakli N. Petik took place in January 1865, in order to pass resolutions according to the report. In spite of the numerous grievances and disabilities which were made known in that report, the abolition of the Jagoes was deemed the one most urgent reform, and efforts were made towards it, although it took twenty-five years to bring it about (1837–1862). During that long period not only the bloody Jagoes were quite safe, but public opinion in favour of the unfortunate Gaboras.

Manakli Limji Antara took advantage of the friendly disposition of Henry Rawlinson, British Ambassador at Tehran, to have an audience with the Shah and describe to him the miseries of his Zoroastrian subjects. Rawlinson obtained a revenue of £1000 for 1862 annuities wrongfully paid from Yazd and Kirman.

Another interview with the Shah was granted to a few members of the Bombay community, supported by E. B. Emerson, at Buckingham Palace, in June 1871. The Shah was pleased to give a sympathetic attention to the memorial presented by the Parsis, and, if he consented to the measures that you co-religionists are subject to any undue severity, he will take care that redress is afforded them. But, in spite of the kind dispositions of the prince, no change took place, and even a present appeal through the medium of the British Ambassador at Tehran did not reach the royal ear.

It was in 1893 that Dinsha Petik, the President of the Persian Zoroastrian Amelioration Fund, received through A. Thomson, of the British Embassy, the welcome news that the royal firman abolished the Jagoes-tax and relieved the Zoroastrian communities of its payment, beginning with 31st March 1892. The firmam issued in the month of August 1893. Thus ended their long campaign of twenty-five years, which had cost the Persian Amelioration Fund more than £20,000 (£10,000) for all particulars on the abolition of the Jagoes, see E. B. Petik, Parsi Prakasa (Imperial), pp. 467–483.

The affairs of the Iranian community are now managed by small committees appointed by the Bombay Fund, which has a capital of 287,000 rupees, and issues reports. At Baghdad there is a dhoramadi (‘inn’) at Chaukpati for the use of destitute Iranians who come to Indus to find employment and help (1881); and an asgiri (‘fire-temple’) for the exclusive benefit of the Persian Zoroastrians. The head-priest is an Iranian mohedd, and the ritual is purely Iranian.

5. Religion.—The Zoroastrians having lost for ever their political independence, we have now to describe the conditions under which they were allowed to outlive their national liberty and preserve their religion.

At the time of the Arab invasion, Zoroastrianism, divided by sectarian controversies, was exposed to the risk of perishing. The contact of Christians and Jews had created religious [469] fusion and consequently the primitive Zoroastrian doctrine was altered to such an extent that modern scholars have much difficulty in distinguishing the pure elements of the Mandaeans from foreign ones. To those sectarian controversies must also be added the intolerance of the Zoroastrian priesthood towards Persian sects such as the Manicheans and Gnostics—an intolerance which made them hateful.

Persecution had stirred up feelings of bitter hatred against the established religion and the dynasties that supported its oppressions and caused the Arab conquest to appear in the light of a deliverance (cf. T. W. Arnold, The Preaching of Islam, London, 1856, pp. 177–184).

Zoroastrianism did not disappear at once; the Magians were tolerated and treated like 'the people of the book.' In support of this statement, we may quote al-Baladuri:

'As soon as the Caliph Umar had some doubt as to how he ought to deal with them, but Abu'l-Bakr, b. Awt'st speaking to his feast and cried: 'I hear witness of the Apostle of God that he said: Deal with them as ye dealt with the people of the Book.' (ed. de Goeje, Leyden, 1856, p. 357).

We have another example in the treaty concluded with the people of Dabl in Armenia. The safety of the lives of the Christians, Magians, and Jews was guaranteed as long as their churches, temples, and city-walls, as long as they consented to pay the land- and the poll-tax. Conversions, it seems, were not compulsory at first; some were quite free, especially in the upper classes, and took place even before the conquest, such as that of Salmam, one of the very first converts and a revered companion of the Prophet, to whom he was most serviceable at the siege of Medina on account of his talents in engineering and military science. He gave up Zoroastrianism, forsaking his father and his luxurious home at Isfahan. The bent of his mind had led him to study religions, and in his youth he had frequented Christian sanctuaries.

After the defeat of Qasimiyas, four thousand soldiers from the shores of the Caspian Sea embraced Islam, joined the Arabs, whom they helped in the conquest of Jalib, and settled afterwards among Muslims in Kufra. It seems that the great influx of Persian converts made Omar anxious, as he could not reasonably trust them. His forebodings were unfortunately fulfilled; he died the victim of a Persian convert.

The great number of converts is explained by Arnold (op. cit. pp. 177–180), who points out the simplicity and elasticity of Islam, Kol, as well as the unusual enthusiasm borrowed from Zoroastrianism, and the relief from the purifications and elaborate ritualism imposed by that religion; and it is quite certain that the bulk of the converts were voluntary. But all converts were not sincere; the famous Ibn al-Muqaffa, appears to have been a bad Muslim, and, speaking of Mahyar, a native of Daylam, al-Karim ibn Bahram remarked that by embracing Islam 'he had merely passed from one corner of hell to another' (Ibn Khallikan, tr. de Sturs, London, 1842–71, i. 432 and iii. 51) (8th cent.). Ibn al-Muqaffa was one of the ten most eloquent writers of Arabic, and with this combined a thorough knowledge of Falsafi. He was put to death about A.D. 760.

E. G. Browne has admirably defined the period of the two or three centuries which followed the Arab conquest; that period is generally regarded to be a blank page in the intellectual life of the people.

'It is, on the contrary,' he says, 'a period of tumult and unique interest, of fusion between the old and the new, of transformation of forms and transmission of ideas, but in no wise of stagnation or death. Politically, it is true, Persia ceased for a while to enjoy a separate national existence, being merged into that great Muhammadan Empire which extended from Gibraltar to the Jazures, but in the intellectual domain
advised the young man to put it into verse; lest the traditions—the origin of which nobody could remember, no one being able to understand their writing—might be lost.

'You will do well to turn them into verses,' says the old man, 'in a pure language, which will not suffer from the degradation of time, and thus adorn this holy law with thy skill and restore its holy laws.'

We see how much rites and laws had suffered in the 18th cent.; they were doomed to suffer more even through Timur's invasion.

It was in the end of the 18th cent. that the intercourse with the Persians of India was renewed. The exodus of the little band of refugees to the shores of Gujarat had not been the only one (9th cent.); others had fled to foreign countries for security and liberty of conscience, but all record of them is lost; no one can trace the place of their settlements or tell the sad tale of their vicissitudes and collapses. Now and then the historian catches a glimpse of the intercourse of Iranians with India.

In the 18th cent., Mahb, a trader from the city of Udup, on the Indus, stayed six years with the barbarians of Sudan; he was taught by them the Zoroastrian faith and returned to India. He brought with him a copy of the Zend-Avesta which had been made in Sistan in 1506, by one Ardushah Behraman. From this copy other copies were made. The oldest now extant was made on a Cambay MS of the Zendavest brought by Mahb to Bhandark (13th cent.).

Westergaard says (Zend-Avesta, Copenhagen, 1824, Intro. p. 29) that the Parsis never troubled themselves with the books on which their faith was based. Had it not been for the commercial intercourse with Persia in modern times, Anquetil would probably not have found in India a vestige of a book. It is said elsewhere that, if those books had not been brought to India at the siege of Kirman, none would have survived in Parsia.

It was at the suggestion of Changah Shah, the Emir (head-man) of the Parsis of Navsari, that messengers were sent to Persia in order to obtain a satisfactory solution of several questions concerning religion and forms of ceremonies. In the year A.D. 1476/7 the Parsi Raja of Navsari, and Anklesar agreed to send Narmān Hoshang, a layman of Broach, to the learned dasturs and mobeds of Persia. Some passages of the answers transmitted by the Iranian brethren help us to see the position of the Zoroastrian communities at that time under the rule of the Turkomans. The Iranians pathetically declared:

'From Kayomars up to this day, no time has been harder and more calamitous than the end of this millennium; and neither the period of Zoroaster nor that of the Zoroastrians nor that of the Herodons nor that of the Alexander the Greek—of whom the Emperor Hormodas says that they are gross sinners—no period has been worse than this end of this millennium, of which Hormodas has made mention, of which 947 healthful centuries have passed. Moreover, at this time the faithful have little help to perform meritorious actions in the path of Hormodas; and only a little of the survivors, some young and some old, has remained; the rest has gone out of use' (Patel, in Camo, 1878, p. 572).

In a letter brought by Narmān, they similarly deplore their condition:

'Among us, poor people, there are four or five individuals who know their way in Pahlavi writing. But which is original is not known, for this reason, that, owing to oppression and tyranny, our fortunes, bodies, and clothes have all been contaminated' (Bombay University MS of Dari Hormozd's Nemat, 1, vol. i, p. 52.)

One of the messages—the first—concludes with a pressing invitation:

'We wish that two intelligent priests may come hither, and study the Pahlavi writings, and distinguish the proper from the improper. The traveller is carefully guided, the land-route is short, and from Kandahar to Sistan the distance is short; and from Sistan to Yezd there is no fear' (Patel, op. cit. p. 175).

Narmān Hoshang seems to have enjoyed the journey, as in 1496 he went a second time to Persia in order to elucidate new questions. It is stated in this reply that,

'(<since many years the Faithful ofPersia, who are few in number, are very anxious and desirous, that they may resolve some doubt as to the existence of the Faithful in other country>) (Patel, loc. cit.)'
In 1511 a third epistle came from Persia. The Zoroastrians of Iran had found their co-religionists' silence very long.

'Twelve-twenty such Ridyats were formed out of the explanations brought from Persia from 1470 to 1700. These Ridyats form our most precious source of information on the customs of the two communities, and through them old works, fragments of the most precious books of sacred literature, found their way to India, jumbled up with questions of pure ritualism or social life. Now and then Persian travellers happened to come to Gujrat. Two Persians, Kāṭa and Anfāz, visited the Meher in 1696, and got possession of the whole of a poem, a copy of which is in the Mulla Firoz Library at Bombay. Later on Arzashīr Kirmānī was summoned to the Meher court by Akbar in order to help the compiler of the Firdaws-i Bahār (end of the 16th cent.). In 1614 a dastur named Azar Kairān bin Azar Goeto died at Patna in the age of 85. He had discoursed on the Zend and Hinikins, and Hindus are said to have joined the latter (cf. Dastur, tr. Sheed and Trower, Paris, 1843, 1, 87, 88, 89). In the 18th cent. (28th Nov. 1729) a mobed, Jamasp Vilayati, came to India. He vainly attempted to enlighten his co-religionists in matters of religion (Patel, Pārvarī Pārvarī, p. 23; Anghelet du Perron, Zend Avesta, Paris, 1717, Prellin, Discours, p. 387). He brought several manuscripts which served Anghelet's teacher, Dastur Dārāb, and is the one from which his famous translation was dictated. Jamasp found that there was a difference of one month between the Persian and the Indian Zoroastrians in the ros eṣa (\textit{calendar}) reckoning. It is the starting-point of the kosmin or \textit{intercalation} controversy (see Act, CALENDAR [Persian]). He was able to teach Avesta to three intelligent priests--Dastur Dārāb Coomans of Surat, Dastur Jamasp Āsk of Navaari, and a dastur of Broach (now Vadodara). It was thought that he went back to Persia. In 1756 a dastur named Jamahdt, conversant with astronomical calculations, took up the reform of the Indian calendar. During the long discussion of the kosmin, which lasted for more than a century, applications were often made to Muhammadan authorities, \textit{e.g.} Hāji Nasim Isfahānī and Aghā Muhammad Shihāstā. All this shows that the Gabars were not absolutely ignorant.

The Gabars, who were so communicative with their Indian brethren, carefully kept aloof from the non-Zoroastrians. All the travellers have recorded this reserve, which was based upon the principles of self-defence.

"Never," says Chinsra, "was the Obedias of the Jews so averse to disclosing its secrets or so jealous of unveiling the mysteries of its science, or ancient Fire-worship, as to go to any place and to tell, lest they might suspect the design I had." \textit{Relations} (Rottier's edition, Lyon, 1672, p. 564). "They know by heart a big book written in characters differing from those of Persian or Arabic. They could read it, but they used to say that they did not understand it, and therefore held it in still greater reverence, stating that it was such that the creed of its author could not be heard by any alone." (ib. p. 287).

It was with a Gabar of Yazd that Chardin was able to converse about books. That Magian was one of the most erudite among the Isfahān Gabars. He used to read some passages to the stranger every day out of a book for which he asked '1500 Rura.' Chardin was allowed to keep the manuscript for three months, and, as he would not spend so much money on its purchase, the man disappeared (Chardin, \\textit{Perron}, iii, 190). Dastur found the Gabars so reserved about their religion that it was difficult to obtain any information from them (\textit{Beauches de la Perse}, p. 53). Saeedi was able to ascertain that the tenets of their religion were consigned to parchments, the contents of which their elders kept in a separate room, which was only opened on some occasions, and they considered it a point of religion not to show them to any one. Their mysteries and creed were known only to their Magians, who were not more clever than the bulk of the community, and not written in any language anywhere during this long interval of years, and we do not know anything about their condition of the Gabars on your side" (Potel, op. cit., p. 171.)

Inquiries and explanations were made in this way down to the year 1768. The collection of the reply or explanations is named Ridyat or report. Twenty-two such Ridyats were formed out of the explanations brought from Persia from 1470 to 1700. These Ridyats form our most precious source of information on the customs of the two communities, and through them old works, fragments of the most precious books of sacred literature, found their way to India, jumbled up with questions of pure ritualism or social life. Now and then Persian travellers happened to come to Gujrat. Two Persians, Kāṭa and Anfāz, visited the Meher in 1696, and got possession of the whole of a poem, a copy of which is in the Mulla Firoz Library at Bombay. Later on Arzashīr Kirmānī was summoned to the Meher court by Akbar in order to help the compiler of the Firdaws-i Bahār (end of the 16th cent.). In 1614 a dastur named Azar Kairān bin Azar Goeto died at Patna in the age of 85. He had discoursed on the Zend and Hinikins, and Hindus are said to have joined the latter (cf. Dastur, tr. Sheed and Trower, Paris, 1843, 1, 87, 88, 89). In the 18th cent. (28th Nov. 1729) a mobed, Jamasp Vilayati, came to India. He vainly attempted to enlighten his co-religionists in matters of religion (Patel, Pārvarī Pārvarī, p. 23; Anghelet du Perron, Zend Avesta, Paris, 1717, Prellin, Discours, p. 387). He brought several manuscripts which served Anghelet's teacher, Dastur Dārāb, and is the one from which his famous translation was dictated. Jamasp found that there was a difference of one month between the Persian and the Indian Zoroastrians in the ros eṣa ('calendar') reckoning. It is the starting-point of the kosmin or 'intercalation' controversy (see Act, CALENDAR [Persian]). He was able to teach Avesta to three intelligent priests--Dastur Dārāb Coomans of Surat, Dastur Jamasp Āsk of Navaari, and a dastur of Broach (now Vadodara). It was thought that he went back to Persia. In 1756 a dastur named Jamahdt, conversant with astronomical calculations, took up the reform of the Indian calendar. During the long discussion of the kosmin, which lasted for more than a century, applications were often made to Muhammadan authorities, \textit{e.g.} Hāji Nasim Isfahānī and Aghā Muhammad Shihāstā. All this shows that the Gabars were not absolutely ignorant.

The Gabars, who were so communicative with their Indian brethren, carefully kept aloof from the non-Zoroastrians. All the travellers have recorded this reserve, which was based upon the principles of self-defence. We have no reason to be surprised at the care taken to conceal the teachings of their religion, or at the obscurity in which their beliefs are involved, in view of the oblivion of their sacred language. It was in a sense the logical consequence of some of their religious injunctions. If we consult the old treaties, we find in them strict regulations to confine the teaching of the sacred language and the tenets of their religion to adepts alone. Some very curious things are said in the \textit{Sad Dar} on this subject.

The incompatibility of the priest in teaching is referred to in the following verses, such incompetence being considered as a sin, according to the words of Ormazd to Zoroaster: 'As to every priest and teacher who commits a blunder in teaching those of the good religion, I make him just as far distant from heaven as the width of the earth.'

The priests, moreover, were not allowed to teach Pahlavi to every one. Sāsānian emir of Hormuz thus: "To whom is it proper to teach Pahlavi?" And Hormuz, the good and propitious, answered: "To every one who is of thy family, anofficiating priest, a high-priest, a spiritual object, and every one who is an intelligent priest. Besides these that I have mentioned, if one teaches it to others it is a great sin for him; and if he has performed many duties and good works, the end for him may still be hell!" (ib. p. 262). We can easily understand that the more the Zoroastrians were persecuted, the more they kept aloof from the non-Zoroastrians. In fact, any intercourse with the latter was forbidden to the true believer. About that we find in the Ridyats injunctions which were as useful to the brethren of Persia as to those of India, who had just experienced the effects of the conquest of Gujarat by the Muhammadans; the main point was to keep the faith of the fathers. A Bidyat of Shapūr Bhrkhravz tells that if a Zoroastrian did not wish to become a Muhammadan with his family, it was better for him to poison himself and his family than to give up his religion. But if, after the Zoroastrian had changed his religion, he wished to be re-admitted among his co-religionists, he should be received after making him pray a pātak and giving zorndōm (Narimān Ḍōṣang, Bidyat, 18th cent.). Yet conversion to Zoroastrianism was allowed. A non-Zoroastrian could be admitted to the Zoroastrian religion if willing to observe carefully its laws, and provided that no harm was thereby done to the community (Kāta Māhdiya Bidyat, 18th cent.). The last sentence is suggestive, and shows a great deal of discrimination in the leaders. Above all, the Zoroastrian was enjoined to guard himself against contact with a non-Zoroastrian. A Zoroastrian should purify himself with cow's uṣa (narciss) after touching a non-Zoroastrian (Narimān Ḍōṣang, Bidyat, 16th cent.). Some other regulations, such as the following, have even a polemic character: A Zoroastrian should not partake of any food prepared by a non-Zoroastrian, nor travel with (Kāta Māhdiya Bidyat), neither of gāh (clarified butter), nor of honey prepared by non-Zoroastrians (ib.); fruit touched by the latter has to be washed before it is eaten (Narimān Ḍōṣang).}
inclined to tax the Gabars with an exaggerated degree of ignorance. A gratification of their religious practices, intimately connected as they are with their social customs, we may refer to their Bisedya, or correspondence with their brethren in India; for, though these Bisedyas contain no graphic account, they are still the best and surest sources of information in matters of their own faith.

The ceremonies which mark the life of a Gabar are:—(1) The investiture of the sudra and kusti, called the sanjot in India, and sudra kusti dadaan in Persia (cf. Jackson, op. cit. p. 300 f., where it is stated that the wearing of the sudra, and even the formal investiture of the kusti, are not common at Yazd).—(2) The marriage ceremony, stripped of the Hindu finery and pageant imposed on the Persian refugees by the Rana of Sanjan, and reduced to prayers and admonitions (Jackson, pp. 364–366). Any marriage with non-Zoroastrians is strictly prohibited, as Chirdi has pointed out. The Gabars, he says, could not marry wives of another faith; they asserted that the wife was to be by education and birth of the same religion and race as the husband (Voyages en Perse, lii. 128).

(3) Funerals. The burial rites are conducted in Iran, as in India, according to the pure Zoroastrian form (Jackson, p. 399). The body is sent to Iran by the messengers of the Parsi anjuman of Gujarat referred to funeral rites, prayers, purifications, and disposal of the dead on the platform of the dead (Jackson, p. 432). The dead are described by many travellers, who have even seen the inside and have given us particulars as to their structure. In the burial mound, the body could not ensure the inviolability of their dakhams, and keep at a respectful distance the curious wayfarers or mischievous Muhammadans, as their co-religionists endeavoured to make. But last succeeded in doing under British rule.

The dakhams in Persia are not numerous: at Yazd, there are 5–6 old ones and 5 new. At Kirmán we have to note a cluster of 8 towers: 5 are in use; 6 are old and out of repair. At Tehran there is a dakhma built at the expense of the Bombay Fund (A.R. 1912–1913). There is likewise a very ancient dakhma near Kábul, about 30 feet high, but with neither door, chandar (or central pit to receive the bones), nor sepulchral doors. The parts are arranged in rectangles instead of wheel-fashion (from the census of the Persian Administrative Fund; cf. the Annual Report of the Parsi Association of Great Britain (op. cit. 68 f.)). The people still retain the custom of wearing dark colours pointed out by ancient travellers. The men wear the turban, or dastar, rolled up around a small cap; the koldá, or plain wool cap of the Persians, is adopted only at Teheran, Káshán, Shirz, and Bushire; they put on the pendrá (mod. Pers. piráman), a shirt, over their sudra (mod. shahr), the korán (a thread) on their naked body; the trousers are called tomáb. There are three other garments: the dótá, a mere jacket, short and wadied; the alakáry, another sort of jacket worn under a third called kóma. A shál (mod. Pers. shál) is passed over the kóma. The stockings and shoes have Persian names.

The women retain the ancient custom of winding pieces of cloth around their head, 'fagottées à la négligénice,' as Daubler says (p. 51), and of using the same 'nippes collants' mentioned by Rapin de la Fosse (Dévots li de la Perse en 1680, p. 45). They wear five different head-cloths: the thin jál-sháur is bound round the head like a cap and kept in place by the locché (which is a ribbon or a cloth) tied under the chin. The dastdál-sháur falls on the shoulders, and is fastened under the chin; in fact, the head-cloths of these first European visitors, the eye-brows to the chin; the brow is covered by the makró. The women wear the kusti over the
shouldeurs on the under shirt, which is not the suada, but is called zhii-kuslit; over the zhii-kuslit is worn the short shirt or pendura. The women do not wear petticoats, but they are called chelari, made of coloured cloth, either wadded or light, according to the season; they are broad and loose, but they are tied with a belt in the waist. The light-fitting jacket with narrow sleeves is called manzarak. The other jackets have Persian names.

The women of rank, when they go out, throw over themselves a veil of striped stuff blue and white, called chador, which is worn only by the poorest Muhammadans. The other women, viz. the towns- women, go out unveiled; a Muhammadan never looks at them, as he considers them impure.

(c) Education.—After having so often alluded to the ignorance of the Gabars, let us consider their intellectual status during the great campaign made by Manukji Lini Antaria in favour of the amalgamation of the lot of his co-religionists. Houtum-Schindler gives reliable information (p. 82). At that time very few Irans Zoroastrians could read the Avesta characters; in the province of Kirmân there was only one man, the dastur, who could read Zend; at Yazd there were several. All except the agriculturists were illiterate Persian; many had some knowledge of Arabic. Among the women it would be hard to find one who could read or write. Some laymen were convenient with astrology, and knew as much of astronomy as was required for astrological calculations. They could, with the help of the astrologers, find the latitude of a place within a degree. They had limited notions of geography; all their knowledge of history was derived from Firdaus. A few could study the Avesta, Dastžir, DutÁstán, Dázbán, etc. A few studied Zend. Of all the classes the Qu’ran came from India. A Kirmân or Yazd Zoroastian was not permitted to attempt to read the Qu’ran in the presence of a Muhammadan, and no copy would be sold to him. The improvement, even since the beginning of the 19th. cent., is notable. Now there are 9 schools in Yazd, Kirmân, and Teheran. At Yazd there are 6 schools: a large madrasa built at the expense of Atabeg Mirhaban’s father (149 pupils); another where Avesta and English are taught (5 pupils); Shahzaman (5 pupils); Ta‘r (24 pupils); Sarabad (32 pupils); Mubaks (no pupils). These six schools are branches of the Yazd school. At Kirmân are two schools, one near the Atash-Bâhram (32 pupils); and one at Zafar (19 pupils). At Teheran there is one school built by N. M. Peth (13 pupils).

ii. Pazzrâ (nakhwasa).—The modern Iranian priesthood is the humble representative of the great clergy of the Sasanian period, but one would hardly recognize in the persecuted mobeds of Yazd and Kirmân the dastur and advisers of the mighty kings of Persia. Immediately after the Arab conquest, the priests were not ill-treated by the Muhammadans; we have seen that in the 9th. cent. there were still mobeds and eruditi who had learnt the manzarak and studied the commentaries. They were men of position, and were allowed to take a share in the religious discussions held in the presence of the Khalifs themselves. This is proved by the Ulama-i-Islam (ed. Mohi, Fragments relatifs à la religion de Zoroastre, Paris, 1858, pp. 1-10; tr. Vullers, Fragments relatifs à la Zoroastre, Rome, 1871). In 1831, 43-67), in which is preserved a controversy between Mazdean priests and Muhammadans in the presence of Ali; and again by the Mâqâth-i-Ishq-lashgâh, ed. and tr. Barthélémy, Paris, 1887), which relates another controversy between a Zendik called Abâlîsh and the Zoroastrian high-priest Ahr Farnaghr before the great Khalif al-Mâ€™un, whose taste for disputes

on the merits of different religions is attested by al-Masâ‘î (Prairies d’or, ed. Barbier de Meynard, Paris, 1861-77, i. 30).

The presence of the Zoroastrian priests was thus tolerated at the court of the Khalifs, and their evidence was even accepted in lawsuits—that of a dastur is cited in the case of Assur (7th cent.). (cf. Browne, Lit. Hist. of Persia, i. 381 f.;) but this toleration gradually disappeared, and the Zoroastrian priests were taught to expect obedience and respect from true believers only. The community continued to form a class separated from the rest of the community and to recruit new members from itself.

Nevertheless, an example of the possibility of admitting a layman into the priestly class is found in the 17th century. One dastur, Rustam Guhâsh, Andasht, is said to have sprung from the laity and not from a priestly family (SFR., i. 388) indeed, p. xliii). In the time of this dastur, the Muhammadan king of Persia had ordered a general massacre of Zoroastrians, unless they proved that they were not idol-worshippers. Rustam Guhâsh, though a layman, proved this to the satisfaction of the king, and he was made a dastur. It is quite in keeping with the old tradition of the division of men into four classes, restored by king Ardâshir, with the exception of those who, by special merits found a place as a profession different from that of their forebears. Such was the case of this Rustam Guhâsh Andasht.

In the 17th. cent., the heads of the Zoroastrian religious class was still Yazd. According to Chardin (op. cit. p. 131), the great pontiff had settled there, and was called Dastur Dastur; he was an example to the other priests who lived with him and to the students who formed a seminary under his auspices.

The Muhammadans allowed this liberty, since the officers derived handsome presents from such toleration.

The ignorance of the priests is emphasized by the traveller, but in many cases that reputation is due to the ignorance of the priestly class itself, as with the laity, so with the priestly class, a general darkening of the intellect was but too real, especially after the siege of Kirmân (1794). Westerners, at Yazd and Kirmân, noted that Pahlavi had been almost forgotten; Houtum-Schindler, as already stated, found in Yazd some priests who could read the Avesta characters, but at Kirmân only one—the dastur.

There is now at Yazd a madrasa where Persian and Avesta are taught, whilst in the village schools Khorda-Avesta and Persian only are taught. A certain number of young men come to study at Boubey. As a learned and distinguished priest, we must mention Dastur Tir Andâz Ardâshir, who has translated the Khorda Avesta into Persian.

The initiatory ceremonies for priesthood are the same as in India—naver and martâb, with some slight differences in the ritual (cf. art. PERSIA).

At Yazd the mobeds live in a separate quarter; the bashâr are spread over different villages and localities. They devote themselves in keeping up the sacred fire, the performance of the offices and religious ceremonies, and the like. For the distribution of the work and fees, they proceed as follows. Once a year, all the mobeds hold a meeting at the house of the high-priest and assign all the bashârs of the different places to as many divisions as there are mobeds. They write down the names of the different villages on small slips of paper, which are folded and distributed by a young mobed to the mobeds as in a lottery. The religious ceremonies of the locality inscribed on the paper are performed by those mobeds and by the bashars under their charge. Many of the mobeds appoint others to their place or ask others to help them; but they must always give their permission for any subdelegation. A mobed who has just been made a naver cannot be employed until three years have elapsed after the ceremonies have been performed. The distribution of work is made yearly, and according to the increase or decrease of the number of the mobeds.
Temples.—Fire, the symbol of the Mazdean faith, after having burnt in the Zoroastrian temples of the Sassanian period with all pomp and majesty, is now slighted, in Persia and as in India. It dwells behind the scenes...ings whose outside does not differ from that of other houses. It is the worship of, or rather reverence for, the Persians and Gaborians has earned them the appellation of šāhak-pardēšān, or ‘fire-worshippers,’ given to them by travellers. Before the abolition of the jizes, their sanctuaries were desecrated daily. The history of the post-Sassanian temples has still to be written; the remains of the old temples are few, and the poor modern druids have nothing to remind us of the splendour of the former.

It is said that after the battle of Nihkwand, King Yazdegird fled from Buz and took with him the sacred fire that was revered in that place, one of the oldest pyres of Persia. He went to Isfahan, then to Kirman, Sistamgar, and Merv, where he erected, in a place two passages from the town, a pyre, where he burned the sacred fire that he had brought with him. The town was surrounded by gardens (fazlak, bir, Zoleym, ch. iv.).

At first the Muhammadans seem to have given a special protection to the fire-temples and to have prevented their destruction. Thus in the 9th cent., under the reign of al-Mu'tasim (833-842), priests and doctors were fogged because they had destroyed the temple of Dschauv in a village in its place (Arnold, Preaching of Islam, p. 170).

At the time of Mas'udi (9th cent.) pyres were to be found at Kirman, Sistan, Tabaristan, Khorasan, and Gaboriau, (iii. 381). But on account of the invasions and wars the number of the Zoroastrians decreased, and the sanctuaries fell into decay. Travellers have all recorded how carefully the Gaborians concealed their fire from the eye of non-Zoroastrians. The exceptions are few. Chiron went to the temple, but could not see the fire (p. 448), although Careri saw it (Giro del mondo, 1899, p. 134). In modern times, E. G. Browne and Jaffry, in their researches into the sanctuaries of Yazdi and Kirman (A Year amongst the Persians, 1877, 411 f., and Persia, Past and Present, 386 f.), one of the first duties of the Persian American Relief Fund was to repair the fire-temples.

7. Language.—All the travellers noted that the Gaborians had a language of their own; they had retained the Avestan characters and their script, but the Mazdean language and literature had gradually disappeared and were replaced by a sort of jargon, unintelligible to strangers and different from the modern Persian. The Persian Zoroastrians is the Gabori, spoken at Yazdi, Kirman, Rafrinjan, etc. It seems that Hyde knew of the existence of the Gabri (Vestem Persicum, 1798, 263, 266, etc. cf. Anquetil du Perron, Zend-Avesta, ii. 429). There has been no literary activity amongst the Persian Zoroastrians of Yazdi and Kirman in recent times; and, though among themselves they continue to speak the peculiar Gabori dialect, their speech in mixed society scarcely differs from that of their Muhammadan fellow-citizens, and their letters are entirely copied from the ordinary models. E. G. Browne studied it at Yazdi. He says that the Dari (as he calls it) is used by the Gaborians only among themselves. When they speak their own dialect, even a Yazdi Muhammadan cannot understand what they are saying, or can understand it only very imperfectly; it is not written.

7. G A E L S.—See CELTS.

GALICCIANISM.—Under this name two doctrines are designated, which were once current in France, but which are quite distinct. The one was directed against the claims of the clergy, the other against the Papacy. The first, which was odious to the clergy, was supported by kings and parliaments, and may be called ‘royal or parliamentary Gallicanism.’ The second had the sympathy of the episcopate and of the French clergy, and is known as ‘episcopal Gallicanism.’ Each of these two doctrines, which have often been confused, has its own history, and they ought therefore to be separately treated.

I. ROYAL OR PARLIAMENTARY GALICCIANISM.

—Royal or parliamentary Gallicanism comprises three maxims. (1) The first proclaims the right that civil society possesses to defend itself against...
GALLICANISM

the invasions of the clergy. It may be formulated thus: the clergy ought to be confined to the spiritual domain. (2) The second affirms the superiority of civil over religious power. Its formula is the king is the head of the Catholic Church. (3) The third teaches that, to defend civil society against the encroachments of the clergy, the king has to rely on the latter, the king (represented by Parliament or the King’s Council) should act in a practical manner, viz., by appeal by writ of error, which entails various penalties, notably the seizure of temporal properties. According to the king (represented by Parliament or the King’s Council) should act in a practical manner, viz., by appeal by writ of error, which entails various penalties, notably the seizure of temporal properties.

1. Defence of civil society against the encroachments of the clergy. — This is the very soul of the disputes which broke out from time to time between laymen and ecclesiastics. Profiting by the disorder caused by the invasion of the barbarians, the Church, in the 6th century, had placed herself at the head of the social services. She had left her spiritual domain and invaded the domain of things temporal. But the day came when society became conscious of its growing strength. Then it thanked the Church for her past services and announced that it would henceforth look after its own administration. The Church, however, did not see things in the same light. She claimed a Divine sanction for rights which she owed to circumstances, and which she was unwilling to abandon. Hence arose the disputes which broke out as early as the reign of Clovis and Balduin, especially in the 13th century. In 1226, under Philip Augustus, then in 1229, under Louis VIII., the French barons formed a coalition to drive back the clergy into their spiritual domain and rescue laymen from their tribunals. At this latter date the Duke of Brittany, Pierre Manchere, assembled his vassals at Redon, urged them to work towards this end, and made them swear to support the cause of the laymen. At the Assembly of Saint-Denis (1226) the most powerful lords of France discussed the matter again, and wrote to Pope Gregory IX, asking him to put an end to the continual encroachments of the bishops. Finally, in 1246, another League was formed — this time at the instigation of the Emperor Frederick II., which proposed to limit the jurisdiction of the Church over laymen to cases of heresy, marriage, and usury. All these attempts failed. In 1235, Gregory IX. formed the lords that they were making an attempt against the 'liberty of the Church,' and threatened them with all sorts of penalties. He further: he communicated the members of the League of 1246. The bishops, supported by Rome, continued to bring before their tribunals a great number of civil affairs. The laymen, who thought themselves capable of administering their own affairs, continued to revolt against the humiliating guardianship to which they were subjected. During the whole of the 13th century matters underwent no change.

But, although the conflict went on as far as laymen and the Church were concerned, the interests of the former were no longer, towards the year 1300, entrusted to the same hands as formerly. At the time of Philip Augustus and Saint Louis, the opposition against the usurpations of ecclesiastical jurisdiction began with the barons. At the approach of the 14th century, the attack came from the king, Philip the Fair, an impious man and a great organizer, who proposed to entrust the execution of justice to lay officers nominated by himself, and to relegate the Church to the spiritual domain. The success of this project, however, was hampered by the king's quarrels with Boniface VIII., who compelled him to conciliate the clergy in order to secure their support. In fact, he had to concede to the Church unlimited jurisdiction in civil affairs. At the same time he instituted a body of royal legists and notaries who should represent the lay spirit and form a kind of fortress of anti-clericalism. In the 14th century, power arose over against the Church, which had always an open eye for the ambitious schemes of the clergy and was ever ready to thwart or curb them. To the king the Church replied with excommunication, but the legists seized the temporal belongings of the author of the ban and did not let their prey escape until the omissions were cancelled. These renewed disputes gave rise to a chorus of mutual recrimination. The Church complained that her 'liberty' had been violated; the legists, on their side, complained that the clergy interfered in the regulation of sale contracts, estates, etc. — in a word, that they interfered with many things that were altogether outside the spiritual sphere.

King Philip of Valois imagined that this discontent was occasioned by misunderstandings, and that, if light were thrown on the question of the two jurisdictions, harmony between the laymen and the clergy would be re-established. In order to obtain the necessary light, he called an assembly of the prelates and barons of his kingdom, and submitted the question of the question of the question of the jurisdiction of the Church.

Pierre de Cognine, knight and King's Councillor, took up the defence of the interests of the laymen. He contended, enforcing his arguments by frequent references to Scripture texts, that God had established two jurisdictions, one temporal, the other spiritual; and that these could not be in the same hands; from which he concluded that the Church, which had received spiritual jurisdiction, could not exercise temporal jurisdiction. Then, descending from the region of principles to the realm of facts, he enumerated the abuses committed by the clergy who encroached on the common interests of temporal jurisdiction.

The argument was replied to by Pierre Roger, Archbishop of Sens, and Pierre Bertrand, Bishop of Autun. These two advocates of the clergy argued that the two jurisdictions, the spiritual and the temporal, could be united without any inconvenience in the same person, and that, as a matter of fact, the Church had received the power of judging temporal as well as spiritual affairs. They admitted that abuses might have slipped in here and there, and promised to do what was necessary to correct them.

The most obvious result of this great debate was to show that the legists were separated from the clergy, not by misunderstandings, but by views irreconcilably opposed, and that any concessions by either must be imposed by the authority of the king. But Philip refused to take part in the strife. He made fair promises both to the clergy and to the legists, and left the quarrel where he had found it. It is not till the reign of Charles IV. that we find the intervention of royal authority — and that on the side of the laymen. At this time the usurpations of the clergy were more irritating than ever to the laymen, whose discontent found vent in a curious book entitled "Le Songe du Verray". Charles, who had inspired the book, justified its claims by the Ordinance of 8th March 1372, in terms of which the bishops were in future to have nothing to do with 'real' actions, i.e. with the sale of landed property, heritages, etc., and the royal officers were to prevent, by seizure of temporalities where necessary, all action of the ecclesiastical tribunal in such matters.

The Ordinance of 1372 was the first measure taken by the king of France to stem the flame of ecclesiastical power. It was confirmed, in the reign of Charles VI., by the Bill of 1385. Then came the Ordinance of Villers-Cotterets of 1398, and the Edict of 1399, which restrained ecclesiastical power in other directions. Jurisprudence, on its side, devoted itself to a similar task and obtained important results. In the 17th century the State had recovered possession of most of its essen-
tial privileges which had formerly been usurped by the Church. Nevertheless, the clergy still possessed the registers connected with civil affairs, and retained the monopoly of education. It was the Revolution which deprived them of this right. The king directed the appointment of the French episcopate under the control of the Pope, who confined himself to signing the commission which the king had issued to the bishop of the municipality. Several years later, the Convention, and afterwards the Empire, gave the management of education to laymen. The clergy were, by these means, expelled from two positions which they had held for many centuries. In the course of the 19th century, however, they had the consolation of partially recovering the losses which the Revolution had inflicted upon them in the domain of intellectual affairs. In 1833 they were authorized to provide, in line with the University, elementary education for the parishioners. This authorization was added in 1850—that of providing secondary education. Finally, in 1875 they obtained the liberty of providing higher education. The Church, then, even at the present day, may give instruction, but only under State control: education has been secularized.

The authority of the king over the Gallican Church. The king of France, with the authority head of the Gallican Church, the guardian of its teaching and discipline. We may add that he supervised it to prevent the great forces at its disposal from being turned against the monarchy. His authority was exercised by several means: the nomination of bishops, the convocation of councils, the royal, the taxe, the control of doctrine and worship.

(c) The nomination of bishops—Clovis, Charles, Marcel, Charles Marcl, Charles Marclamagne, and some others encountered no obstacle in the nomination of bishops. Richard of York complained and grievances made themselves heard not infrequently. These varied according to circumstances. Sometimes they were confined to protesting against the choice of incompetent bishops, and the shameful traffic which went on in this connexion. Such was the attitude of Pope Gregory (in his letters to Brunehaut and to the Frankish princes), of Boniface (742-744), and of the Council of Paris of 829. At other times a return was demanded to the electoral regime which had held sway before the Frankish period (Council of Paris of 614, Abbé Wala in the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle of 828, the Faux Decretals, Hineman, Gislaire, Wilard). A compromise was resorted to, and the king was authorized to confirm the choice of the electors (Council of Orleans of 549). It was this compromise which, theoretically, finally prevailed (the first time under Clothaire II. (615), then in the middle of the 9th century)—theoretically only, for in practice the elections were corrupted by official candidature. The king thrust his candidate upon the electors; the electoral regime was only a mask to disguise the royal nomination. Moreover, the bishops, before obtaining episcopal consecration, had to receive investiture from the king and take an oath of allegiance to him. This oath of allegiance, however, soon dwindled to a simple promise of fidelity, which, instead of preceding the episcopal consecration, followed it, and so lost much of its value. Nevertheless, during the whole of the 13th century, the king was still so to speak, recruiting officer of the Church. The bishop of Bonnay, with the Pope of France, proposed to reserve to itself the nomination of the French bishops, and little by little it made considerable progress in this direction. The Great Schism modified the situation. It was then, in fact, that the French clergy tried to re-establish election, and it succeeded, thanks to the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, 1438. But its success was fleeting, for the king gradually recovered lost ground and, in spite of the Pragmatic Sanction, nominated his bishops as often as he could. Finally, he completely consolidated his victory by the Concordat of 1616. In 1616, the king directed the appointment of the French episcopate under the control of the Pope, who confined himself to signing the commission which the king had issued to the bishop of the municipality. This was not a complete return to the tradition of the early Middle Ages, seeing that at that period the nomination of the bishops was completed without any intervention from the Pope; but it was full that the recent increase of Papal power would permit. So in the Concordat of 1616, on the part of the Pope, reserved for the civil power the right of nominating the bishops, accepted the conditions prescribed by the preceding Concordat, and granted the Pope the right of confirmation.

(d) The convocation of councils.—During the whole of the Merovingian period the councils did not assemble except by order, or, at least, with the authorization, of the king. From this fact arose the formula which we meet so frequently: for instance, 'A council of bishops assembled in the town of Orleans by order of His Most Glorious Majesty, King Clovis' (Council of Orleans of 511); 'By order of Their Most Glorious Majesty, we assembled in the town of Orleans to deliberate to the glory of God upon the observation of the Catholic law' (Council of Orleans of 649). It was the same in the time of Pépin, of Charlemagne, and of Louis le Débonnaire. But, in 843, the Empire fell to pieces with the Treaty of Verdun. Then the Pope, who had become powerful in the place of the kings, who were weakened by internal strife. As early as 846 the Council of Paris was assembled by Sergius II., who was on this occasion, however, in the minority. But in 871, Charles the Bald convoked the Council of Ponthion.

To find French councils again convoked by the king of France, one must go back to the end of the 10th century, when we see Hugues Capet assembling the Councils of Saint-Basle near Rheims (991) and of Chelles (993). This action is rendered still more curious by the fact that these Councils supported Hugues in his struggle against Rome. In the 12th century, King Louis le Gros assembled the Council of Étampes (1130). Then at the time of the Great Schism, Charles V. convoked in Paris the Councils of 1336, 1388, 1406, and 1408. Next appears the Council of Bourges, assembled by Charles VI. (1438). On this last occasion it was a question of adopting a definite attitude in the struggle which had arisen between the Council of Basle and Eugenius IV. In 1130 it was a case of deciding between two competing Popes. And it is well known that the Councils of Charles VI. had as their object the restoring of Christianity to unity of obedience.

On the whole, the Church of France for many centuries did not consult councils except in times of strife. In normal times it seemed to have forgotten the right which his Merovingian and Carolingian predecessors exercised. Yet, if we look into the matter closely, we find that he had not forgotten it, but had merely modified its use. From 1651 onwards, he periodically assembled the pre-
lates and the principal ecclesiastics of the kingdom to demand money from them. The councils of former times were succeeded by the 'Assemblies of the Clergy,' which were also convoked by the king to meet the expenses of the royal exchequer. These 'Assemblies' were often relegated to the background the financial questions, which were only the reason of their existence, and concentrated on the problems of theological or disciplinary character. They were, indeed, councils without being called by that name. In 1611, Pape Clement XI, reinforced the old tradition and convoked the Council of Paris.

(c) The 'regales.'—The king, who nominated his bishops and convoked the councils, also administered the property of the vacant bishoprics. He took possession of them through the medium of his officers, he managed them, and collected the revenues as long as the vacancy lasted—and it did not expire till the day when the new titular had registered his oath of fidelity at the Court of Accounts. Further, during the whole time of the episcopal vacancy, the king took the place of the bishop and filled up all vacant benefices that the latter had the right to confer. The king's collecting of the temporal revenues during the vacancy was called the temporal regales; the collection of the benefices which chance to become vacant during this time was called the spiritual regales. Both are described to us as early as the 13th cent., and no doubt go back still further. For a long time they gave rise to no difficulty. The spiritual regales was the logical consequence of the temporal regales, which itself appeared to belong to the king, inasmuch as he was the virtual owner, or, in any case, the guardian, of the church.

Not infrequently the king's officers plundered the property which they were commissioned to manage. These misdemeanours caused complaints, which were not always without effect. It was in 1574 that the second Council of Lyons (can. 12), and from that time onwards they were periodically renewed. As always happened, dissatisfaction did not long remain confined within its original limits. After the abuses of the regales had been protested against, a protest was next registered against the regales. In 1626, the chief censure on the councils of the clergy in the 15th cent., Charles VII promised to give the proceeds of the regales for some time to the chapter of the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris. But this temporary edict, rendered perpetual by Charles IX., was probably only a clever trick to deceive the public. In reality, the king of France, far from depriving himself of his right of regales, strove to extend it and introduce into provinces that had not yet submitted to it. It was thus that Brittany was, after 1596, included under the common law. At the beginning of the 17th cent., four provinces were still exempt, viz. Languedoc, Provence, the Dauphiné, and Guyenne. Louis XIV. put an end to their privilege by the Edict of 1673, which imposed the right of regales on all the bishops of the kingdom.

The measure of 1698 which brought Brittany under the yoke was accepted without a murmur by the episcopate as well as by Pope Clement VIII. The measure of 1673 was also accepted by Pope Clement X. then reigning, and by all the bishops of Aquitaine, Provence, Languedoc, and Caulet, Bishop of Pamiers. It did not at first seem as if it would be a difficult task to reduce these two reasons; but, contrary to all expectations, the government of the king, and, in 1789, Pope Innocent XI, whose help they demanded, sent to Louis XIV. two briefs of complaint, followed by a third threatening brief.

(29th Dec. 1879). Although irritated by the attitude of the Pope, the king attempted to avoid a rupture. He negotiated with Rome, made fair promises, and relied on time to put everything right. But all his set asides were nullified by a fourth brief—that of 1st Jan. 1681—in which Innocent encommodated the Archbishop of Toulouse and all the ecclesiastics who had sided with this prince in favouring the introduction of the regales into the diocese of Pamiers. Even bishops thought that the Church of France could not let this challenge pass without replying, and the convocation of a General Assembly of the Clergy was decided upon. It met in Paris at the end of October 1681, and opened its proceedings with the elegant discourse of Bossuet on the 'Pouvoir de l'Église.' On 3rd Feb. 1682 it gave a decision in favour of the claims of the king. The same day it advised Innocent XI. to come to terms. The Pope replied by the brief of 11th April, in which he annulled the Assembly's decision; but the brief had no effect.

(d) The taxes.—Ecclesiastical wealth was, during the feudal period, the property of the king and the lord who gave the use of it to the bishop. Gregory VII., thanks to the quarrel about the investitures, managed to turn the idea of the regales, absolutely abolishing it. After him and through his influence, the clergy began to foster sentiments of independence which found vent in the maxim that ecclesiastical property is exempt from the royal tax. This maxim, which remained unchallenged in theory, was without effect in practice. In 1146, Louis VII, to carry out the intention of the Second Crusade, imposed a tax on all his subjects. The clergy yielded on this and many other occasions, for Louis returned again to the charge. But they soon grew tired of paying, and in the Council of Tours of 1183 demanded that no subsidies on their property should be deducted without their being previously consulted. Philip Augustus accepted the idea in 1274 and asked the clergy for permission to take their money; but he took a great deal of it, notably in 1188 ('Saladin tithe'). Then Rome intervened. In the Lateran Council of 1215, Innocent III. forbade laymen to tax the property of the Church; he authorised bishops, however, in certain grave cases to come to the help of the temporal clergy when he was never without having first consulted the Apostolic See. Henceforth the ecclesiastical 'tithe'—so called because the king deducted the tenth part of the revenue of the clergy—was a contribution authorised by the Pope, who made this concession public in a Bull. But Philip the Fair, after 1294, freed himself from this humiliating subjection, and demanded a subsidy from the clergy without first obtaining the Pope's sanction. Boniface VIII. then launched the Bull 'Clericiae laicos,' which forbade princes, on pain of excommunication, to levy taxes on ecclesiastical property without the authorisation of the Apostolic See, and prohibited ecclesiastics, under the same penalty, from paying any tax not authorised by Rome (24th Feb. 1296). A year later, Boniface, terrified by the threats of the king of France, retracted (in the Bulla Romana mater et Etsi de statu, 1297) there was already a reined in drawal in the Bull 'Infestabit amor,' Sept. 12969). But on 5th Dec. 1301, he resumed the offensive by the two Bulls 'Salvator mundi' and 'Ascula,' which, as lord of Pavillon, Bishop of Cauter, Bishop of Pamiers. It did not at first seem as if it would be a difficult task to reduce these two reasons; but, contrary to all expectations, the government of the king, and, in 1789, Pope Innocent XI, whose help they demanded, sent to Louis XIV. two briefs of complaint, followed by a third threatening brief. But further, scarcely had the above dispute begun when Boniface turned it into another channel (the Bull 'Infestabit of Sept. 1296)
claiming to control the political authority of the king of France. He supported this claim, accompanied it in the *Unam sanctam*, and still more in the *Unam sanctam*, which led to the defeat of the Papacy. As to ecclesiastical property, it remained in the power to which it had been placd by the *Lateran Council of 1215*. Thus in 1337 we find Philip of Valois demanding tithes from Pope Benedict XI., who did not render them till 1346. And, in 1346, Innocent v., hearing that the States General of Paris had collected a tithe from the clergy, recalls that "these impositions are illicit without the permission of the *Pontifical Acts*." In the middle of the 14th cent., then, the king of France was still theoretically bound to ask permission from the Pope to demand money from the clergy. This practice, however, is not really to be continued, because he had been guilty of abuse of power, and he again claimed the right of control in the domain of religion. It was Saint Louis who formulated this claim. His demand was but a modest one. Summoned by the clergy to force all excommunicated persons to give satisfaction to the Church, he was quite willing to obey, on condition that the justice of the sentences should first be examined (1263). Forty years later, Philip the Fair went still further. He desired Clement v. to admit that Boniface viii., in his dispute with the king of France, had violated the rules of procedure. He obtained entire satisfaction, for Clement confirmed the abdication which his predecessor Benedict xi. had already granted Philip, annulled all the innovations contained in the Bull *Eradicanda*, and exempted France from the orders contained in the *Unam sanctam* (1305).

Since the time of Charles IV., however, no king of France had penetrated the domain of doctrine properly so called. Philip of Valois renewed the tradition.

Hearing in 1333 (p. 380) and John xxiv. held very divergent views on the subject of the *Boniface VIII*. He desired the most enlightened scholars, and received information as to the position of the matter; then, when he was thoroughly convinced on the subject, he wrote to the Pope and demanded that he should be annulled. His letters show his zeal (1334).

In a word, he defended orthodoxy against the Pope.

Two centuries later, Philip's successors fulfilled their task with much more success. Philip iv. had made its appearance in France; the object now was to get rid of it.

France proceeded with great vigour against heretics and had burned them at the stake from 1243. His son Henry iv. was more rigorous (*Edict of Chastelarot*, 1561). Catherine of Medici, after having concurred the Protestants a province liberty by the *Edict of Jan. 1, 1562*, had them massacred on St. Bartholomew's Eve (1572). Henry iv. prohibited in their favour the *Edict of Nantes* (1568), which guaranteed them liberty, but this Edict was revoked by Louis xiv. until the eve of the Revolution did Protestants recover their liberty (*Edict of Louis xiv. of 16th Nov. 1787*).

While the king of France was striving to preserve his subjects from heresy, he was attempting at the same time to free them from the yoke of Rome. It was towards this goal that the institution of the *Papal Bulls* had to be directed—a measure which subjected to royal authorization the circulation of the *Papal Bulls* in France. In the memorandum of 1447, Saint Louis complained bitterly of Papal administration and of the harm it did to the French; but at the same time he took no measures against this scourge. In 1302, Philip the Fair burned the Bull *Unam sanctam*, which, however, had raised the height of a legislative act. This act of legislation was developed by Louis xi. (*Ordinance of 1476*); after this date it was made use of by all succeeding governments in France down to 1870. It was on it that Catherine of Medici, Henry iii., and Henry iv. relied when forbidding the acceptance of the decrees of the Council of Trent relating to reform. In 1339 the *Lateran Council had recourse to it in order to set aside a decree of the Parliament of Bordeaux*, which had registered briefs from Rome. In 1802, Bonaparte inserted it in the *Organic Articles* of the *Concordat*. In 1805, Napoleon iii., taking as his authority the *Organic Articles*, forbade the French bishops to publish the *Syllabus*.

The king of France, who supervised Rome, also supervised his bishops and priests. He repressed the Jansenist theories which were spreading among...
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the clergy; he represented the quietism of Fénelon. Although, as a rule, he only seconded the action of the Pope, sometimes he anticipated it. In 1706, Louis xiv. asked Innocent xii. to condemn Fénelon. In the following year (Dec. 1706) he reproached the Pope with having foreseen the situation, and declared that he desired without further delay a "clear and well-defined" condemnation. Some months later (March 1707), Fénelon, before the Congregation of Index, declared his innocence, and decided to consult "the Church of Rome." Fénelon expressed his violent displeasure with the Pope, and accused him for not sufficiently doing his duty. Finally, he had the joy of seeing the Pope obey, and lashed against the Archbishops of Milan for the condemnation which had been exordated from him. In 1706 he again, visited Rome, and demanded from Clement xi. a solemn Bull against the Jansenists. Clement, like Innocent xii. before him, yielded, and drew up the Bull "Vincit Dominus." Being pressed by the king a second time to issue a Bull against Fénelon, he again obeyed, and drew up the Bull "Unigenitus."

The anxiety which the civil power evinced to maintain orthodoxy took an unexpected turn in the 18th century. Parliament then protected the Jansenists, and protected them against the clergy, who, from time to time, refused these unfortunate men the last sacrament when they were dying. Each time that an act of this kind came to the knowledge of the Parliament, they condemned it and forced the bishops either to dispense the last sacrament themselves or have it dispensed by their priests to all Christians who asked for it. In 1731, Parliament drew up a measure in this direction, which was followed by other measures of a similar kind in 1749 and in 1759. The king tried to resist; but his resistance, though energetic at first, gradually grew weaker, and finally he capitulated. At the refusal of the sacrament to Jansenists who asked for it was forbidden by civil law.

3. Seizure of temporalities: appeal by writ of error. In the exercise of the rights which he possessed over the Church of France, the king was often in conflict with the clergy. He was then reduced to employing violent measures, the chief of which was the seizure of temporalities. In 1705, Charles the Bald, to avenge himself on Hincmar of Reims, confiscated the property of his church. In 1706, Philip l., who was dissatisfied with lines of Chartres, gave the belongings of his bishopric over to plunder. In 1107 the same king pillaged the church of St. Germain-en-Laye, to the point of setting fire to the church of St. Germain-even to plunder. The king tried to resist; but his resistance, though energetic at first, gradually grew weaker, and finally he capitulated. At the refusal of the sacrament to Jansenists who asked for it was forbidden by civil law.

Towards the end of the Middle Ages the seizure of temporalities was carried to its utmost extent, and occupied the court of France for the better control of laymen. The king was then permitted to take part in the attempts to restore the monarchy which had been made since the year 1682 onwards.

II. EPISCOPAL GALLICANISM. — Episcopal Galianism imposes two limits on Papal authority: the one, from the side of the monarchy, rescues political authority from Pontifical jurisdiction; the other, on the side of the General Council, places the latter above the Roman Pontiff. It comprises, then, two foundations, of which the Papacy and the Councils of Church are essential. It may be stated as follows: (1) The Pope may neither deprive kings nor exempt their subjects from the duty of obedience; in other words, kings are independent of the Pope. (2) In the domain of spiritual things the supreme authority belongs to General Councils and not to the Pope, who, on the contrary, must obey their decisions. It should be pointed out that this maxim is full of historical detail; consequently we shall study Episcopal Galianism only from the year 1682 onwards.

We have seen (above, p. 159) that the Assembly of the Clergy of 1682 was brought together to solve the matter of the regnal, and that it gave full satisfaction to the king on this point (23rd Feb. 1682). It must be noted here that the prejudices of the clergy carried them still further. They saw in the dispute between the French monarchy and Rome an opportunity for cutting short in a painful but salutary way the doctrinal and juridical pretensions of the Papacy; and they did not mean to let this opportunity slip. The Pope laid hands on us, he will repent of it," said de Harlay, Archbishop of Paris; and this expressed the sentiment of the other prelates. They wished it to be understood that Pontifical omnipotence was rejected by the Church of France; and, in

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order that Rome might not remain in ignorance of this fact, they asked Bossuet to draw up, in the name of the whole French clergy, a profession of faith combating this omnipotence. They intended the statement to be violent and radical—sham was hanging in the balance—but Bossuet drew it up with calculated moderation. This document was the famous Declaration of 1682. It comprised the following: (1) the substance. (1) Popes may not depose kings, for the reason that their authority concerns only things spiritual and does not extend to things temporal. (2) Even in the domain of things spiritual, the authority of Popes does not extend beyond the limits fixed by the Council of Constance. (3) So far as it is legislative and judicial, this authority is conformably to the decisions of the Council of Constance—limited by the canons and also by the usages and constitution of the kingdom of France. (4) So far as it is doctrinal, it is subordinate to the judgment of the Church, which may reform it.

The Church of France rallied round her king. The king, to show his gratitude, established the Declaration as a law of the State, and made the teaching of it compulsory throughout the kingdom (Edict of 23rd March, 1682, registered 23rd March). The French clergy and their king offered some resistance to Rome. But Rome well knew how to return the blows which were dealt her. Innocent xi.

Innocent xi. was the first to denounce the Declaration (Bossuet, letter of 28th Oct. 1682 to Diraud; letter of 30th Oct. to de Rancé); but, changing his tactics, he decided to refuse canonical induction to the new bishop whom the Papal measure had, as simple priests, sat in the Assembly of 1682. By this boycott he hoped to force the king to withdraw his edict. The king, by way of reaction, proceeded to the sanction the new bishop to provided themselves with their Bulls of investiture.

The hostilities, opened in 1682, had lost nothing of their sentience in 1688. They were even more violent than ever, for it was at this date (24th Sept. 1688) that Louis xiv. ordered the procurator general to bring an appeal with the coming Council against all the procedures taken or to be taken by the Pope against him. The Church of France was not a handbreadth from schism. But at this very time the king, who was at war with the whole of Europe, was obliged to have recourse to political intrigues of which Rome alone could ensure the success. And then, as he remembered very opportunely—his counsellors recalled it to his memory—that he owed to the concordat of 1686, i.e. to an agreement with Rome, the right of nominating his bishops himself, and that a schism, by restoring the episcopal elections, would reinforce the emancipation of the clergy. Obedient to the voice of his own interest, he conciliated the Pope and entered into negotiations with him. His first advance, the motive of which was clearly discerned at Rome, were cordially received; and, further, Alexander vii., the successor of Innocent xi., annulled the Declaration, but, however, brandishing it with any censure (30th Jan. 1689), under Innocent xii., matters were arranged. In a letter addressed to the Pope (14th Sept. 1689), Louis xiv. renounced his edict; in other words, he gave up making the doctrine of the Declaration an issue to the same day those of the nominated bishops who had participated in the Assembly of 1682 sent a letter to Rome, the ambiguous and cloyed chosen expressions of which might be construed either as a doctrinal retraction or as a simple apology. Innocent xii. was content to let bygones be bygones, and refused to open any canonical investiture.

Peace had been made; but each of the rival parties held to its old position. In 1695 the Spanish priest, Roccaberi, made a violent attack on Gallicanism in three volumes, to which Rome gave approving briefs. Immediately Bossuet presented a memorandum to Louis xiv., in which he expressed the following is his involuntary advantages of Roccaberi's work in France and demand from Innocent xii. 'explanations as to the intention of his briefs.' By a royal edict of 20th Dec. 1695, the sale of Roccaberi's book was forbidden. The Pope probably did not explain why and in what sense he approved of the work. In return, eighteen years later (1718) he asked the king for explanations as to the freedom with which Gallican maxims were circulating in France. The king replied that he had in 1685 given up enforcing those maxims as laws of the State, but that he had never undertaken to interdict them. Bossuet, who in 1682 had undertaken the Défense de la Déclaration, laboured till the end of his life to complete this important work. Fénélon, who strove to conciliate Rome, admitted nevertheless that she had 'too great pretensions' (letter of 3rd May 1710 to the Duke of Chervonne); he even maintained that the Pope 'had desired to crush the episcopate' (De summii pontificii auctoritati, 4). And in 1708 the assembly of the Clergy was called to receive the decree, and, after long deliberation, to it only after having submitted it to a thorough examination.

From all these and other indications, Rome could see that the papal legate had, at the beginning of the 18th cent., remained faithful to the doctrines of the Declaration of 1682. But a new proof of this was given in 1728. At this date the Pope Benedict xvi. gave himself to the new bishop to the Church the observance of the festival of Gregory vii., and inserted in the breviary prayers for this Pope—most warlike prayers, in which Gregory vii. was lauded for having deposed the Emperor Henry iv. On 27th July 1729 the Parliament of Paris—followed shortly afterwards by the Parliaments of Brittany, of Maine, and of Bordeaux—passed a statute suppressing the egg containing these prayers, and prohibiting its use in public under penalty of the seizure of the temporalities of the Church. The Papal legate in France, taking advantage of this occasion to rebel against Rome. They joined the campaign of Parliament, and solemnly condemned the cult of the Papal Legate. The great majority of the episcopate, without being so violent, were equally unprepared to submit to it. They did not condemn the cult of the Pope who had deposed Henry iv., but they rejected it as well as the prayers which had come from Rome. It was a case of revolt; but, instead of being violent like that of the Jansenists, it was silent (see, in the Assembly of the Clergy of 1730, the address to Louis xiv.).

In 1730 the Assembly Constituente established the civil constitution of the clergy, which broke the Concordat of Francis i., and reinforced the Pragmatic Sanction, but at the same time suppressed several bishoprics, overturned the dioceses, and restrained the authority of the bishops. This new state of affairs was in accordance with the wishes of the lesser clergy and of the fees etat. But the bishops, with four exceptions, began to wage war against Rome to whose side they gave an air of disinterestedness, they discovered most opportunely that the spiritual jurisdiction of the Pope over the Church of France was a dogma, and that they defended their action under the name of orthodoxy. These clever tactics made an impression on the people, and even on a considerable
part of the lesser clergy. By their means, the civil constitution of the clergy was rejected with horror by pious laymen, and in the ecclesiastical world it did not gain the support of more than a third of the curiae. Eleven years later, when Boniface concluded the Concordat of 1801 with Rome, it was seen what the theological dissertations of 1790 were worth. Many of those bishops who had been converted to the French Church at the time of their own interest demanded that they should rally round him refused to resign their office for Pius VII., when he required them to do so (15th Aug., 1801). Thirty-six out of the eighty remaining bishops rose in rebellion against Rome. And, among those who gave up their property, more than one died on a promise of advancement.

The episcopate of Napoleon I. was Gallican, and so were his clergy, with a few exceptions, amongst those of lower rank. Sixty years later, the French bishops and priests rejected most of the maxims of 1802. In the space of two generations the Church of France had changed its point of view. The evolution began from the bottom, with the clergy of the second rank. The principal workers were Lamennais, the Jesuits, and Veiloutot. The work of Lamennais was violent and brilliant. That of the Jesuits was silent, hidden, but more profound. Yet it was not more profound than that of Veiloutot, who from 1829 onwards, through the medium of the daily paper, L'Univers, never ceased from incitng one of the clergy of Rome into the mind of the clergy. The Concordat of 1801, by the prestige it gave to the Pope, may have had a certain influence, which, however, some historians have exaggerated. Finally, the books of Joseph de Maistre, who, after Pope Pius VII., and L'Eglise gallicaine (1820), did not fail to render some service to the Papacy.

Whatever was the reason, when the Vatican Council assembled (Dec. 1869) the Gallican doctrine of the superiority of Councils over Popes had only a small number of defenders in France, the best known of whom were Darboy, Archbishop of Paris; Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans; Maret, Titular Bishop of Suria and Dean of the Faculty of Theology in Paris; Gretry, oratorian and member of the French Academy; Loyson, Carmelite and preacher at Notre-Dame in Paris; Montalembert, a layman. These defenders were vanquished in its fourth session (18th July, 1870) the Vatican Council for the infallibility and full jurisdiction over the whole Church. Henceforward Episcopalianism became a heresy, and its upholders had either to repudiate it or leave the Catholic Church. Loyson chose the latter course, and tried unsuccessfully to found a national Church. A few priests left the ranks of the Catholics and took refuge in Switzerland, where they were admitted into the party of the Old Catholics. Montalembert died before the decision. The other Gallicans submitted to the Vatican Council. Episcopalianism was dead, and in its place the maxims of Rome reigned. As a matter of fact, these maxims have since made some concessions to circumstances. Pontifical omnipotence, which, before the French Revolution, embraced the political as well as the religious world, has, since the Revolution, allowed the political to slip from its grasp. The Popes of the 19th cent. did not talk of deposing kings. No doubt they did not renounce the right, but they no longer exercised it (Pius VII., who had communicated Napoleon in 1809, says in his Bull that he does not mean to pass judgment against temporal power and the obedience of subjects); their influence is now restricted to the political, in terms which were purposely vague (Proposition xxiv. of the Syllabus). On the whole, it may be said that French Catholics—like those of other countries—think that they may be Gallican and yet escape from this point without violating orthodoxy.

GAMBLING.—I. Diffusion of the practice.—Games of chance are as old as and wide-spread as humanity (see art. GAMES). They are probably derived from the various forms of divination (see Divination), by which primitive man seeks to gain knowledge of the future, some of them serious, like the throwing or drawing of lots; some of them more playful, like the Greek kottabos and the 'willy yamb' (Hall Caine, Manxman). The game of chance is a kind of secularized divination. In order to give zest to the game, the player staked some possession on the turn of the chance. The N. American Indians bet on the different colour of pipe or stones, the Siamese on the musselelish, whether the opening turns upwards or downwards. The Greeks already in Homer had their δραματία (knuckle-bones from the hinder feet of sheep, goats, and calves) marked with numbers on four sides to serve as dice. Later came the six-sided die, derived, according to Hydæ, from Arab qib, qa'b). Among the Romans, children played at 'heads or tails' (opus aut nactus) and formulate it except at (a) the game of morra (miacra digitis). Knuckle-bones are found in Egyptian excavations as far back as the XVIIIth dynasty,
and imitation knuckle-bones for gaming purposes were made of glass and shell. A gaming-board of gold and silver inlaid with crystal, ivory, and jettons, discovered by Potters, dates back to between 1500 and 1650 a.c. Six-sided dice have also been found in pre-historic remains of Haradsch in Bohemia. In Babylon, headless arrows were used for gaming, and the practice of divination (Belshaanu, Esh 21[6]); these have a very wide distribution over both hemispheres. The principle of the roulette is found in the spinning scoop-nut (Tylor, PC i. 80) and the spinning dice of the Chinese. Card games are a later introduction; they give scope for calculation and skill. There is no mention of Achan among the Israelites (2 Kings 5. 23), nor of the days of the Exile (Le 23: 8) 'forsoaking Jehovah and forgetting my holy mountain, preparing a table for Luck and filling up mixed wine to Fortune'; cf. Fortune (Biblical and Christian). The Israelites used the drawing of lots to ascertain the Divine will in regard to such matters as assignment of lands (Nu 26: 55), choice of an officer (Ac 1: 7), determining the rotation of offices (1 Ch 24: 1, Le 1: 1), or to identify an offender (Jos 7: 1, 1 S 14: 2, Jon 1: 1); but, so long as they remained agricultural, there seemed to have been no singularity free from the evil of gambling. In Babylon they became mercantile, and mixed with people among whom games of chance were part of regular ordinary life. The gambling habit infected the purity of the early Christians. Instruments of gambling are found in their tombs. Councils of the Church forbade it to the clergy. Christian preachers denounced it as worldly; 'if you say that you are a Christian when you are a dice-player, you say what you are not, because you are a partner with the world' (cf. Tertullian, de Spectaculis, xvi.; Clem. Alex. i. 325 [Charles' tr.], p. 29 [Potters tr.]).

On the Aryan races gambling has had a special hold (cf. Vedic (x. 36) vividly sets forth the woes of the ruined gambler, and the length to which gambling was carried in India is well illustrated by the episode of Nala and Damayanty in the Nalokchakrata (i. 26: 41) wherein the prince loses all that he has. The Sanskrit drama Mṛchakṣatrabīdha (tr. Ryder, The Little Clay Court, Cambridge, Mass., 1905) contains its second act a lively picture of a gambler's quarrel, and Sanskrit literature abounds in allusions to the evils of play (Böhtlingk, Ind. Sprachle, St. Petersburg, 1870-73, p. 213), and gambling in ancient India generally, see Zimmer, Alind. Leben, Berlin, 1879, pp. 282-327; von Schroeder, Mysterium und Minus im Rigveda, Leipzig, 1908, pp. 317-386; Lüderitz, Wunderwelt im alten Indien, Göttingen, 1907). For Greece, reference may be made to the picture of the ruined gambler presented by Alcibiades (iii. 42). Greek boys gambled away their mothers' money (Herondas, Minus, 8; Isocrates, Areopag, 149 CD). The Germans, according to Tacitus (Germ. 24), when they had the dice in their hands, knew no bounds, and were ready to gamble away even that which they valued above everything else in the world, their personal freedom. Generally speaking, it may be said that gambling has its chief hold on races which exist by hunting, and also on the pastoral, military, and mercantile types of culture. These modes of life are by nature less stable, and seem to generate a craving for sudden and exciting reversals of fortune, without which life seems colourless. The peasants, on the other hand, who have to work steadily for their sustenance, are comparatively free from the habit.

2. Motives of gambling.—The demonic power of the passion seems due to three main causes: (a) the desire for gain, (b) the desire for excitement, (c) the instinct of combativeness.—(a) The desire for gain. Human nature is impatient of the delays of regular work. It wants to acquire at one stroke, without trouble, and without the laborious accumulation of little by little. (b) The desire for excitement is in one sense a revolt against the narrowness, the limitations, the ordinariness of existence, a lack of adventure, the smallness of the field; gambling, with its risk, its suspense, its thrill, its hope, and its shock of surprise, supplies all the necessary catastrophic elements. Hence it is, on the one hand, the last resource of the least who wishes to goad his jaded senses; and, on the other hand, the outlet of the energetic and adventurous nature which can be only partially satisfied by the humdrum and lacking in sensation.—(c) In betting, a man banks his own powers, his judgment, or his luck. In a game of pure chance men pit themselves against each other, and, if there is no deception, each has an equal chance.

...
brokers charge usually 25 per cent. In horse-
racing the percentage is much higher, and in foot-
ball betting, according to Ainalie Robertson (see
Literature at end), the brokerage charge is more
exorbitant still. It is, therefore, clear that, if it keeps it up long enough, the element of probability
will even itself out. Any one, however long his
purses have been, is bound to be ready to make a
more continual payment of brokerage. The brokerage charge is steadily with the amount of play and eats up the
gains, which have no tendency to increase with the
amount of play.

That the practice is on the increase is clear from
the large amount of space devoted by the evening
and morning papers to the publication not merely
of sporting but of betting intelligence. There is also
a notable increase in the number of papers devoted
entirely to sport, many of which circulate only
through post. At the time of the Limerick
increase, no fewer than 170,000 sixpenny postal orders
were issued in one day, and one publishing firm
received £41,586 in a single month in connexion
with Limerick competitions.

Gambling has exploited most successfully for
its own propagation the improved means of inter-
course afforded by modern civilization, viz, the Post
Office, the Telegraph, and the Printing Press. It
exploits also the work of the schools, for without
universal education it would be unable to carry on
its business.

4. Legislation affecting gambling.—The vicious
tendency of gambling has never been called in
question. Lord Beaconsfield spoke of it as 'a vast
evade of national moralization.' Side by side
with the betting odds and betting tips, the newspapers record the tragic results on those who yield
to the temptation. In 12 years (1865-6 to 1867-7)
there were 90 suicides or attempted suicides in
England assigned to this cause, as well as 479
cases of theft or embezzlement, and 442 bank-
ruptcies. In view of these facts, it is not surpris-
ing that, in all civilized countries, gambling is
subjected to definite legislative restrictions.

The earliest English statute in 1542 prohibited
'sundry new and crafty games' of a gambling
nature, and prescribed that no folk of the working
class should 'play at the tables, tennis, dice, cards,
bowls, chess, clashing, lotterying or any other un-
lawful game.' The main object of this statute was
to arrest the decay of archery, but the preamble
alludes also to impoverishment, crime, neglect of
Duty, and a insane at gambling, apart from playing games, was in 1695.
In 1688 lotteries were made illegal. Other Acts
were passed in 1710 and 1761. The Acts of 1845
and 1853 were directed towards the suppression of
public gaming-houses (though they did not touch
private clubs like Tattersall's). Also, in 1854, it
was made an offence to publish advertisements
showing that a house was kept for the purpose of
betting. The Act applied only to ready-money
betting, and did not cover bets by letter, telegram,
or telephone. The Act of 1886 prohibited the
playing of pitch and toss in the streets, which had
become a nuisance in the colliery districts, and the
Vagrancy Act of 1878 extended the prohibi-
tion to all kinds of betting and wagering in public
places. Municipal Boroughs and County Councils
in some cases adopted by-laws for the repressio
of betting in public places. In 1895, Lord Herschell's
Act made it an offence to publish 'false or
other publications or any paper inviting him to enter into a betting or
wagering transaction.' In 1901 a Select Committee
of the House of Lords was appointed 'to inquire
into the increase of public betting among all classes,
and whether any legislative measures are possible
and expedient for checking the abuses occasioned
thereby.' The inquiry brought to light the enorm-
ous increase in the numbers of the professional
bookmakers (estimated at over 20,000), and in the
practice of betting among working classes—a prac-
tice which, when carried to excess, they found to
be opposed to the true interests of sport, injurious
to the general community, and apt to degenerate
into one of the worst and most mischievous forms
of gambling. The Committee considered that the
best method of reducing the practice was to
make it as far as possible, by restricting it to race-courses
and other places where sport is carried on. With
a view to effecting this, they considered the ad-
visability of (a) the licensing of bookmakers, and
(b) the establishment of the totalisateur system.

But they rejected these expedients, because either
would imply legal recognition of the bookmaker,
and necessitate the making of betting debts re-
coverable by law.

The law does all it can to discourage gambling,
without attempting the impossibility of prohibiting
it. Betting or gambling in a private house has
never been treated as an offence at law, but no
gambling debt can be enforced at law. The con-
tract is void; it is not illegal. In bankruptcy, all
claims of 'debts of honour' are struck out. All
money deposited as cover before an event with
the consent of the bookmakers is recoverable on an
address in the United Kingdom, whether de-
posited with them or with their bankers, and can be
recoverd with costs (Le nox v. Stoddart, and
Davis v. Stoddart, 1902).

The present state of the law in Great Britain is
defined by the Street Betting Act of 1906. The
object of the Act is to suppress betting in certain
places and public places. It is a criminal offence to
frequent or loiter in a street or public place for
the purpose of bookmaking, betting, wagering, agree-
ing to bet or wager, placing or conducting
settling bets. This applies to all persons, whether
acting for themselves or on behalf of another. Any
constable may take into custody, without a war-
rant, any person committing an offence under the
Act, and may detain all books, cards, papers, and
other articles relating to betting which are found
in such person's possession. The public places
coming within the definitions of the Act include
all regular football and cricket fields, and generally
places where outdoor sports are carried on. But
race-courses and the places where outdoor sports are
run are excluded from the operation of the Act on the days when
horse-races take place. The exemption applies only
to horse-racing. The penalty is a fine not exceeding £20; for a second offence, not
exceeding £20; for a third or any subsequent
offence, (a) under the Summary Jurisdiction Acts
the penalty is a fine not exceeding £20, or impris-
oment with or without hard labour for a term not
exceeding 3 months; (b) on conviction on indi-
ment, the penalty is a fine not exceeding £50, or
imprisonment for a term not exceeding 6 months,
with or without hard labour. It is made a special
offence to bet with any person under 16 years of
age; and, if it is proved that any person, whilst
committing an offence under the Act, had 'any
betting transaction' with a person under 16 years
of age, he is to be treated as an offender for the third
time, and is liable to the penalties above
suggested.

The Betting and Gambling Bill of 1912 proposed
to suppress all gambling advertisements, and bet-
ting tips in newspapers and other publications;
also all incitements to gambling by means of foot-
ball coupons and gambling competitions.

Among the Redjiang of Sumatra gambling is
prohibited—excepting cock-fights at certain times
—under penalty of a fine of £50, a sum which is
also exacted from a householder who permits gam-
betting on his premises. Games of chance are for-
bitten in China; the keeper of a gambling house is liable to punishment, and his establishment is confiscated by the State; while in older Japan, the law the gambler appears to have been liable to capital punishment. Islamic law forbids gambling. In the other hand, gambling agreements were valid in Zieg law; the parties making the agreements were legally competent to enter into contracts of any nature. By early German law, gambling agreements were legally valid; gambling itself was prohibited. See, in general, Post, Grundrie der Ethologie, Jurisprudenz Oldenburg, 1894-95, ii. 419 sqq., and the authorities cited.

5. Ethical bearings of gambling. —That the results of immediate gambling are deplorable, no one will dispute. But, apart from the effects, it remains to inquire into the morality of the act in itself when kept within bounds. Usur non tollit absues. The economic aspect needs no discussion. Gamblers add nothing to the wealth of the community. They may claim that gambling provides a form of recreation and pleasure which is not only legitimate but helpful, so long as the sums staked are such as a man can afford to lose. But (a) such a contention draws a line of distinction between rich and poor; what is right for the rich man is pronounced wrong in the case of the poor man. (b) The argument implies that the wrongness of gambling consists in losing the money staked; it is right, if one wins, because one can afford to win; but it is wrong, if one loses, because one cannot afford to lose. Any argument based on prudential grounds is only an appeal to enlightened self-interest, and the spirit of selfishness cannot cast out selfishness. (c) Though it is in society that the temptation comes, gambling itself is anti-social. It is, as Herbert Spencer says, a kind of action by which pleasure is obtained at the cost of pain to another. The happiness of the winner is bought by the suffering of the loser: This kind of action, therefore, is essentially anti-social; it sears the sympathies, cultivates a hard egoism, and so produces a general deterioration of character. It is a habit intrinsically savage (see his Ethics, pt. iii. ch. 7. 'Amusements,' § 227; Facts and Comments, 'Essay on Rebarbarisation'). In an atmosphere of brotherhood no form of gambling could exist. In some cases, success appears to depend on superiority of judgment; but this is fallacious. It is never possible to be certain of a certain result, because all the factors that go to produce the result are not known. When the odds are 4 to 1 on a horse winning a particular race, and these odds are supposed to be 'fair,' the man who accepts the adverse odds does so because he relies upon the unknown factors of the problem; in fact, his appeal is to the unknown and incalculable element in human affairs, which may call chance. The appeal to chance implies a negation of all the nobler powers of man—reason, skill, the sense of justice and responsibility. In the habitual gambler, these higher faculties, through diæase, become atrophied, and his life, out of touch with honest labour, intoxicated by the excitement of his favourite passion, becomes sordid and depraved.

The Christian view of property exacts a still higher standard. Though in relation to his neighbours each man may be regarded as the proprietor of the goods he possesses, the law exacts that he act as a steward. This higher view, by destroying the right of property relatively to God, gives the true basis for its use in the relations between man and man. All that the law may demand from him is that he should use that which is his own, because what he possesses is not his own, and he must render exact account for his use of it. He must also respect the property of his neighbour, because it does not belong to his neighbour, but to God, who entrusted him with it.

It has been urged that Herbert Spencer's condemnation applies only to the after effects of gambling, and not to the act of gambling itself. But the reason why the loser feels no 'pain,' being so well off that they are not affected by the loss of the stakes. This is true; but an act must be judged by its general tendency, and not solely by the effect of the act in the selected circumstances. It is also urged that what the loser pays for is the pleasure of excitement and anticipation he feels before the wager is decided. This argument will not stand, because the winner experiences an equal pleasure without paying for it; indeed, he receives in addition the forfeited stakes.

But the immorality of gambling may be argued on higher grounds than a calculation of pleasure. (a) Every gambling transaction involves a transfer of property in one shape or another. When the gambler is asked why he stakes his money on a game or a race, his reply is, 'To add an interest to the game.' The interest thus added, simply stated, is the interest of acquisition. If the real object were, as is claimed, merely the sport and the excitement, then men might just as well wager counters, or, for that of the matter that agrees to hand over all winnings to public charities. But this is not done. The transfer of property, in one shape or another, is essential to the act. There are only three ways in which property can be legitimately acquired—by gift, by labour, and by exchange. Gambling stands outside all of these. (b) Its motive is, however cautiously defined, essentially an attempt to get property without paying the price for it. It is a violation of the law of equiva-

lents. It is a kind of robbery by mutual agreement; but it is still due to one party, because murder by mutual agreement, is still treated as murder. It is bogotten of covetousness; it leads to idleness. (c) It is, moreover, an appeal to chance. If in any context skill comes in, odds are given or handicaps arranged so as to equalize the chances as far as possible. To make chance the arbiter of conduct is to subvert the moral order and stability of life. (d) It concentrates attention upon lucre, and thereby withdraws attention from worthier objects of life.

Captious analogies have been drawn between gambling in sport and commercial speculation. There is, in truth, a kind of speculation which is merely betting on prices. Men buy or sell cotton or corn for future sale; but the fact that they may be unable to handle or distribute the actual commodities, but merely with a view to closing the contract before it is due, and profiting by the fluctuation of prices. A man may buy and sell stocks and shares in the same way. But there is also a commercial specu-

lation which is necessary and legitimate. The merchant has to make provision for a social need, and, in buying ahead, chance must inevitably enter into the calculation. The gambler's business is wholly self-centred; he subserves no need of the community. The merchant's whole policy is to eliminate risk as far as possible. The gambler desires risk. No special legislation has been de-

vised in Great Britain to restrict this commercial speculation; but Chief Baron Palles, in the King's Bench Division Court, Dublin, ruled that in the case of a contract for the purchase of any commodity, whether it be bought now or not, the price which the parties was that the commodity sold should never be delivered, and that the whole price of it should never be paid, but that at some future time and at the difference in which he loses when the price is his own, because what he possesses is not his own, and he must render exact account for his use of it; he must also respect the property of his neighbour, because it does not belong to his neighbour, but to God, who entrusted him with it;
GAMEs

in Switzerland (1881), Canada (1892), Germany (1894 and 1895), Russia (1893-1896), Belgium (1896), Norway (1894), Austria (1893). [See Board of Trade Returns, p. 77, for a statement of the number of children, whether savage or civilised, without being struck by the fact, on the one hand, that there are innumerable other ways of combining the inevitable chances of life, and equalising them by wide distribution. These risks are ascertainable in their aggregate incidence, though not ascertainable in any individual case. The general effect, therefore, of insurance is to add to the stability of life. The general effect of gambling is to destroy that stability.


J. L. PATON.

GAMES.—1. Definition and Classification.—A game is an organised occupation, undertaken either by two or more persons, the primary intention of which is not utility but pleasure or pastime by means of the exhibition of the skill or good fortune of the players. It proceeds according to definite rules, and sometimes necessitates special instruments or apparatus. Games may be broadly divided into three classes: games of skill, games of chance, and games of imitation. The rules of games of skill are framed to bring out the various qualities—physical, mental, or moral—strength, agility, dexterity of the senses, rapidity of calculation, and induction, endurance, patience, and so on—of the players. Games of chance, on the other hand, regard only the luck of the players, and are decided by events, such as the fall of dice, over which they have no control. The rules, therefore, are arbitrary conventions, designed to emphasise coincidental coincidences. Many games combine the elements of chance and skill in varying proportions. In games of imitation the rules are prescribed by the accidents to be imitated; limited, however, by certain conventions inappropriate to the circumstances of the players; and the result is measured by the verisimilitude of the performance as thus limited. Such games involve the germ of Drama (p. 154). Both in games of chance and in those of skill there is a contest. In games of imitation there is often little or none; and the pleasure sought is attained by co-operation, rhythm, and song.

Gaming as thus defined are social institutions, owing their origin to the inherent restlessness of human beings, and the necessity for constant use and practice in order to the development and preservation of their physical, mental, and moral powers. They enter very early into the life of the individual. The are of inestimable value in the training of children for the grave pursuits of adult years. To the adult—especially the adult savage—they are little less important; and from the lower stage of culture, and the form of contest or of rhythmic movement (dance), are among the commonest activities.

2. Religious (and magical) significance; origins.—1894.-In the same way, it is said, games have grown from vague and undefined beginnings. Their vague beginnings contained also the seeds of ritual, dance, and song. It is but gradually that they have been differentiated from these; even yet, as we shall see, complete separation has not been achieved. Games of imitation bear obvious witness to this origin. It is impossible to observe the imposition of orders of children, whether savage or civilised, without being struck by the fact, on the one hand, that ceremonies are the favourite subject of imitation, and, on the other hand, that ceremonies, the adoration and the utterance of a set of words, rhythmical also and married to musical notes, are essential features. In the game of 'Jenny Jones,' common throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland, for instance, the ritual of courting, death, and burial is the subject, while in some places the game becomes a regular drama, which ends with the restoration of the heroine to life, or her reappearance as a ghost, to the pretended terror of her companions. The dialogue is throughout sung to a tune. Nor is the distinction between ritual and games everywhere clear even in the case of adults. It is not altogether easy to mark the line between Toda games and Toda ceremonies. Among the Eskimos it is usual, when a stranger comes to a settlement, to receive him with a feast. In the south-eastern tribes of the Central Eskimo the natives arrange themselves in a row, one man standing in the rear of the stronger approaching slowly, his arms folded and his head inclined toward the right side. Then the native sings out a song: 'I give him all his right on the right (666 left) cheek and in his turn inclines his head awaiting the stranger's blow. While this is going on, the men opposite are playing at ball and selecting a new champion and thus they continue until one of the combatants is vanquished.' Among other peoples a 'hunting match' seems to indicate a ceremony, for the 'bock and crock' are regarded as played by various tribes. The latter is a trial of strength, at the end of which the victor has the right to kill his opponent; but generally, we are told, the feast ends peaceably. The account given by the Eskimos themselves is that: 'the men in meeting wish to know which of them is the better man.' (Boss, *Eskimo,* 1893, 409.)

Here we have contests of strength and skill, which possibly, as Frazier suggests (*GB* iii. 763), *Taboo* (1911, p. 108), has a magical significance, which in any case is ceremonial, yet which appears to be regarded by the people themselves as not entirely serious, but games leading up to a hospitable entertainment.

Many nations, in fact, play ceremonial games. These games, though the element of pleasure is large, are essentially rites of religious or magical import. Either the aborigines of America are specially addicted to such performances, or our information is unusually full on the subject of their games. The Zuni inhabit an arid tract of country in New Mexico. Rain is a prime necessity of life; but it comes rarely, and the droopings are long. The object of the game the Zuni play is, therefore, the bringing of rain, that their crops may grow.

We read of races, ball games, games of chance played with split reeds corresponding to our dice, round games, and others.

Shakes, a game of chance, was esteemed by the rain-people so efficacious in bringing rain that they called themselves ('Arrow-head people'), for the express purpose of playing the game for rain. The intensity of question has now degenerated into a body of professional gamblers; but the game is still played by the priests and others in accordances for rain (*ibid.* 1891, 282 f.).

The Omaha, a Siouan tribe dwelling in what is now the State of Nebraska, which had migrated, according to tribal traditions, from the east, was divided into two sections called the 'sky-people' and the 'earth-people.' The ten sectors of which the tribe was composed were distributed between these two sections. In their ceremonial encampments they were ranged in a circle with the entrance to the east, the earth-games, others in the southern side, and the sky-people on the northern.

In former times a ball game used to be ceremonially played between the young men of the two divisions. It was the occasion of a meeting convention. The Wind sub-gens of the Kootenay gens (one of the earth-people) to start the ball. A line of two circles crossing each other at right angles towards the points of the compass was drawn on the ground,
and the ball was placed at the centre. It was first rolled towards the north along the line drawn from the astrolabe to the right of the circle, and then back on the same line to the centre. It was then rolled in a similar way successively towards the east, south, and west, and back. On returning to the centre from the west, it was tossed into the air, and the game proper began. 'The game is said to have had a cosmic significance, and the initial movements of the ball referred to the winds, the bringers of life. It was played by the two divisions of the aouthuya (tribal circle) as representatives of the earth and the sky' (St. Beaw [1111], 198).

But we are not told what, if any, significance attached to the victory. The Wichita, a tribe of the Caddoan stock settled on the Red River in Oklahoma, however, played a game of shiny, which beyond all reasonable doubt represented the contest of winter and spring, and was played in the spring, doubtless for the purpose of assisting by magical means in the conquest of the evil power of winter and the renewal of life. Tradition declared that it was originally played by Afterbirth-boy and his brother, two mythical heroes of the tribe, against a headless monster, who used a black shiny-stick and black ball; and the stakes were the lives of the players. The tribal heroes tried to regulate for the jet of their ball, which was green; but the monster refused. So they knocked his ball to pieces, and thus compelled the use of their own. With it they succeeded in winning the game, and the Wichita now use it in the spring to assist against the evil power of winter. They still play the game, augmented by red and yellow, representing, we are expressly told, the spring of the year. 'Since that time the shiny game is played by the Afterbirth boy' (Dorsey, Myth. of the Wichita, Washington, 1904, p. 96). The Central Eskimo play a game resembling cup and ball, in the spring, to hasten the return of the sun. In the autumn, on the other hand, when the sun is going southward, they play the cat's cradle to catch the sun in the meshes of the string, and rope is a staff. The Mus. Nat. Hist. xv. [1801-7] 151, 422). The Kai of German New Guinea also play cat's cradle ceremonially, but for a different purpose. It is played after the yams are set, that their foliage may sprout luxuriantly and may become green and spread widely. Every figure in the game has its name (Nethan, Deutsch New- Guinea, Berlin, 1911, ii. 125, 256).

Indeed, wherever we find games played at a special season of the year, we may suspect that now, or at one time, they have, or had, a ritual value. In our own island the game of football, though doubtless not unknown at other times, used to be regarded as proper to Shrovetide. Sometimes it was played between two rival parishes. More usually, as in the parish of Soone, Perthsire, it took the form of a match between married and unmarried men. In the parish of Inveresk, in the county of Midlothian, it was reported in the latter years of the 18th cent. that 'on Shrove-Tuesday there is a standing match at Foot-ball between the married and unmarried women, in which the former are always victors' (Brand and Ellis, Pop. Antiq., London, 1813, i. 76), quoting Statist. Soc. of Scotl. Edinb. 1760, xvi. 10). This implies that the victory of the married women was pre-sædigious, and consequently that the game was not a real contest, but rather a piece of ritual. The object of the game was probably, like that of the shiny played by the Wichita, to aid in the conquest of winter by spring. The unmarried men and women represent the barren winter, and the married men and women the fruition of the spring. A similar ball-game, sometimes analogous to our football, sometimes to our hockey, is widely played in Algeria in the spring. It is called kouara. In Morocco it is equally prevalent; but in many other districts it is resisted, or those learned in the Muhammedan law; and, even where not so reserved, the foiba often play apart or in a special manner. Though played more particularly in spring, in cases of persistent drought, the men and women are divided, and the game is organized, the playing of which is believed, at Miliana, Laghouat, and other places, to bring the rain (Doutt, Impu. dans l'Afr. du Nord, Algiers, 1910, p. 554).

As an example of a ceremonial game of another kind, mention may be made of that played by the Khasi, a hill-tribe of Assam, for the purposes of expelling demons. 'The ceremony takes place in a fixed month of the year, and part of it consists in the dance between two funeral masts, which stand on opposite sides of a stream, each side tapping at the end of a rope which is stretched across the water' (P. F. G., 1905, i. 96).

This is what we call 'the tug of war.' Frazer (citing Bastian) suggests that the men on one side represent the demons. Comparison, however, with the ceremony as practised by the related tribe of the Syntangs, at their annual festival for driving away disease, renders it doubtful whether this explanation quite hits the mark. The Syntangs first cut down long poles, and, holding them across the stream where it is widest, tie a rope to them on each side, and then fasten the poles to the stream. The Syntangs then gather round the poles, and, pulling them bit by bit towards the bank opposite, the men on one side try to prevent the two parties from uniting. The contest is carried on for the coming year (P. R. T. Gurdon, The Khasis, London, 1901, p. 157). The contestants thus appear to be purely human, striving for superiority in neck. The tower of W. is applied in the Tanembar and Timorang archipelagoes in the Moluccas as a rain-charm whenever the westerly monsoon comes in without a fall of rain. Hymns are sung to Dulilas, the male principle resident in the sun, for rain. The assembly then divides into two parties—those of the eastern side of the village, and those of the western (Banna). The dancers are then arranged in about 30 metres in length. Men, women, and children all join and pull with all their strength. Those of the eastern side must, we are told, put forth more strength than those on the western, as if to draw forth the west wind which brings the rain (Riedel, Sltik en broschoarge rassen, Hague, 1886, p. 292). (Cf. the Burmanse game, Z.E.B. ii. 56.) The same game is, in fact, played for analogous purposes in both Eastern and Western hemispheres.

In many of these half-serious contests clan is pitted against clan, or community against community. Numerous examples are found in N. America; the Omaha game has already been cited. By no means all of them are regarded as having any magical influence—at least, if our information be complete. In California a game resembling shiny is played by the Hupa, village against village, 'or tribe against tribe.' It seems to have no greater result than our football or cricket played between team and team (Goddard, Life and Culture of the Hupa, Berkeley, 1903, p. 60; cf. pp. 149, 214). Such cases are to be found all over the world, in Great Britain as well as elsewhere; and every reader's memory will furnish him with illustrations. The games so played may take their origin from metrical or tribal singsong, and consequently that the game was not a real contest, but rather a piece of ritual. The object of the game was probably, like that of the shiny played by the Wichita, to aid in the conquest of winter by spring. The unmarried men and women represent the barren winter, and the married men and women the fruition of the spring. A similar ball-game, sometimes analogous to our football, sometimes to our hockey, is widely
Games

Games consecrated to special seasons are very common. In addition to those already mentioned, a few other typical instances may be adduced. In the south-west of England it is a common practice to play the game called "thread-the-needle" down all the street on Shrove Tuesday, or in some places, on Easter Monday. There can be little doubt that it once had a religious or magical significance. Syrian and Armenian immigrants at Boston have been found addicted to a game with eggs at Easter. It is played by two persons, each having an egg. One holds his egg, and the other player strikes with his. The game is a contest similar in principle to those which boys play in England with chestnuts (J.A.P. xii. (1902) 107-108; v. vi. (of 1835) 186). At the solemn harvest festival of the Natchees a game of ball was played for a prize by two parties, each estimated by an eye-witness on one occasion at 800 men (Swanton, Bull. Am. Eth. Soc. 11, 119, citing du Pratz and Dumont). By way of concluding the Green Corn, the Harvest, and the New Year festivals, the Iroquois used to play in the public council-houses a festive game with a bowl and peach-stones, in which the peach-stones were dice (Culin, A.R.B.E.W. (1867), 114). The Tigwa of New Mexico also played a game with a species of dice, which, on a specified night on the eve of the festival of the dead, Nov. 3, played by the people of the town, is thrown in a ceremonial way by each person, the bowl being held over a hearth and the pebbles being thrown into it. The game is called "the game of the dead." The ball is thrown in a similar way at the commencement of the New Year festival (Culin, Annual Rep. Nat. Mus. (of 1895) 186). At the Baganda, he paid a ceremonial visit to Nankere, a chief of the Lungi-land, who was never permitted to see the king on any other occasion. The object of the visit was the performance of a rite to prolong the life of the king. This involved the putting to a cruel death of Nankere's son. The king then went to another chief. On the way he stopped to play a game of spinning the stones of a wild fruit-tree. It is played ordinarily by two children, who spin their stones together, and the stone which spins the farthest or stands highest is called the winner. The king played with one of his attendants; and on reaching the chief's house he observed a ceremony. In coming he would again call for fruit-stones to play the game; but whoever ran to bring them would be caught and speared to death on the spot, with the object of giving the king long life (Roos, Annual Rep. Nat. Mus. (of 1895), 186). The game of "Elle" is one of several in which one of the children represents a tree, and a tree is the subject of the song. The children all take hands singing, and round the tree "the tree." Usually it ends with a rough and tumble; but in at least one case the string of players unwinds, under the direction of youths with long leafy branches in their hands as standards; and the operation is performed "with almost military precision." As thus played it is performed at St. Roch and some of the adjacent parishes in Corse, and is the annual feast in the second week of June (Lady Gomme, ii. 386). Lady Gomme refers to "some religious observances, such as encircling sacred trees or stones, accompanied by song and dance." Again, many games turn on love and marriage, and some of them doubtless ensnare archival ritual, such as bride-capture. One of the most striking of these is called in Scotland "Battles Bowater" (Dances with the bolster). There is evidence that it actually used to be the last dance at weddings and marriage-making. Lady Gomme's conjecture is only right that it was pre-eminently the nuptial dance at a wedding, and that the bride and bridegroom on performing their part in it retired from the company to their own chamber. But if so, it is even then the degenerate representative of a rite by which the bridegroom took forcible possession of his bride in spite of her real or pretended resistance (op. cit. i. 201). It is only in Britain that the process is found. Sicilian boys also play a game called A sola vola lo morirs, in which one of them shews death and lies stretched on the ground, another
stands at his head as a magician and utters incanta-
tions to restore him to life, four others stand round him,
and with the continuous whistle made by
drawing in the breath, extend their hands above
the corpse, gradually raising them with a slow
movement. The game is to keep up this movement
and whistling while the incantation is repeated
seven times without interruption by the magician.
It is said to be the children's firm belief that in this
way the corpse becomes as light as a feather, and
that he ought to be able to raise himself in the air
and remain suspended so long as the whist-
ling proceeds, but that with any interruption for
the purpose of taking breath by those who play the
spell, he again becomes heavy and falls. The
game, begun with more or less solemnity and secret,
terror, frequently ends with some trick upon the
corpse, and laughter, or blows, and a quarrel
(Pittr, Bibl. Trad. Pop. Sicil. xii. 283). But pro-
ably one of the most convincing examples is a game
played by the children in Java. It presents the
conjurings of a spirit, called Nini Towing, belong-
ting to the ancient Javanese mythology, into a
puppet, and its cult with prayers for help and pro-
tection. The serious worship of Nini Towing has
cessated; the significance of the ceremony is no
longer understood by the people; and the ceremony
itself has become degraded to a puerile amusement
Before quitting the subject, it may be observed
that the bull-roarer (q.v.), one of the most sacred
religions implements of the lower savagery, em-
ployed to produce sounds which the uninitiated are
taught are the voices of a supernatural being, and
carefully concealed at all times from the sight of
women, suffers the same society penalties as people
away from the stage of civilization which gave rise
to its ceremonial use. Among the Bangala of the
Upper Congo there is still, on the part of the elders,
some restriction of the use of the bull-roarer
among the Kikuyu of British East Africa, as
among ourselves, it is purely a toy (J.R.A.I. 1910)
427, 446.
Games of chance are usually played with instru-
ments of the kind familiar to us as playing-cards
and dice. In more barbarous states of the culture
the instruments are the stones of fruits, pebbles, shells,
split reeds, and so forth, marked in different ways.
They are drawn from a promiscuous heap, or
tossed in the air and allowed to fall on the ground
or come to rest on some other support. According as they
fall (or are drawn) the player scores. This process
is precisely the same as that by which divination
is practised and auguries obtained in almost all
parts of the world. Indeed, the very instruments
used are the same, even in Europe, where fortune-
tellers habitually exercise their profession by means of
playing-cards. There is, therefore, a very large
body of evidence in favour of Taylor's theory that
the primary purpose of the appeal to chance was
augury, and that games with the same or similar
instruments are secondary. Many American tribes
employ games of chance as well as games of skill
for divinatory objects. One example may stand
for all. The Onondaga play with peach-stones
tossed up from a bowl or dish struck on the floor.
It is common at the New Year's, or White Dog
feast.
When played against clan, the Long House against the Short
House, and to foretell the harvest the women play against the
men, the sister of the man who wins the ears of corn will be long like them;
but, if the women gain the game, they will be short, being the reverse, which is a proportion of the same.
This game is said to be intensely exciting. It was
once much used in divination. It is, like other
games, also still played for the sick; but,
whilst it is formally used to be a means of
healing, it is now regarded more as a diversion of
the patient's mind. In fact, it is ordinarily at the
present time a merely social amusement (J.A.P.L. ix.
(1896) 270), though specially played for divination
at the New Year's.

In India, where, as has been shown in the art
GAMBLING, dicing was carried to extremes, the
casting of dice was employed not merely to divine
the future, as with the primitive Kshatriya
Schröter, Born, 1900; tr. Weber, Ind. Streifen, i.
(1868) 298-307), but also as a part of the ritual of
the kindling of the sūrdhā, or 'fire of the
assembly-house' (it is highly significant in this con-
nection that sūrdhā means especially an assembly-
house for gamblers), who formed a portion of the
agnyāyākṣa, or setting up of the sacred fire.

According to the Apanonéesa Grāhyaśāstra, v. xii. 21, a
gambling table was set in the midst of the sūrdhā and sprinkled. Dice
were thrown on the table, and gold was cast on them, and all were
mixed up and then spread out; after two sacrifices had been
made, the dice (100 in number) were given to the sacrificer
with the words, 'Play for the cow against the rice,' etc. (see Shillingbrooth, Notibilis, 2/I. 186, 190, 191-192, 209, 121-123). It is plausibly suggested by von
Schröder (Mysteries and Meanings of Sūrdhā, Leipzig, 1929,
pp. 385) that the famous 'gaming hymn' of the Rigveda (xv. 34)
is intended for this portion of the Ritual; and Shillingbrooth,
theokrit, with good reason, that this ritual gaming was 'probably
the survival of an old dice oracle connected with the new moon'
(Rit. 106). In the ceremonial of vīratejas, or customary
rite of a king, ritual gaming is an important feature. Here the dice
are cast on gold, with the injunction that, 'whoever, by his many
rays, makes the king become the firm centre of the people';
and later on in on the vīratejas a second game of dice of minor
importance is played (Shillingbrooth, Rit. 146).

A large number of children's games are either
themselves uselessly similar to or directly based on
some of the ancient divinatory formula. This is especially noticeable in the
'counting-out,' which is preliminary to many
games. By the process of 'counting-out' it is
determined who is to take a certain part in the
game. Simple though it generally is, the number
of children concerned and the positions they take
in the counting series are so variable that to the
players, who do not attempt to calculate, the
result seems a chance. Nor is it only the counting-
out formule that betray a divinatory origin;
games of skill are often referable to the same
source. Lady Gomme assigns various ball-games (including
cricket) to this source, and Pittr reckons no fewer
than sixty games of Sicilian children, or one-third
of the entire collection he has made, as based
upon 'the sacred processes of divination' (op. cit.
xxv).

4. Prizes and stakes - Gambling. — The winning
of games, whether of chance or skill, is among
all nations frequently rewarded with prizes. By
an easy and natural gradation the prize passes
into the bet, and finally into the stake. This
enhances the excitement, and, therefore, the
pleasure of a game. Gambling is a passion con-
fined to no race or country, to no rank of society,
to no plane of civilization. The savage hunter is
as much addicted to it in his hours of ease as the
civilized stockbroker or horse-racer in his hours
of business. No peoples were ever more passionate
gamblers than the N. American Indians, both
men and women. Throughout the length and breadth
of the great continent they occupied, gambling was
the favourite pastime. Their feud on their games
of chance, they betted on their games of skill, they
betted on their most solemn ceremonial games.
They even ascribed to gambling a Divine origin,
and believed that it was the common occupation of
the departed in the spirit-world. We may expect
not to find that so wide-spread a passion as gambling
originated in very early times. The famous deposit
of painted pelh's in the cave of Maes-Azil may be
conjectured to yield evidence pointing in this direc-
tion. If so, something more than a respectable
antiquity may be assigned to this excitement. Yet hardly had the Ice Age and the reindor
appeared when the men of the south of France were
preparing their rude dice or counters, and enjoying the excitement of staking the produce of their more serious activities on games of chance. Certain it is that those of the peoples that represent numbers must have been painted with some end in view other than an introduction into the mysteries of the higher mathematics (L'Anthropologie, vii. [Paris 1887] 265, and the accompanying atlas of plates).

Gamblers are proverbially superstitions folk. Every gambler has his amulet or his prescribed observance, on which he depends for his luck. In this he does but emphasize a more general habit. But the emphasis is probably the natural product of his desire for the vicissitudes that represent numbers to be his sacrifice in the service of the most popular of his favourite amusement. Everywhere in N. America gambling is the subject of practices which are not merely superstitious—that is, performed with an unreasoned expectation of benefit—but distinctly religious. The gambler fasts and prays, he seeks supernatural aid in dreams, he observes continuence, he burns tobacco in honour of his muskets. Where the interest or the glory of a village or tribe is at stake, the whole community join in a religious ceremony, feasts ('medicine'), of course, are universal. The taking part in or coming with ceremonial games already alluded to may be thought to be responsible for such a development. The N. American Indians, however, are by no means singular in seeking remuneration and for victory in their games. To take only a single instance—the Fijians play a game of skill called tiga. It consists in throwing along a course a ball with a point end and like the head of an eagle, and a tail formed of a red one metre in length. It is played by two sides, often two villages or two tribes, and causes much excitement. Before playing, the Fijian weaves the grasses of his ancestors and offers sacrifice to their mases, to render them propitious. The stakes are a feast of pork, which the losing party gives to the victor (Charles 1911: 476).

Almost everywhere games have been played for stakes involving the entire possessions of the players, their wives and children, their freedom, their life itself. Not many centuries ago a Cheyenne, having lost all his property, put up his sister as the stake in a game of cards. He lost her. Though the occurrence aroused great indignation throughout the tribe, nobody suggested that the unfortunate girl should not go and live as the wife of the man who had won her (JAFD. xi. [1888] 301). This is a modern description of a social practice which has formed the basis of a many folk-tale east and west. In Irish legend, Midir, the fairy chief, plays with king Niall of Airgiall for the bride of Ethén. In the great Indian epic of the Mahabharata, Yudhishthira loses to Sakuni all his property, and finally Draupadi, the joint wife of the five brethren. In a Korean tale the hero is made to play chess for his bride (JAFD. xii. [1897] 291). The incident of playing for life or freedom is also common in folk-tales. A greater stake still—that of future happiness—is occasionally represented in European tales. A supernatural monk is said to haunt the mielles (dunes) of Normandy and play with passers-by for their clothes (Les Dunes. [1894] 304, quoting Souvestre, Les Derniers paysans, Paris, 1862, p. 79). More remarkable still is a dramatic ceremony annually performed at Lhasa for casting out the demon of ill-luck. In the course of the performance the Grand Lama is represented playing at dice with the demon, to prove the truth of his teaching. But the dice are false: the Lama can throw now and not throw the right one, but not the one he wants. Consequently the demon is hopelessly beaten and chased away, to the no small amusement, comfort, and satisfaction of the faithful (Waddell, Buddhism of Tibet, London, 1890, p. 615).

In view of the grave evils undoubtedly entailed on society by the practice of gambling, it may not be deemed impertinent to call attention to its utility at an early stage of culture. This can hardly be better done than in the words of the accomplished author of the History of the New World called America, whose untimely death a few years ago left the great work he had projected and partially executed no more than a precious fragment. He says:

"Among the nations of America, games are very common: they are either of the same kind and of the same use with ours, or are almost so. They are played in almost all countries, and at almost every age and time; they are of the greatest utility to the idle and in reality are very agreeable, and, in some respects, very beneficial. . . . They are played with cards, dice, and other instruments of a similar nature. They are played in all the streets and markets, and in the houses of the people, and in the public schools, and in the country houses; they are played by all sorts of people, and by all sorts of men, from the youth to the old man; and they are played in all sorts of weather, and in all sorts of seasons. They are played in the day-time and in the night-time; they are played in the winter and in the summer; they are played in the spring and in the autumn; they are played in the cold and in the heat; they are played in the dry and in the wet; they are played in the dry and in the wet; they are played in the dry; they are played in the wet. . . ." (Perry, Hist. of Amer., 1796, ii. 379.)

See, further, art. GAMBLING.


E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

GAMES (Hebrew and Jewish)—For the purposes of the present article it will be convenient to divide the entire range of Hebrew-Jewish history into Biblical, Talmudic, and post-Talmudic times, the Biblical period extending, owing no doubt, to the age of the Maccaean rising; the Talmudic commencing at the epoch just named, and ending about A.D. 500; and the post-Talmudic reaching down to the present day.

1. In Biblical times.—The games and other amusements that were prevalent among the ancient Hebrews could not have been prominently bound up with the popular cult and the moral habits of the race; otherwise the authors and compilers of the Hebrew Scriptures, who were guided throughout by a religious purpose, would not have naturally introduced, with more or less frequency, some detailed references to these pastimes and recreations of their countrymen. The games and diversions indulged in were merely so far as the most part they are everywhere now, so many ways of recruiting strength and whiling away an idle hour in a pleasant and attractive manner; and that all can be found in the OT; on these matters consists of some general references and a number of more or less definite allusions to certain amusements and sports that were in vogue among the Hebrews of those days. Our task, therefore, in this part of the article is to collect the extant data in some orderly and serviceable manner.

The Hebrew verbs expressing something approximate to our idea of playing games and engaging in other social diversions are pa'am (inf. pa'am, pa'am, pa'am), pru (inf. pru, pru, pru), the use of the last-named form in.Ex 22:25 (in connexion with the rejoicing at the making of the golden calf) is quite indefinite, and may possibly be best translated 'to merriment.' But quite definite is the mention of a kind of tournament (or possibly best described as a game-of-wax) in 2 S 21:42, where the verb pru is employed. Aner said to Josab: 'Let the young
men arise and play before us,' and there seems to be no reason to doubt that a mere soldierly trial of skill and strength was originally intended, and not a facade to be blown on a large scale, although the hostile passions which were aroused by it quickly led to a disastrous result.

Other exercises requiring the employment of physical strength are all mentioned or alluded to in the OT are the lifting of stones (Zec 12:8), singing stones (e.g. Jg 20:6, 1 S 17:42, Zec 9:15), ball-games (Le 23:39), judging from the later use of the word, as can be seen from the Rabbinical dictionaries—the term for ball is שָׁונָה, and not מַשָּׁה. archery (1 S 30:31), Job 16:19, 2 S 23:5), razing (Ps 10:19), (1 S 18:4, Job 16:19, 2 S 23:5), and see also (Ps 69:24, 1 S 18:4, 2 S 23:5). One may also assume that the way in which Samson had to amuse the assembled Philistines at Gaza (Jg 16:24), where both the ruts psw and prs are used) was by exhibiting feats of physical strength. More popular than any other kind of physical exercise was naturally dancing. A reference to children's dances is found in Ec 11:19, and to that of adults on various occasions—e.g. Jg 21:21 ('the daughters of Shiloh' to be captured, whilst dancing, as wives by the Benjaminites), 1 S 10:29 (the women singing to the victorious David), 2 S 6:16 (David dancing before the ark).

With regard to the amusements of children, there is, besides the mention of dances already referred to, the significant fact that in Ezekiel, kinds of games indulged in are not mentioned, but one may safely fill in the canvas with frolicsome dances, racing, a primitive and quite innocent form of dice (see E. Sellin, 'Tell Tannim,' DB, vol. i. 109), and dimunutive terra-cotta figures of horticultural dogs, and other animals (see H. J. Van Lennep, Bible Lands, London, 1875, p. 578 f.). It is also possible that there was a reference to chariots displaying itself in children's games in Fr 20:31 ('even in his doings does a child make himself known, whether his work be pure, or whether it be right'). Another interesting though very vague reference to the diversions of young people is that contained in Job 40:12 (EV 412): 'Will thou play with him (i.e. Leviathan) as with a bird or wilt thou bind him for (unto) thy maidens?' 2 The vagueness of these two forms of amusement is in no way diminished by a reference to Ps 154:5, and Ps 139:4 ('those that had their pastime with the fowls of the air').

Instrumental music would naturally accompany any dances. Vocal music (of course, instrumental also) is, as may be expected, mostly referred to in the OT in connexion with religious services; but there are also a few passages relating to purposes of amusement, so particularly the 'men singers and women singers' spoken of in 2 S 19:19 (EV 19:19) and Ec 9:9.

As for amusement by means of dramatic performances, it is difficult to say to what extent—if at all—the ancient Hebrews engaged in it; but it is certain that their imaginative skill was lyrical rather than the dramatic. Not, indeed, the Song of Songs and the Book of Job are to be regarded as compositions of a more or less dramatic character, these great literary works would themselves justify the proposition just indicated; for it is in their lyrical elements that one particularly notices how their greatness consists rather than in elaborate dramatic representation.

The proposing and solving of riddles (נַשָּׁה, pl. נַשָּׁוֹת) is an intellectual pastime found in all ancient nations—e.g. 14th century B.C., (Samson's riddle). The riddles proposed to Solomon by the Queen of Sheba (1 K 10:8) are not specified, and in later Jewish writings may possibly embody some early amplifications. Akin to riddles proper is a certain kind of middilim (trifles), as exemplified in Ec 7:22. It has also been supposed that riddles lay originally at the base of Fr 30:24.

2. In the Talmudical period.—As the ancient Hebrews do not appear to have been addicted to games of chance, one may assume that such games were adopted by them from their neighbours during the Greek and Roman period, and in the countries in which they resided. In agreement with this supposition is the fact that ethical considerations in relation to games are first met with in Talmudical times. The Rabbis used to make a distinction between different places (Rosh haShanah, i. 8; Sanh. iii. 3) that dice-players and participants in pigeon-racing are disqualified to act as witnesses in a court of justice. The principles underlying the enactment is that the winner is, in the Rabbinc sense of the term, guilty of robbery, and that, therefore, the members of particular trades are prohibited from engaging in a criminal act. The general designation Ḥamor in all its varieties is אֵשֶׁת (asher). In modern works נָשָׁה (nashah, nashah) is often spoken of as another game, and in the Biblical text, though condemned, but it is in reality merely the principal variety of Ḥamor, other varieties named in Sanh. 25b being nut-shells and pieces of orange peel, each of these being a separate component of the game. The participants in pigeon-racing are called וַתַּנְעִית (benea), and it is explained in the same passage of Sanh. that racing on a similar principle carried on with וַתַּנְעִית (domesticated quadrupeds, wild quadrupeds, and any kind of bird) involves the same disabilities on its participants. The introduction of Greek athletic games into Jerusalem about 170 B.C. is recorded in 1 Mac 14:1 and 2 Mac 4:20. A place of exercise (γυμναστήριον) was built 'according to the custom of the gentiles' close to the Temple, where men and boys forthwith with ardently engaged in wrestling, boxing, archery, swimming, and other exercises, and such was, according to the account given in 2 Mac., the height of Greek fashions, and increase of heathenish manners, . . . that the priests had no courage to serve any more at the altar, but hastened to be partakers of the unlawful allowance in the place of exercise.'

The restoration of a conservative type of Judaism by the Hasmoneans naturally resulted in the abolition of these games and teats of strength, which were so revolting to the purer Hebrew spirit, partly on account of their close connexion with foreign cults, and partly because most of them were practised in puræ naturæ. But

1. In the Second Zechariah on Est 12 only three such riddles are recorded, but nineteen are given in a midrash from Talmud published in L. P. L. (1860) 364 ff.

2. The primitive kind of dice found at Tel Tell (above) was probably of a very innocent infantile kind. The spreading of sacrificial tables to God and Mene (dainties of luck and destiny), referred to in Is 14:10, not mentioned, be taken as an indication that the desire to seek fortune by methods of chance rather than by hard exercise; but it should be noted that the Purim and the two Hebrews of the Bible and of view, condemn the worship in question, besides, may have come in late in post-critical times (see, further, Forseth [Biblical and Christian]).
about a hundred years later the same un-Hebrew practices, under a different form, were introduced by Herod the Great. The pre-Hamansian high priestly gift of enjoying gymnastics and bear shows, and, similarly, Herod established circuses and theaters in order to ingratiate himself with Augustus. Both the theater at Jerusalem and the 'very famous' Theatrum, comprising both the circus and the Water Feast at Jerusalem, engaged in a grotesque dance with eight lighted torches in his hands (Bar. Sus. 53); cf. art. Fasting (in-Heb. and Jewish), vol. II, p. 2604. It states: Josephus (Ant. XV. 8. 1; see also ix. 6, and XVL VI. 1), 'were opposed to the Jewish customs; for we have nothing like the same games as fit to be used and exhibited by us; yet did he celebrate these games every five years, in the most solemn and splendid manner.' The general Talmudic attitude towards these innovations may be described as an intensification of the opinion expressed by Josephus. In Jerus. Aboda zara, 40a (ed. Krakau, 1869), the view is taken not without a certain amount of sarcasm that a circus is equivalent to an act of murder; in the Bab. recension of the same tractate (186) the close connexion of theaters and circuses with idolatrous worship is emphasized; and in Jerus. Berathoth, 75, col. 2 (ed. Krakau, 1869), a thanksgiving is offered by a pious Rabbi for having had his lot cast in the house of learning and the house of justice, 'and not in the houses of idlers andcircuses. It must not be supposed, however, that strict Hebraism laid all athletic exercises indiscriminately under a ban. The spirit fostered and cultivated by Talmudic Judaism, regarded, better than anything else, as trivial in comparison with the study of the Torah; but the Jews were at the same time sensitive to the danger of an obligatory amount of amusement and recreation—so long as the un-Hebrew and heathen element remained excluded. In his Com. on Zoar 19 (mentioned in § 1), Jerome relates how, when Napoleon was in the city, he saw 'large heavy stones which Jewish boys and youths handled and held aloft in the air to train their muscular strength.' In Bab. Nediva, 16a, a Roman Rabbi is quoted who said, 'great is our glory, greater than that of three, i.e., than the young legs are better than two old ones with a staff in addition.' The Talmudic elaboration of the riddles proposed to the Queen of Sheba has been referred to in § 1.

3. In post-Talmudic times.—Strict Rabbinism from the 5th cent. onwards down to the present day has continued to determine what was fitting and proper; but other amusements from a severely ethical point of view, treating with indifference or benevolent tolerance actions amusements and physical exercises of a harmless nature, but unhappily constantly indulged in, as gambling as well as sports and amusements involving cruelty, or likely to excite the passions.

4. Dances continued to exercise its baneful attractions, and in addition the Jews adopted from their Gentile neighbours such games of chance asOdd and Even' and 'Back or Edge,' besides lotteries and various kinds of gambling, and other amusements from a severely ethical point of view, treating with indifference or benevolent tolerance actions amusements and physical exercises of a harmless nature, but unhappily constantly indulged in, as gambling as well as sports and amusements involving cruelty, or likely to excite the passions.

1 Reference to a milder view are found, e.g., in Bab. Amid. 30a, Genesis Rabbah 12, Bava Batra, 13a, as 'amidah;' 'amidah,' 'amen.'

4 On the general reference is to n'ti n'si (Hebrew, 'writing, including marriage and other laws.')

5 This thanksgiving is still printed in several editions of the Jewish Prayer-book (at the beginning). In Bab. Sefer ha-Tob, 23b, the name of the pious man is not given. In the first edition (in 'Dersch Schach, in Orient, Jan. 1846, pp. 24-38) shows that the text could not have denoted the idea that in the Talmud, as the Persians, from whom the Jews might have heard the game, did not know it themselves before the close of the 8th century. Levy (in a manuscript, Wurtemburg, 1876-86) proposed the word by 'cheers'; but Jastrow (Dict. of the Targumim, New York, 1895) renders 'cheers.'

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for a given number of years. Conscience tried in this way—and not always successfully—to protect itself against the inroads of overpowering temptation. Such examples of conscience are found written on the fly-leaves of sacred and cherished MSS in the possession of those wishing to free themselves from the ruinous vice, thus adding pathetic to the intensity of their desire for reform.

An example of a vow to be binding in perpetuity is found in the collection of banished MSS in the British Museum Additional MS 17,652. The entry is dated in the year 1530, and the resolution ‘not to play in any manner whatsoever’ was taken in the presence of several witnesses. As an example of a vow limited to a given period of time may be quoted the entry on fol. 394v of the British Museum Additional MS 4796. The entry is dated the 1st of April 1491, and the person concerned pledges himself by an oath on the truth of his words that he shall not engage himself to play, nor to engage himself in any manner to play for him, any game except ‘the game of the board’ (πάντα ἐξαίτης ὁ μαρτυρός, apparently draughts or chess), and to play even that game only occasionally, during the next ten years. No fewer than five persons were witnesses of the oath.

Of the most prominent Jewish victims to the attractions of card-games was Leon de Modena, who was Rabbi at Venice at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century. He must have been well aware of the dangerous tendency within him in his early youth, for he composed an interesting dialogue against gambling entitled πάντα ἐξαίτης or πάντα τοῦ παντελονίου. ‘The Gambling Scholar,’ or ‘Depart from Evil!’ when but fourteen years of age (see, e.g., R. Ginzberg’s English rendering in Translations from the Talmud and Midrashim, London, 1908). He was, however, never able to free himself from the vice. In 1523 he composed a protest against the vice, an order of excommunication was issued against any member of the community who should indulge in card-games, but within six years from the date of the decree, though not necessarily directed against Leon alone, must have been calculated to affect him as the most prominent offender. But he was unable to resist the temptation, and remained in it (see Abrahams, op. cit. p. 293).

Passing on to the game of chess, which, though not very prevalent among the Jews until the 12th century, was, no doubt, known for several centuries before, one may remark that the fondness of so many of them for the game and their frequent skill in playing it may be regarded as an additional testimony both to their sense of strategy and to the high degree of intellectual cleverness to which they were often able to play. The attitude taken up towards the game by Rabbinical authorities varied considerably. Maimonides (†1204) places persons who play chess for money in the same category as dice-players and participants in pigeon-racing (Com. on the Mishna Sanah, iii. 3), thus declaring them unfit to give evidence before a court of justice. Isaac Lampronti’s piri, iii. 54a, col. 1, we learn that in the year 1775 three Rabbis of Cremona decreed, in consequence of a plague, that neither men nor women, and not even young persons, from the age of ten upwards, living in that city should for a given time play any game except chess, provided that the latter was not played for money.

In 1729 (beginning of ch. 42) of Eliahu Kohen of Smyrna (†1729), on the other hand, chess is disapproved of absolutely on the ground that it is a waste of time, and that the mental energy spent on it should be reserved for sacred study. The preponderant view was, however, in favour of the game as an intellectual pastime, and it was, as a matter of fact, often played without companionship even on the Sabbath, when, in honour of the day, chessmen made of silver were used (see Abrahams, op. cit. p. 296).

The Jews have also produced a number of interesting works on chess, the three most important compositions in Hebrew being DuRo, or Rhymes on the game, attributed to Eliahu ben Rabbi Isaac of Erez, a poem by Benschoter ben Yakya (14th or 15th cent.), and a work entitled 32 32. ‘Delights of the King,’ which Steinhauser is inclined to attribute to Leon de Modena, the talented Rabbi already referred to in this part of the article.

An adequate idea of Jewish interest in chess is very easily obtained, as anyone having any spare time may be obtained from parts of the article ‘Chess’ in JEB; see particularly the page giving portraits of six eminent Jewish Chess Masters, and the list of tournaments ranging from 1831 to 1905. It may in addition be mentioned that it was through chess that M. Mendelssohn gained the friendship of Lessing. Another interesting, though legendary, point to note is that in Das Leben Nicolaus von Bach zu Rostock (Frankfurt a. M., 1753; see also, e.g., the English presentation of it by G. H. Handley, Rambam: The Legend of the Life of Moses ben Maimon, London, 1910) Rabbi Simon recognizes the Pope as his son, in the course of a game of chess, through a particular move which he had taught him in his youth.

The ethical considerations militating against games of chance, and, if played for money, also in a minor degree against chess, were, of course, absent in the case of amusements of an innocent athletic character. We thus find that in the 12th and 19th centuries, special dating was held in Venice in connection with festivals on public grounds (see Toedtli on Rab. Bezahl, 12a, near the bottom of the recto, where children’s games appear to be referred to). In Joseph Caro’s Shulhan Arukh, part Orach Chayim, 255, 306, on the other hand, ball-playing is prohibited on Sabbaths and festivals (the more lenient view of it being at the same time mentioned in a note).

Among other games borrowed by Jewish children from their neighbours, and specially mentioned in the sources, were skittles, blind-man’s buff, and leapfrog (see Depping, Les jeux dans le moyen-âge, Paris, 1884, p. 182).

For some further account of Rabbinical opinion for and against the game, see JEB iv. 30. It is, however, not correct to say that in the Sofer Hasidim (‘Book of the Pious’, 19th-20th cent.) the game is strongly recommended (ib. p. 10, col. 1). It is, indeed, very far from certain that chess is even meant by the ‘piece of wood wherewith one plays’ in the paragraph referred to (§ 400); see Steinhauser, Doktor bei den Juden, p. 87.

1 Steinhauser (p. 78) dates the authorship of the Erza, but the early date of the poem remains unquestioned. English readers may refer to the translation by Nina Davis (now Mrs. Dunlop) in Songs of Rabbi, issued in Philadelphia and London in 1901. In the JEB translation, the poet is identified by his full name with the addition of remarks on certain special moves’ indicated in this early composition.

2 For a letter list of works, see Steinhauser, op. cit., for modern Jewish publications on the game, see JEB iv. 30. The three Hebrew works mentioned were printed, with Latin translations, in Hyde’s De ludis originibus, Oxford, 1894.

3 Steinhauser, op. cit. p. 86, holds that the entire story can be traced to the beginning of the 18th cent., though the Rabbi Simon of the work is probably more than a century before the famous Rabbi who lived about the beginning of the 11th century.

4 See Abrahams, op. cit. p. 296.
GANAPATYAS

The drama as a species of literary art, and as calculated to rouse the emotions and inform the intellect, does not concern us here. It can only be referred to as a means of amusement and diversion. The pious Jew of the Middle Ages disliked the theatre quite as much as did his ancestors during the Roman domination of Palestine. He regarded every scene presented there as profligate and indecent. There were, however, two occasions in each year when he allowed himself considerable licence, not indeed by way of attending the theatrical performances of his neighbours, but by means of certain dramatic productions of his own. One of these occasions was the Feast of Purim, which falls in March; and the other was the Day of the Rejoicing of the Law (yoma Ṿeṣā), following the Feast of Booths (Ḥanukkah) in October. Besides the Ahasuerus Play, which, of course, was specially designed for Purim, representations of the sale of Joseph and of the encounter of David with Goliath were particularly popular.

The synagogue may be seen on these anniversaries; moreover, wrote Abba Yosef (p. 367)—for the Synagogue itself was often the scene of these festive amusements—simultaneously included, dancing is introduced; Talismans are affixed, the playing of musical instruments, the burning of incense, and even the expectancy of certain omen. All these by various customs of the real drama in its pantomimic phase, these early fall within the scope of the dramatic re-creations.

Riddles, popular— as we have seen—both in Biblical and Talmudical times, continued to be cultivated, and even the Jewish intellect having always loved to seek occasional relief from the severer tasks before it in the quibbles, quips, and cranks which are part and parcel of the making of riddles.

As prominent authors who seem to have taken a delight in composing riddles may be mentioned Moses the Ezra (1100-1125 cent.); Abba Yosef (Ezra), already referred to; Yehuda ha-Levi (1120); and Itsah and Natan of Rome (14th cent.).

Special mention should be made of a series of enigmas on the numbers 1 to 13 at the end of the Passover-night domestic ritual (beginning: 'One who knows not? One I know: One is our God in heaven and earth,' and ending: 'Thirteen who knowest? Thirteen I know: thirteen are the attributes of Deity' (i.e. the thirteen attributes of mercy or kindness in Ez 34:6). Special mention should also be made of the trick of gematria (נָאִיָּה), consisting in the manipulation of words in accordance with the numerical values of their letters. This kind of arithmetical amusement (for it can, in many instances, hardly be called by any other name) is common both in Talmudical and in post-Talmudical times. As an example, given the counting up of the full number of Haman's children by adding together the values of the letters in 364 (=206) in Estr 7:12 (נָאִיָּה, the multitude of his children). There is also a possibility of gematria having been employed in Biblical times as well (see zav, zav, zav, 1898, p. 132, where the number of sayings contained in Estr 19-24 is shown to be 375, i.e., numerically equal to ṣaw (Solomon) occurring in 10; and the 320 sayings comprised in chs. 25-29 are similarly believed to be indicated in ym (Hezkeliah) named in 26). LITERATURE. - Most of the sources used for this article (including parts of the OT and the Apocalypse, Talmud, Midrash, Josephus, etc.) and other works in different languages have been already mentioned.

1 One of the best known riddles of Abba Yosef is that on the grammatical use of the letters הֶוֶם.

2 See the article above referred to; also Hopkins, Religions of India, London, 1869, p. 6. A common name given to Ganapati is Viraghavan, 'Lord of obstacles.'

3 For details on this, see Ward, Pleas, etc., i. 99. The same author (1886) remarks that no Bengali who adopt Ganapati as a guardian deity is called 'Ganapatya.'
so-called 'left-hand' worship, considering Devi as the śakti, or energetic power, of Gāṇeṣa, not of Siva. The temple section, the Haṃmā-bāṣa, abandoned all obligatory ritual, distinction of caste, and the marriage tie. Promiscuous intercourse of the sexes was to them the highest sort of worship, the marrying herself of Gāṇeṣa with Haṃmā, i.e. Gāṇeṣa, and the female with her śakti. The name of the deity worshipped by this sect—Uchchhiṣṭa-Gaṇapati, 'left-footed or orta-Gaṇeṣa'—has been variously interpreted. The Sākasṭra-vijaya (xvii) states that he is so called because his followers follow the foul left-footed path; but, according to Hebrard (Pres. Acad. Sci. Éc., i. 212), the origin of the name is the fact that the worshipper pronounces his prayers with his mouth full of victuals, apparently in pursuance of the theory of abrogation of all secular ritual. The same authority states that the distinguishing sectarian mark of the Gaṇapatyas was a circle of red minium on the forehead.

The principal scriptures of these Gaṇapatyas were the Gaṇeṣa-Khandi of the Brahma-vaiṣṇava Purāṇa, and the Gaṇeṣa Purāṇa (one of the Main or Śaiva-dharmas). For an account of the former, see Wilson, Essays on Sanskrit Literature, London, 1864, i. 103. It narrates the birth and actions of Gaṇeṣa in a series of legends. It is no less than a subsequent section of the Brahma-vaiṣṇava Purāṇa dealing with Krṣṇa's life and adventures, his spouse, Rādhā, is represented as adoring Gaṇeṣa (Wilson, i. 117). For the Gaṇeṣa Purāṇa, see the analysis given by Stevenson in J.B.A.S., 1846, p. 319 ff. Besides containing, like the Gaṇeṣa-Khandi, a series of legends, it describes the ways of worshipping the god, in one, he is identified with the Supreme Spirit, Paramātma, and is to be worshipped by mystical contemplation alone. In the other, an image of the god is created and has offerings made it, on the occasion of the annual festival in his honour. Siva himself is represented as waiting on him with the most ardent devotion for ten years, and as thereby winning from him the boon of victory over the demon Tripūrāra. Monier Williams (Indians Wisdom, London, 1875, p. 130) also mentions a Gaṇeṣa-Ghūţa, which is identical in substance with the Bhaṇagad-Ghūţa (gs.), the name of Gaṇeṣa being substituted for that of Krṣṇa. In both the Gaṇeṣa Purāṇa and the Gaṇeṣa-Ghūţa, the doctrine to be noted is that Gaṇeṣa is identified with the Supreme Deity, and is superior even to Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva.

The worship of Gaṇeṣa, though not at the present day the cult of a particular sect, is, as we have seen, specially popular in Southern India. He seems to have been originally a Dravidian sun-god adopted into the Hindu pantheon. A well-known verse, attributed by tradition to the sage Mann, but not occurring in the lawbook associated with his name, says that Šambhu (i.e. Śiva) is the god of Brahman, Madhava (Viṣṇu) of warriors, Brahmā of the mercantile classes, and Gaṇeṣa of the Sūdras, or aboriginal population, and it is probably more than a coincidence that the term, according to Hindu mythology, Gaṇeṣa rides, is a totem of at least one Dravidian tribe, the Orama. We meet relics of the old cult still in

Southern India. The Travancore hōmas have been already mentioned, but much more striking is the celebrated case, the Haṃmā-bāṣa section, the Haṃmā-bāṣa of Gaṇeṣa in the village of Chinchăvād, near Poona in the Bombay Presidency. The story runs that some three hundred years ago a pious youth named Morobā was an identically handsome young man. As a reward the god came to him in a dream, and promised to live in him and his descendants for seven generations. Thenceforward the family was believed to possess miracles powers, and the temple founded by Morobā became richly endowed, even the Emperor Aurangzib giving the family a hereditary grant of eight villages. The representative of the seventh generation died childless in 1810, and a distant relative of the deceased was set up in his place by the priesthood in order to preserve the valuable grants to the temple. The present representative, although not a descendant of Morobā, is still venerated as a deity.1

LITERATURE.—The scriptures of the ancient sect have been noticed above. The only account in English of their tenets is to be found in H. T. Colebrooke's Miscellaneous Essays, London, 1837, i. 318. The Sākasṭra-vijaya mentioned above gives an analysis of their contents on p. 540 of its Catalogue Codicum Sanscritorum, Oxford, 1864.

For the modern worship of Gaṇeṣa and the so-called Gaṇapatyas of the present day, see H. W. Wilson, Religious Sects and Denominations of the Hindus, London, 1834, p. 243; Poussa Gazetteer, 1853, i. 545; Poussa Gazetteer, 1856, i. 465; and Poussa Gazetteer, 1860, i. 463. It will be observed that, with the exception of the first, all these refer to Southern India. For Northern India, the worship of Gaṇeṣa is so much mixed up with the worship of Śiva that separate accounts have been recorded concerning his cult. Cf., however, H. A. Sheringham, Black and Caste, Calcutta, 1879-81, i. 19, 19, 283. W. Ward, Views of the Hindu Literature, Religion, and Religious Customs of the Hindoos, London, 1817, i. 60 ff., may also be consulted.

There are many accounts of the human sacrifice at Chinchăvād. The earliest and fullest is that of E. Moor, written in the year 1866, during the lifetime of the seven incarnations, and published in his Observations on the Ritual of the McMukhas of Chinchăvād, which account will be found in the Poussa Gazetteer, 1866, iii. 153 ff.

The later quotes as authorities the Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, ii. (1830) 92; Murray's Handbook of the Bombay Presidency, 1851, i. 176; G. A. Valentine, Diaries and Travels, 1808-1809, published London, 1808 and 1831, ii. 163; and Maria Graham's Residence in India, Edinburgh, 1813, p. 379.

GANDHĀRA.—The Sanskrit name for the modern District of Poshaawar (British India). It is a vast undulating plain, almost entirely surrounded by a girdle of mountains which is linked in the S.E. by the Indus, and in the W. by the Swat, Kabul, and Hindu Kush ranges, which are of great heights and seclude the cultivation. The metals and the minerals are abundant, as coal, iron, copper, lead, and salt. The local tribe of the country, the Sānas, are a race of cotton-farmers, and live in tents. The soil is poor, but the climate is healthy. The chief seats are Rostamabad, Nandī, and the older Chot Alwar. The district is watered by the Rājgour, the Swāt, and the Indus. The native population is of two denominations, the Hindus and the Mohammedans.

1 Aurangzib Gazetteer, 1854, p. 543.
period, but had been allowed to fall into disuse by the Pathána. The greater part of the land, indeed, belongs at the present moment to the Yânial, Morá and Daurás of the Pathána Khakhái tribe, which is supposed to have spread over the districts in the 16th century. In spite of the persistence, in the village basars, of the ceremonial and ritualistic forms, and the recent immigration of Hindús (as the Pathánas call the natives of India proper), more than half of the 600,000 inhabitants are of Afghan race, and 80 per cent speak Pathána (Afghan) in the native tongue of Páníni, the great authority on Sanskrit grammar.

At all epochs the district has been traversed from W. to E. and from N. to S. by two main roads. The former is the great trade route and the road taken by the invaders of former times. Emerging from the famous Khair Bhai Pass beside Peshawar (Purkapur), it runs east through Pákhtá (Kandahar) and Persia, and finally reached, as Dehákán (Aher), on the India, which was crossed in winter by a ford and in summer by a ferry, and so to the English gateway of the town.

This natural road has been abandoned in modern times, owing to the exceptional facilities offered by the narrow gorge of Aícók (several miles down the river from Und) for the construction of a permanent bridge, either one of boats or arched viaducts; but nothing could be more artificial than the actual route of the Grand Trunk Road and the railway, all composed of broad and dip by the side of the river, and ravines, a triumph for the straight line and a feat of engineering skill. Finally, the new Dír (Bala Kuch), and old Chólit, road—branching off at Achabal, through Mazar and Dargah, reaches the Malakand Pass, while alongside of it a little narrow-gauge railway is now being laid as the monorail—has completely supplanted its old rivulet on the right and on the left. Neverthe less, the country still bears the stamp of Aískhán, the former, the ancient road of India, and the meeting of the ways to and from Upper Asia and the West.

It will readily be understood that the possession of this frontier-country was long disputed by the two races, the Indians having been back the earliest mention of it that we can trace in history, we find that Ghándhára was one of the earliest conquests of Dúntus (231-246 A.D.). According to the chronicles of Alexander, India, at the time of his raid in 323 B.C., the city was held by the king Kúshán, and in the same year it was visited by the Emperor Dúntus, who, in his turn, visited the country. In the time of the Kúshán, the country was divided into two parts, the north and the south, and the latter was called Ghándhára, or modern Ghándhára, being the name of the city, which was then the capital of the country.

In the beginning of the 6th century, by an invasion of the Huns, a Turkish people, the inhabitants of the country were driven out, and the land was left desolate. The government of the country was then given to the Ghándhára, or modern Ghándhára, being the name of the city, which was then the capital of the country.

The Ghándhára is a special feature of the history of Buddhism. If we judge by the terms of his 9th rock-edict, Aísákha still considered it as a country of the two river valleys of the Jánáb and the Bahlóla; if we believe the Sinhalese Chronicle it already was so, even in Aísákha's reign, though the working medium of the Bahlóla Mahâyâna is, by one thing certain is that the doctrine met with excep-

GANGÁ, GANGES

The great river of India, draining the lower Himalayas and the N. and E. slopes of the Vindhyas range. It is held sacred by a larger number of worshippers than any other river in the world.

1. Geography.-Under the name Phâbrâthrah, the river rises in the Tahri State (lat. 30° 52' N.; long. 79° 7' E.) from an ice-bed near Gangôtri (q.v.), 13,800 feet above sea-level. After receiving the Jânávati and the Alaknândâ (q.v.), it enters the Plains, passing Hardâwar (q.v.); and lower down its course, with the Jumna which joins it at Allahâbâd (q.v.), it encloses the fertile tract known as Pâm or Antârdvâ, 'the region between the two rivers.' In the upper tributaries are the Rângândâ, Jumna, Tons, Gumti, and Gogra. When it reaches the frontier of Bengal, it is joined by the Gândhâra and near Patna (the Pâlînagita of the ancient Hindus, the Pâlînagita of the British) by the Sôn; lower down by the Gândhâra; and, when it approaches the Bay of Bengal, by the greatest of the

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GANDHARVA.—SEE BRAHMANISM, VEDA RELIGION.

GANGÁ, GANGES (Skr. Gangá, possibly from r. gán, 'to go'). The great river of India, draining the lower Himalayas and the N. and E. slopes of the Vindhyas range. It is held sacred by a larger number of worshippers than any other river in the world.

1. Geography.—Under the name Bhágri, the river rises in the Tahri State (lat. 30° 52' N.; long. 79° 7' E.) from an ice-bed near Gangôtri (q.v.), 13,800 feet above sea-level. After receiving the Jânávati and the Alaknândâ (q.v.), it enters the Plains, passing Hardâwar (q.v.); and lower down its course, with the Jumna which joins it at Allahâbâd (q.v.), it encloses the fertile tract known as Pâm or Antârdvâ, 'the region between the two rivers.' In the upper tributaries are the Rângândâ, Jumna, Tons, Gumti, and Gogra. When it reaches the frontier of Bengal, it is joined by the Gândhâra and near Patna (the Pâlînagita of the ancient Hindus, the Pâlînagita of the British) by the Sôn; lower down by the Gândhâra; and, when it approaches the Bay of Bengal, by the greatest of the

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affluents, the Brahmaputra. The total length of its course is 1557 miles. From a religious point of view, the most important cities and towns situated on its banks are Haridwar, Rameswar, Allahabad, Benares, Patna, Sonpur (qq.e.v.); with Sagar Island (q.e.v.) at the mouth of the Hooghly.

2. Early allusions and legends. — The sanctity of the river does not date from the earliest Vedic period. According to the oldest traditions, the Hindus (then settled in the E. Punjab) regarded with special reverence the Sindhu or Indus, and the Saraswati, which at the present day, partially lost in the Râjputana desert, joins the Ganges within the Pâlî or State. The Ganges is mentioned once or twice in the Rigveda; in one place (v. 45, 31) its high banks form the subject of a simple; but in the hymn to the rivers (x. 75, 5) it is invoked with the Yamuna (Jumna), Sarasvati, Sindudi (Shandy), Parvati (Râvi), Ambika (Chinâb), with Arjyktâ (Bîla) (J. Muir, Original Sin, Texts, pt II., London, 1886, p. 338 f. A. A. Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, Strasburg, 1887, p. 92 f.). When the Hindoos moved eastward along the Ganges valley, their Holy Land was fixed between the Ganges and the Jumna at the point of Buchârastra, i.e., between Bhagirathi, i. 2, 10 (SBE xiv. 1882) 47, 147). In the Mahabharata the sanctity of the river and its holy places is fully established.

In the genealogy of the gods (II. 35, 90). He who bathes in Ganges purifies seven descendents. As long as the bones of a man lie on a river's bank, touch the man is meritorious in heaven. No place of pilgrimages is better than Ganges (II. 96, 46). W. E. Hopkins, The Religions of India, London, 1876, p. 372 f. J. H. P. Bennett, Buddha (q.e.v.), p. 148 f. Buddha writes naturally pay little attention to the river, though its cult must have prevailed in their time. Buddha uses the pilgrim's attempt to reach its source as an emblem of the unreality of earthly things, and the obstructions in its channel represent the many miseries experienced in the course of the golden year (Cf. v. 10, 179; H. C. Warren, Buddhism in Translations, Camb., Mass., 1886, pp. 153 f., 440). Anchorites live on its banks (Bhârata, I. 1866) 156, ii. (1897) 296). The 'heat of the Ganges' (Gâya) is mentioned, and the river is spoken of as 'Mother of rivers', known among men as Bhâgirathî (ib. iv. 1901) 263, v. (1905) 51, 54). The earliest knowledge of the river gained by the people of the West was due to Megasthenes (Arrian, Indica, iv.), who describes the river as greater than the Indus and possessing seventeen tributaries, which Phryn (ib. vi. 22, 1. 3) raises to nineteen. Strabo (xv. 35) calls the river the Ganges (Dârâm) the greatest in the three continents, next to it being the Indus, Danube, Nile; he states that the Indians worship Zeus Ombricius, the 'rainy' (Indra), the river Ganges, and local deities (see J. W. McOrindle, Ancient India as described in Classical Literature, London, 1901, p. 77, Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian, Bombay, 1877, p. 186 f.; W. Smith, Dict. Greek and Roman Geog., London, 1856, l, 972 f.).

Many legends naturally gathered round the sacred river. In the Ramayâna (i. 42) the royal saint Bhâgîratha, descendant of Sagaras, performs austerities to induce Ganges to descend from heaven and purify the ashes of the sons of Sagaras, who had been destroyed by the offended sage Kapila, and thus to elevate them to Paradise. On his failure, Brahm advices him to propitiate Siva, who satisfies the sages and leads them to another heaven. Gângâ and Siva. Accordingly Siva ascends the Himalaya and calls upon the goddess to come down. In her turn she goes to the hall of her father, Pâtiâla, the nether world. But Siva compels her to circle for ages in the labyrinth of his matted locks, perhaps the icicles at the river source. Hence he is named Gangadhura, Ganges-supporter. At last, being again propitiated by Bhagiratha, Siva allows her to flow to the sea and purify the ashes of Sagaras's sons (J. Muir, c. 173, p. 506; E. Oscar, Râma, Allahabad, Benares, 1895, p. 51 f.). Later bars endeavored to associate the heroines of the Mahabharata with the earlier nature-gods, describing, for instance, in the Bhagavata Purâna the origin of Siva from the sea. The story is told by Pitârach (Isha vartadar, ed. Paris, 1824, p. 1191 f.), in which the name of the river is explained by the tale that the nymph Kâlâra bore Indus a son named Gangadher, who committed incest with his mother, and in remorse threw himself into the river Chaliara, which was called after his name (see G. Cunningham, Notices and Antiquities of Bharatavarsha or India, Madras, 1839, p. 126 f.; for other legends in the Purânas, see E. T. Atkinson, Himmâlaya Gauâtâsa, Allahabad, 1888-94, ii. 296 f.).

3. Cult-titles, temples, images. — (a) The cult-titles of Gaṅgā are numerous. She is called Jñânavati, because she was drunk up by the offended sage, Jñâna; Yârâvati, excellent river; Dvârâha, 'flowing from heaven'; Harâkshâkha, 'crest of Sîva'; Mandakini, 'gently flowing'; Bhâgirathî, 'of the Bhagirathî', the river; Bhuris, Benâra, 'mother'; Târâ, 'triple-flowing'; i.e. in heaven, earth, and hell, under the respective titles of Mandakini, Bhâgirathî or Gangâ, and Bhogavati (see J. Dowson, Classical Dict., London, 1878, p. 21; J. S. Robson, Encycl. Ind. cult., Gangâ; B. Ziegenbalg, Genealogy of the S. Ind. Gods, Eng. tr., Madras, 1869, p. 67; The primitive, animistic spirit of the river is now completely anthropomorphized. — (b) Temples dedicated to Gangâ are found in many places, especially at the sacred places along the river-bank, of which one of the most important is that at Hardwar (q.e.v.). But in many places she is identified with Parâati, or one of the other forms of the Mother-goddess, like Amâsāpanâ, goddess of food at Benares; and many of the talking and speaking tribes have been adopted as her manifestations. Thus Tuîma, the river-goddess of the Tîpâra of E. Bengal, who is worshipped in AgraKhânya (Nov.-Dec.), by stretching from the nearest bathing-place to her shrine a thread which no one may cross, is now identified with Gangâ (R. A. Gail, Census Rep. Bengal, Calcutta, 1901, i. 186 f.). — (c) Her images appear in many of the W. cave-temples (Fergusson-Hutton, Cave Temples of India, London, 1890, pp. 335, 335, 455, 460, 470), and her image guard the entrances of Gupta temples, that is to say, they are in procession of admission to the orthodox pantheon (V. A. Smith, Hist. of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, Oxford, 1911, p. 26); and see a photograph of her image from Besnagar in Bhopal, ib. 160, fig. 119; for a photograph of the Hardwar image, FP, 1884, l. 35. In E. India she is represented as a siren, half-woman and half-fish, swimming in water and folding her hands as if in prayer; on her head she wears a crown, and on her forehead the Sâra mark in holy letters; she is covered with jewellry (Ziegenbalg, 56). In Bengal she is represented by a white woman, crowned, sitting on the sea-monster makara (a kind of crocodile), having in her right hand a water-ill, in her left a lute (W. Ward, The Hindoos, London, 1815, ii. 306). At the great temple of Râmâyâna near Benares, the three goddesses, Gângâ, Jñânavati, and Sûrya, have each a niche of the hand in another temple at the same place Gangâ is represented by a richly-dressed image in white marble, seated on a crocodile, with a conch in one hand and a lotus in the other, one hanging down, the second uplifted, the third grasping a lotus flower, the fourth holding a brass vessel (M. A. Sharng, The Sacred City of the Hindoos, London, 1885, pp. 170, 174).
4. The place of the Ganges in popular worship. — Gangai Kondapur is a sacred place where the Ganges is worshipping by virtue of the业数 connection with the Ganges, and bathing in it is considered as equal to bathing in the Ganges itself. The Ganges has been worshipped in this town by the name of Gangai Kondapur, and it is believed that the Ganges has been established in this place by the God Ganges, who has given his consent to the town being called Gangai Kondapur.

The river plays an important part in the domestic rites of the Hindus. If the river is pure, it is considered as sacred, and the deities are prayed to in the banks of the river. If the river is impure, the deities are not prayed to, and it is considered as an indication of the city's impurity. The Ganges is worshipped as a goddess, and her worship is performed by the people of the city.

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from the well in the temple precincts, which is supposed to have a good and communication with that river; but the name is really a corruption of Gangrai-konda-chola, the Chola king who conquered the lands near the Ganges, a title of Rajaendra Chola I. [A.D. 1064-1113].—A town in the Trichinopoly District of the Madras Presidency, lat. 11° 12' N., long. 79° 28' E., containing one of the most magnificent temples in S. India. It has been fully described by B. R. Brannfield, who regards it as 'the largest and best specimen of S. Indian temple proper'; roughly speaking, it is a facsimile of the temple at Tanjore (q.v.); and is possibly its prototype, but perhaps more probably a copy of the latter. But, as it has never been restored, and was built of very hard stone, it retains more of its pristine design and purity which are wanting at Tanjore. It consists of a sanctuary-steeple 100 ft. square, the dimensions of that of Jaganath (q.v.) at Puri and that of Tanjore being 90 and 82 ft. respectively. Its height is 174 ft. It stands on a terrace decorated with a rail-ornament below, the uproot-ports being engraved with griffins, and on every third or fourth post an elaborately scroll-enveloped animal or figure. The double story below the pyramid and immediately above the terrace is vertical, with five compartments, or terraces, in each face of the temple, separated by four deep recesses, each containing a fine sculptural decoration. The figures are chiefly Sativate, but important Vedic representations are also found; and the plain intervals of the flat wall are covered with what pretend to be historical scenes of yore (ancient Hindu saints), kings, worshippers, and attendants celestial as well as terrestrial. The temple, in low relief. Above the double story rises the pyramidal steeple in seven storeys to the neck, which is spacious, and supports, as at Tanjore, four doors on each side. The whole building is of stone, and the domed top is carved to represent a copper tile or leaf-pattern covering, like that of the five halls (asada) at Chidambaram (q.v.). The only ornaments of the pyramidal tower are the square and oblong cocks of 'car' (rath) or 'spire-roofed' pattern, with elaborate fan-shaped windows, like spread peacock's tails. East of the great tower is the high court, a three-storied portico or transept, covering the cross-aisle between the N. and S. entrances to the temple, and is built to match the vimana, or pyramid-tower. To the E. is the outer court, planned on the most magnificent style, but never completed. The courtyard is 610 ft. E. and W., by 360 ft. N. and S., with a fine entrance-tower (gopura) on the E., not half the height of the temple itself. 'The architecture,' says Brannfield, 'struck me as grand, simple, and pure, with many traces of the wooden construction of which it is, in many respects, a copy.' The town was probably once an important city, one of the principal seats of the Chola kings. Ferguson fixes the date of the Tanjore temple in the beginning of the 14th cent., which is approximately the date of this edifice.

**GANGOTRI** (probably Gaṅgā-vatāra-puri, 'the sacred manifestation of the Ganges').—A temple and place of Hindu pilgrimage, situated in the Thirt District of Native Garwhal; lat. 31° N. long. 78° 57' E. At a short distance below the temple the Kedār Gaṅgā river meets the Bhāgārāth at a place called Gaṅgārāth (the pool of the goddess Gaṅgā), where pilgrims wash away their sins in the holy river. There is a small temple dedicated to Gaṅgā, the goddess of the Ganges, which was built by a Guṇkhā officer in the 18th cent.; and another of Bhairāv, one of the non-Aryan gods integrated into the Hindu pantheon, who, like all gods on their promotion, regarded as the warden (destroyāda) of the greater gods who have settled in the midst of the waters of the sacred river is called Gomukhā, 'the cow's mouth,' a glacier cavern from which the head waters of the river issue as the ice and snow melt. But Gangotri itself is regarded as the source of the river, and few pilgrims venture higher up its course, though it is a popular error to suppose that the route is impracticable.


**GAONISM.**—See RABINISM.

**GARHUKTESAR** (Skr. Gada-mukttvar, 'fort of the Lord of liberation,' a title of Siva).—A celebrated centre of pilgrimage, situated in the Meerut District of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, lat. 29° 47' N., long. 78° 6' E., a town of considerable antiquity, and popularly supposed to have been a ward of the capital, Hastinapur (q.v.). But the place now pointed out as the site of Hastinapur is 25 miles distant. The chief temple, like the place itself, is named after Mukttvar Mahadeva, and is dedicated to Siva. The whole building is of stone, and the domed top is carved to represent a copper tile or leaf-pattern covering, like that of the five halls (asada) at Chidambaram (q.v.). The only ornaments of the pyramidal tower are the square and oblong cocks of 'car' (rath) or 'spire-roofed' pattern, with elaborate fan-shaped windows, like spread peacock's tails. East of the great tower is the high court, a three-storied portico or transept, covering the cross-aisle between the N. and S. entrances to the temple, and is built to match the vimana, or pyramid-tower. To the E. is the outer court, planned on the most magnificent style, but never completed. The courtyard is 610 ft. E. and W., by 360 ft. N. and S., with a fine entrance-tower (gopura) on the E., not half the height of the temple itself. 'The architecture,' says Brannfield, 'struck me as grand, simple, and pure, with many traces of the wooden construction of which it is, in many respects, a copy.' The town was probably once an important city, one of the principal seats of the Chola kings. Ferguson fixes the date of the Tanjore temple in the beginning of the 14th cent., which is approximately the date of this edifice.


**GARLAND.**—See CROWN.

**GATE.**—See DOOR.

**GĀTHĀS.**—See AVESKA.

**GAUR** (Skr. Gauḍa, 'prepared from sugar or molasses,' the name being possibly derived from the characteristic product of that region). A ruined city, the site of the ancient capital of Bengal; lat. 24° 4' N., long. 88° 8' E. The ruins, known also by the name Lekhmati, or Lekha-matavi, are situated 8 miles E. of Patna, or 'English Bazaar,' the chief town of the Maldah District of Bengal, and on the E. bank of the Bhāgārāth, a stream which joins the Ganges below Gaur.

The city was not in existence in the time of Ptolemy; but he indicates the site (M. Crindle, *Ancient India*, 1885, p. 215). The Hindu history of the city is lost, save that it was the metropolis of the Hindu kings of Bengal, and all that is known is that the name
GAYA

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was more strictly applied to the surrounding region than to the city itself. In A.D. 1194, or in 1196—
the latter the date fixed by Blochmann (J.A.S.B. xlix. 1880) for the conquest of Mahommedans,
and it was under them that it attained its magni-
ficence. The Portuguese historian, Faria y Sousa,
states that it contained 1,990,000 inhabitants, and
that its streets were so crowded that at religious festivals and processions numbers of people were trodden to death. It is now a scene of ruin, the destruction of the city being largely due to vandalism.

There is not a village, scarce a house in the district of Mitha, or in the surrounding country, that does not bear evidence of having been partially constructed from its ruins (Havenshaw, p. 3).
The original walled city was probably about 10 miles long by 4 miles broad; but the extensines extended to 90 by 3 or 4 miles, and it was surrounded by immense embankments faced with masonry. At present, the whole country within the fortifications and for many miles round is wild, studded with numerous reservoirs, generally overgrown with grass and reeds, and abounding in alligators.

The holy religious buildings now standing complete, or in a partially ruined condition, are: (1) the pretty tomb of the saint Mahdudin Akhtir Sarrata, who died in 1518, (2) an elegant mosque of embossed brick, known as Jan Jan Miyās, after a lady builder of that name, and dated A.D. 1534; (3) Ædulla=Dapur Châl, the only place connected with Hindooiu now used for the cremation of the dead; (4) Bârdhvâra (‘twelve-gated’), or Great Golden Mosque, perhaps the finest monument of Gaur, 100 feet long, 80 wide, and 30 high; it is placed on either side of the corridor, and one at each end (whence its name), built by Husain Shâh, and completed by his son, Nasrat Shâh, apparently in A.D. 1629; (5) Qudam-
bmâ Samadân, which contains a stone bearing the impress of the foot of the Prophet, said to have been brought from Medina by Husain Shâh, the benevolent of this city having ensured the safety of the building, which is dated A.D. 1580; (6) the fine minâr, or pillar, 80 feet high, which Ferguson (Hist. of Indiens and Easterns Archts., p. 596) dates between the years 1302-1315; he considers it to be a jaya-
stambha, or ‘pillar of victory’; but, according to Havenshaw, it was erected as a place to call the faithful to prayer, and was probably built about A.D. 1487-9; (7) Taqistâpa, or ‘the weaver’s mosque,’ dated about 1476; (8) the Lattan, or painted mosque, beautifully decorated with encaustic tiles of vivid colours, of which Frankelin (see Arch. Surv. Eup., 1902-03, p. 51 ff.) says: ‘I have not myself met with anything superior to it for elegance of style, lightness of construction, or tasteful decoration in any part of Upper Hindustan’; it is supposed to have been built by Ærâf Shâh, A.D. 1474-81; (9) the small Golden Mosque, better preserved than most of the Gaur ruins, which has been called ‘the gem of the city; oblong in form and roofed with fifteen domes, supported by massive pillars of hornblende stone, of which the whole building is constructed. The inscription is obliterated, but it is known to have been erected in the reign of Husain Shâh (A.D. 1441-59).

The series of inscriptions on the buildings of Gaur are in the Taghra character, and in two of them the penmanship is described by Blochmann as the work of the caliph, 1 A.D. 1069 to 1076, and are most important in fixing the chronology of the rulers of Bengal and as illustrations of the progress of Arabic calligraphy in the early centuries after the Hijra, or flight of the Prophet.

Reproductions of these beautiful works of art are given by Ravenna (p. 66 ff.).

The last king of the Musalmân dynasty of Gaur was Firsh Shâh III. (A.D. 1592-7). It was sacked by the Afghans in 1537. From that time its decay began, and its ruin is said to have been completed by an outbreak of plague about 1575. But this story is discredited by Buchanan Hanon. He states that the city was occupied from time to time by the Musalmân viceroys of Bengal, until the capital was removed to Rajpuțâla (‘Shah Shuja’), brother of Aurangzeb, after 1636, when the place was deserted. On the other hand, Hedges, Governor of the English Factory, who visited the place in 1638, found the chief buildings standing, and describes the ‘Palace, which has been (as appears by yea gates of it yet standing), in my judgment, considerably bigger and more beautiful than the Grand Seignior’s Seraglio at Constantin-
ople, or any other Palace that I have seen in Europe’ (Diary, l. 88).

LITERATURE.—The chief authority, on which this article is mainly based, is J. H. Ravenna, Gaur, its Ruins and In-

W. CROOK.

GAUTAMA.—See BUDDHA.

GAYA.—The name of a south-Gangetic District in the Bihar Province of British India, and also of its chief town. The area of the District is 4712 square miles, with a population (1911) of 10,07,590. It is bounded on the north by the District of Patna, on the east by the Districts of Monghyr and Hazaribagh, on the west by Bhagalpur, and on the south by the plateau of Chota Nagpur. As an administrative area the Gayâ District is of late origin, dating only from the year 1955. Before that it formed part of the Districts of Bihâr, and the whole roughly corresponded to the ancient kingdom known as Magadhâ (q.v.). At the present day the District is composed of two tracts—a northern and a southern—with very distinct characteristies. The northern half of the District, together with the present District of Patna, is still known as Magadhâ, ‘a corruption of Magadha,’ and is well irrigated and fertile. The southern half, which locally bears the name of ‘Râmgarh,’ is imperfectly irrigated and covered with forest. Magah, or Magadha, received its Aryan civilization from the North and West, and was the area from which Buddhism spread over India. Râmgarh has received such civilization as it possesses from the South and South-West. Although the religion has long disappeared, Magah to the present day is a Buddhist country. It is covered with ruins of Buddhist shrines, and Buddhist images are fre-

1 The boundary line runs east and west about two miles south of Gayâ Town, and a mile or two south of both Gaya.
Hindu, modern, half-cultivated, and sparsely populated.

GAYA—It will thus be seen that it is unnecessary to give any detailed account of the history of the District. The history of Magah is merged in that of Magadh, of which the capital cities of Magah, and of which Patna is now the capital, is now Patna District; for further information the reader is referred to the article MAGADHA. No historical events of importance have occurred in Râmâghat.

2. General aspect of the District.—From the Chota Nagpur plateau, which forms the southern boundary of the District, a number of ridges and spur projects into Râmâghat. These here and there attain to an altitude of nearly 1900 feet above sea-level. As one goes northwards from Magah, the country becomes a plain, with a decided slope, averaging four feet to the mile, towards the north.

From this plain there stand out numerous semi-isolated hills and ranges, and, still farther north, separate ridges and wholly isolated rocky peaks crop up at irregular intervals.

The most remarkable of these long, low, outlying ranges is the Gâhâli-Hâli, or Kondh range, which extends from near both Gaya north-eastwards for a distance of forty miles with only one small hill called the Bundark hill to a height of 1417 feet. The other ranges seldom exceed 1000 feet, and few of them rise higher than 600 feet above the plain. The highest hill being the Mahâr Hill (1513 ft.). All the other hills are the Barâh hills, lying partly in the head-quarters and partly in the subdivision of the town. These are the Brahmini Hills, which rise some 600 feet above the town, the Keshod Hill, the Lohâra Hill (579 fl.) in the head-quarters subdivision, and collected in the Nâlakot subdivision.

These hills have been mentioned in some detail, as many of them are intimately connected with the religious history of the country.

Sacred places.—The interest of Gaya District depends entirely on the numerous sacred places that lie within its boundaries, and upon its association with the history of the rise of Buddhism in India, rather than with the greater part of Asia. Every Hindu is expected to visit the town of Gaya at least once in his life, and to make offerings to the spirits of his ancestors, who were all the Gaya, that Gautama became "The Buddha," or "The Enlightened One"; and this little village is now the most holy spot on the earth to something like a hundred and forty millions of people.

4. Gaya Town.—The town of Gaya, a municipality with a population of 49,251 (1911), is divided into two parts, Old Gaya and Bihargan. The latter was laid out in the end of the 19th cent. by Mr. Law, then Collector, and possesses no archaeological interest. The old town is built upon a rocky hill, separated from a neighbouring hill, called Brahmani Hill (Skr. Brahmani), by a narrow defile, through which runs the road to Both Gaya. Brahmani Hill is a pile of blackened rock and boulders rising to a height of about 490 feet. The old town hill is not so high, and has to its north the Murli andRam Silla (372 ft.) hills, the town lying in the plain between. On its east runs the river Phalgu. A great part of Gaya, therefore, lies in a valley, and, owing to the reflection of the sun's heat from the black rocks by which it is encompassed, it is extremely hot and dusty.

The old town of Gaya is often called Brahman Gaya, as being sacred to Brahman, or else in order.


2. So holy is it that there are Tibetan Buddhists who believe that it is never on earth, but is now in heaven.

3. The Chinese pilgrim Hsien T'ang (7th cent. A.D.) noticed these rocky hills of black stone, which translators have turned into a 'sacred valley,' and 'steep dangerous gorge' (Hsien); and 'dark gorges and inaccessible cliffs' (Wallis). The valley is really very beautiful, and the dangers are supposed to be more in the course of the path than in the path itself.


5. See A. D. 204, iv. 142.


7. Given in full by the Pali catena, p. 16. In the Brahmanical literature, it is not the Brahman, but the Sakti, or on which the old town and the Vishnu temple have been built.


Though the hill is higher than the town, it is not the sacred hill of the old town or of the Vishnu temple. The town is situated on the banks of the river Phalgu, and the temple on the hill. The latter is the sacred hill of the old town, and the temple on which the old town and the Vishnu temple have been built.

Gaya is a town sacred to Hinduism. We next find it mentioned in a Buddhist text, the "Asokā-yoga" or "Asokā-vaccha," a paraphrase of a Mahākāvyâ or "Great Poem," in the Rāma-yâna (2205). Gaya is also mentioned as a holy spot remarkable for its sacred fig-tree (okha-yoga-vasa), a pilgrimage, a marvel, and a song [2345, 3260, xiii. 4645]; but there is nothing about any benefit secured to ancestors for further references, see Sorenson, Index to the Names in the Mahâkâvyâ of "Asokâ-yoga," or "Asokâ-vaccha," however, Gaya is said to have chanted a hymn at Gaya, offsets to the effect that a man should have many sons, so that one at least may go to Gaya and rescue him from hell.

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desert; but, when Hsuan T'ang visited it in the 7th cent. A.D., it was inhabited, but with
few inhabitants. There were only about 1000 Brahmans families, descendants of the original
set. These Brahmans were evidently the an-
ccestors of the people who resided there sub-
sequently. It appears, therefore, that Gaya was
originally a Hindu shrine with a sacred fig-tree
that became famous in the time of the Mahabharata.1

Having finished his round, the pilgrim offers pinda
s to the spirits of his ancestors and a final gift to the gopis, be-
fore whom he prostrates himself, to be described
below. Then he touches him on the back, and blesses him with the
word rupaka, or 'fruitful,' assuring him thereby
that his worship has been accepted.

Five shrines visited by pilgrims deserve particular
notice. These are Ram Sila, a hill close to Gaya
Town on the north, Pret Sila (540 ft.), about 6 miles
to the N. W., and three others, less important.
Although a visit to these forms part of the regular
tour of pilgrimage, the priests in charge are not
atheists, but an entirely distinct order, called
dharmakas. These shrines are devoted to Yama
and to evil spirits. An offering at Pret Sila, the
Hill of Ghosts, is enjoined, so that Yama may not
beat and bruise the ghosts of the dead. Similarly,
at Ram Sila, his hell-hounds must be worshipped
that they may not bark and bay at the unhappy
spirits. So, also, for the other three shrines. Here
apparently we have Brahmanism covering what is
mamal not Buddhism, but the aboriginal demon-
worship.

1.西安市 of the Gaya Pilgrimage.—Buchanan-Hamilton, the
History, Ascents, Temples, and Pilgrimages of Northern India...
collated from the original Documents at the R. I. House by Montgomery Martin, London, 1849, plate x, fig. 15. (this is fig. 11), 338 (1807-1810), edited by Martin, commonly
referred to as 'Martin's Eastern India'); and Brahman, the
Buddha, the Hermitage of Bajia, and Others, Calcutta, 1873,
p. 19 et seq., with maps.

2. Mahabodhi.—Gaya's chief title to fame lies in
the famous temple of the Mahabodi (the Great
Enlightenment), situated in the village of Bodh
Gaya (Gaya of the Enlightenment, often
misall, Buddha Gaya), about six miles to the south of Gaya
Town on the west bank of the river, named.
Here is the Bodhi-druma, under which Gautama sat
and received enlightenment. For nearly 2400 years this
tree has been sacred to Buddha as the cross is
to Christians. Pilgrimages to this holy spot,
Gaya has been celebrated
all over India as a great place of pilgrimage. The
various shrines are in charge of a caste of priests
known as gopis. This claim to be descended
from Brahmanas specially created by Brahma
on the occasion of the sacrifice on Gaya's body, when
the then existing Brahmans refused to accept the
offerings. With five important exceptions, these
priests preside over all the ceremonies performed
by the pilgrims. There are altogether 44 şrines,
or shrines, at each of which the pilgrim, under
the guidance of a gopis, has to make an offering.
If he is poor, or hurried, the list may be cut down,
but it is only necessary that pindas should be
offered to the spirits of the dead at three places
—the river Phalga, the Vijaya temple, and the
enduring fig-tree (akṣeya), which, we have
seen, is the real old object of worship, and
the

1 Real, Buddhist Records, ii. 118; Watters, iv. 111.
2 Real, Gaya, p. 18.
3 We know that, shortly before the time of Hsuan T'ang,
Buddhism had become extinct in the province of the
Hindu Brahmans.
4 The site of the Vijaya temple is almost certainly the
same as that of the steps built by Asoka on the place where
the Buddha uttered the Pas-Font and other discourses (Dharmasmita
5 Gaya Gazetteer, 71 f.
6 According to Bloch, 141, the worship of this sacred tree can
be traced back to very ancient times, long before the foundation
of Buddhism, and the Buddhists selected it as the actual site of the
Great Enlightenment merely on account of its previous
sanctity. At the same time, Bloch does not question the
Buddhist tradition as to the main facts of the Buddha's en-
lightenment occurring at Uruvilva.

1 This fig-tree must not be confused with the Bodhi-tree,
which is a pipal tree, an altogether different kind of fig. The
akṣeya is a banyan tree.
Buddhist worship. We have already seen that the Bodhi-druma is also worshipped by Hindus as part of the Gaya pilgrimage. When the new seedling was set up in the old site, another was planted a short distance off by J. D. Beglar, in charge of the restoration of the temple, and allotted specially to Hindus. This new Bodhi-druma—one Buddhist, and the other Hindu.

The legends of the miraculous resuscitation of the tree are no doubt to be explained by the simple expedient adopted on the last occasion, or by the method of dropping a seed into a hollow of the dead or dying tree. In the course of centuries, moving to and from built round the tree and on which it rested. In Imitation, the place where Gautama spread the grass, and on which he sat, was evidently the mud platform which in the present day becomes the terminal point of the eightfold path, the whole level of the ground has been greatly raised, and in 1880, Cunningham found, thirty feet below the present level of the Vajrāsana, two pieces of an old pillar which may well have been fragments of the tree destroyed by Śaṅkara 1300 years before.

7. The temple.—In the 3rd cent. B.C. the Emperor Asoka built a temple and a monastery close to the Bodhi tree at a cost of 100,000 pieces of gold. A representation of the temple as it stood in the 2nd cent. B.C. exists in a bas-relief of the Bharhut stūpa in Central India. It was an open pavilion, supported on pillars. In the middle lay the Vajrāsana, immediately behind which was the tree. Nothing now remains of Asoka's temple but the Vajrāsana and the small pillars which are the last vestiges of the former, the whole of the platform and the surrounding stone railings. The walk has been already referred to. The portion of the temple that has survived is in the southern row of pillars, which are now hidden within the foundations of the later temple. Much better preserved is the famous so-called Akṣoka railing from the Ānanda river in the four stone pillars connected by massive stone rails. It was altogether about 230 feet in length and surrounded the whole building. The pillars and rails are continuous, and the whole of the temple can be dated by the fact that the temple inscription in the Asoka 'Brahmi' character. When, in later times, the present temple was built, the southern row of pillars also exist, but are hidden within the foundations of the later temple.

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Asoka's temple fell into ruins from lapse of time, and we learn from a Burmese inscription found in the neighbourhood that a new one was built at a date not stated, but which Cunningham fixes as during the reign of the Indo-Scythian kings in the 2nd cent. A.D. This he considers to be the existing temple. It was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian in the 6th, and by Huien Tsang in the 7th century. The latter gives a detailed description of the building as he saw it, and this closely agrees with that in the Chinese pilgrim Pe Hian in the 6th, and by Huien Tsang in the 7th century. The latter gives a detailed description of the building as he saw it, and this closely agrees with that in the Chinese pilgrim Pe Hian.

According to Buchanan Hamilton (p. 141) the object of Śaṅkara's destruction of the temple occurred in the course of a war on the Purana Varman, and is described in political considerations and not necessarily by hatred to Buddhism as a religion.

1. Mahābodhi, 90.
2. Mahābodhi, 90.
3. Mahābodhi, 90.
4. Mahābodhi, 90.
5. Mahābodhi, 90.
7. Mahābodhi, 90.
8. Mahābodhi, 90.
10. Mahābodhi, 90.
11. Mahābodhi, 90.
12. Mahābodhi, 90.
15. Mahābodhi, 90.
agrees, even to the measurements, with what we have before us now.\footnote{1} He also tells us of hundreds of stūpas and chaityas with which the precintes were crowded. These, together with numerous monasteries and minor temples erected in later times, are now represented by mounds covered with trees to the north of the main building. This in the 11th cent. had fallen into ruins and was twice repaired by missions from Burma. At the end of the 13th cent. came Muzammal dominants, as Pudda Gupta became a scene of desolation, although still visited by pilgrims. Cunningham believes that the holy tree and temple were, as above described, appropriated for Hindu worship in the 14th century.\footnote{2} At the end of the 18th cent. a Hindu ascetic founded a matha, or Saiva monastery, close to the temple. It was largely built from materials taken from the ruins, and several valuable sculptures have since been disintegrated from its wall. In or about the year 1727 the then mahārājā, or abbot, received the village in which the temple stood, in grant from the Emperor of Delhi, Muhammad Shah; and since then the Buddhist shrine has been in the possession of Saiva ascetics, although Buddhist priests are freely allowed to come and worship in their gifts being made to the mahārājā. In 1811, Buchanan-Hamilton\footnote{3} described it as 'in the last stages of decay compatible with anything like a preserve of its original form.' In 1876 the king of Burma deputed officers to visit it, and, the attention of the Government of Bengal being drawn to the matter, in 1877 a celebrated Sanskrit scholar, Rājānātha Bhattacharja, was sent to visit the spot and report as to what was being done. His report is embodied in the work entitled Pudda Gupta, published in 1878. It was evident that the Burmese repairs were being done without any regard for archeological fitness. The Government accordingly took the work of restoration in hand and completed it in 1884. This was carried out by J. D. Baglar, under the superintendence of Cunningham. The work done has been subjected to much adverse criticism; but, in the opinion of competent judges, the temple has been repaired as effectively and successfully as funds permitted, and the site immediately surrounding it has been excavated in a manner which will bear comparison with the best modern work elsewhere.\footnote{4}

As it now stands, the temple consists of a main tower, about a height of 180 feet, in the form of a slender pyramid springing from a square platform, on the four corners of which are similar towers of smaller size. The outside walls have niches for the reception of statues, and access to the temple is obtained through an eastern gate, supported by pillars, which opens into an ante-room in front of the sanctuary. In the latter is the principal image, a large medieval statue of the Buddha. On an upper floor another chamber contains a statue of Maya Devī, his mother. Owing to the general rise in the level of the country, the temple now stands in the centre of a great sunken courtyard, and one of the most interesting sights is the immense number of votive stupas of all sizes, from actual small temples to little stone models hardly a foot high, with which the surface of the latter is crowded. These are only a small proportion of those dug up. Room cannot be found in the temple for all. Several columns are stored in a bungalow near by; and, before their removal was forbidden, hundreds were

\footnote{1} 30 Cunningham, Mahābodhi, 16. \footnote{2} 31 Watters, while admitting the accuracy of the above statements being the well-authenticated that Hsin Tsang's description does not agree (II. 117 ff.). \footnote{3} Cunningham, Mahābodhi, 36. \footnote{4} Gāyūd Garafī, 62. The account of the temple immediately following is taken from p. 81 of the same work.

\footnote{6} 30 Cunningham, Mahābodhi, 16. 
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\footnote{6} 30 Cunningham, Mahābodhi, 36. 
\footnote{6} 31 Gāyūd Garafī, 62. The account of the temple immediately following is taken from p. 81 of the same work.
They may have been Hindu Vaishnavas, or Jainas, or Buddhists. Most of the caves have been left in the Burmah, with the marks of the chisel still visible, but in one or two the surface inside is highly polished, and there are handsome carved entrances. Near the Barabar Hills are Bharvar, one of the branches of the monastery of Gumana made of stone, and the less Kavvajal Hill, at the foot of which lay the monastery of Sibbhadra. Both were visited by Hiuen Tsang in the 7th century. Rājagiri, the old capital of Magadh, where the Buddha lived and preached for many years, is just beyond the border, in the Patna District, but in the Humla Valley leading into it.

This is full of remains, and many legends of the Buddha are connected with it. The name is a corruption of Yājñavalkya, or the forest of the staff, as called from a bamboo staff which was used to measure the Teacher's body, and then took root and developed into a forest. Hiuen Tsang has left a detailed account of the locality and of the associated legends.

The Kukkutāpada Giri, or Cook's-foot Hill, is another site mentioned by Hiuen Tsang. Here King Kapeutics, one of the earliest and greatest of the Buddha's disciples, lies buried, the mountain having been levelled to receive him. Here the Buddha himself, waiting his resurrection, when the company of the Buddha, Mahāpratīka, shall arise from him and cause him to enter into nirvāṇa.

Three different places have been suggested as the site, and Stein's identification of the Haars Hill, about 15 miles east of the spot which is now generally accepted. There are many other Buddhist sites of great archeological and historical interest in the District, regarding which more and more must be made of restorations, quoted at the end of this article.

9. Popular religion and folklore—The popular religion of Gaya does not differ in its general characteristics from the rest of Bengal (see E. E. ii. 202 ff. Uneducated Hindus and Muslims alike have a whole pantheon of village deities and demons, and malignant spirits, whom they worship, or, when occasion arises, exorcise. The most important of these is the Kshipra River, which is believed to have once been the River Ganges, and is regarded as sacred. The most prominent of these is the Ganges, which is believed to have once been the River Ganges, and is regarded as sacred. The most prominent of these is the Ganges, which is believed to have once been the River Ganges, and is regarded as sacred.

We have seen (p. 186) how Hinduism has absorbed a part of the folk-religion of demon-worship into the official cult at Rām Śūk and Preś Śūk. On the other hand, the Buddhist images and broken sculptures which can be dug up in most villages in Magadh have been utilized by the common folk as idols, representing in each case any particular god or goddess with whom the superstition of the finder wished it to be identified. As a good example, in the early nineties the writer discovered a line image of the Buddha buried in the ruins of Rājagiri. After cleaning it from the encrusted earth, he sent it off to his camp in charge of a village watchman of the Dusadh caste. When he himself returned to his camp in the evening he found the sculptured image covered with a layer of dust and vermin.

On inquiry, he learnt that on the way to camp the watchman had made up his mind that it was an image of his tribal god, had set it up on a stand, and warded and worshipping it. Evil spirits, called ṇākā and ṇākā, arc worshipped with intent to propitiate. If properly treated, they are useful as field-guardians, striking with disease any one who offends them.

In the jungle-covered Rāmgarh, such spirits have a market value, and an ojā (Skr. ujā) goes, with a piece of a one safely shut up in a bamboo bottle and delivered to a low-caste cultivator. Most of these malevolent spirits are ghosts of some one who has come to an untimely end. Sometimes they enter into and possess a man or woman, and the services of an ojā are required to expel them. Cf. DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Indian), vol. iv. p. 697.

Several of the caste were buried at Darjeeling, each having its own. Thus, the Bhogtā worship Bād Singh; the Dusadhī, Garaśī and Sālīsh; and the Gokha, Lōkī. The last two are the objects of great interest. Sālīsh was the great Master-Watchman, who conquered Chānār Māl, the corresponding Master-Thief. Dusadhī themselves are unknown, and the Gokha, Lōkī is of uncertain length, and his exploits were not confined to Gaya. He was an Indian Parshu who carried off a dusky Helen, and ultimately became a hero. In the end he conquered Sālīsh, here a thief, and ended his days at Bānarares, where, with the members of his family, he was turned into stone. He is also localized and sung of by Gokha in other northern India, such as Shahābād, Mīrāpur, and Bālī.

Muslim villagers also have their own goddesses. The most famous are those of the few nāma who have come to live in the countryside, who are the objects of great worship. All that is required is that a pūr must be holy, and that he has departed this life. Another Muslim saint of wide celebrity, Chand Sandōa, is said to have been buried at Darjeeling, in the north-east of the District. The shrine at which he is worshipped is on the site of an ancient Buddhist stūpa, and the holy water, which is drawn by lookers on charge of the village, is said to commemorate one of the Buddha's miracles.

Other mythical personages are also worshipped by Muslims. Amongst them we may mention Shahāk Mān, a sort of Aladdin, who found a wondrous lamp that controlled genius, and who lost his life through its misuse. Kamālo Mān, a female saint, who is said to have lived in the time of a Buddhist Rāj, Kanaka, and according to whom many wondrous miracles are reported, is especially worshipped by women who desire offspring; but Hindus and Muslims of both sexes resort to her shrine for exorcism or the cure of any disease.

More distinctly Hindu is the worship of Sūlim Sālī, both Muslims and low-caste Hindus pay adoration to him. His shrine is commonly close to a temple of the Hindu goddess Devī, and offerings are offered in his honour before the worship of Hindus directed to her. Some regard him as a god of the bodyguard, and others as the Parameswara, the Lord of the Universe.
GENIZAH—The name of the room in which damaged or unprinted copies of the Bible or other writings withdrawn from use are preserved, as well as a collective term for the writings so preserved. The term is derived from the use of the verb ד旮דוק (d-gad, ‘to preserve, as nomens actionis to the verb דadget, and occurs in the ancient Jewish literature which has been handed down to us only in the collocations ד겐דוק-idebar, which in (the Daniel ‘treasure-house’ an old Tannaitic note explains the word ד겐דוק in II 26 [see Tosefta, 115]). דגדיא is the same as אasjon, דגדיא (Ex 5:27), from which the New Hebrew word דגדיא (Ibid. 26:18) is derived (occurring in many passages of the Bah. Talmud: Shabb. 105, 106; Pesah. 116; Kiddush. 111; Sanhed. 104a, 104b). The verb דגדיא means ‘to preserve carefully,’ ‘as one preserves things of value or treasures. In the Halakha the tradition of relying on דגדיא in handwriting is widespread, and by the laying aside and concealing of such sacred objects as for some reason or other can no longer be used or may not be destroyed. In order to prevent such objects from being profaned, they must be carefully concealed and preserved. In the instructions on the subject, the expression is גראס, or in the passive יגראס or כאנס (plural יגראס, יגראס) כאנס (‘marked for preservation’). Besides the Instruction of the Halakha there are also reports, partly of a historical and partly of a legendary character, which correlate with the use of the verb דגדיא and relate of certain articles that they were ‘concealed.’ The Hammonians, when they purified the temple, concealed the stones of the desecrated altar in one of the temple chambers (M. Maaseh 1:6); it is the same fact which is mentioned in 1 Macc. 2:1. (According to Tosetta, Megila iv. 15, the stones of the temple building which had become worn and decayed were concealed.) In the case of the concealment of a priestly family, there was a room in the temple where the sacred ark was concealed (M. Megila vi. 1, 2). It was said that king Josiah, in order to prevent the ark from being carried away to Babylon, concealed it, and 2 Ch 35:23 was added in support of this view (Tose. Sof. xiii. 1; Yoma, 62b, and elsewhere). In connection with this view it was also asserted that the intent of meeting, i.e. the sanctuary erected by Moses, was concealed at the building of Solomon’s temple (Tose. Sof. 1b). According to the view expressed by the Palestinian Jews in the writing at the beginning of 2 Macc. 2, it was not King Josiah, but the prophet Jeremiah (cf. Jer 29), who concealed the ark, along with the tent and the altar of incense, and in fact hid them in a cave on the mountain (Nebo) which Moses had ascended before his death. In the same source we read: ‘when he entered the temple, the priests, before they went into captivity, had concealed the fire of the altar. Here the Greek word used (αιπενεσυρ) is the same as we find in Amos 7:12; Isa. 36:3, and elsewhere. In connection with this, the information supplied by a well-known Tannaitic reporter, Abba Saul, seems quite credible, namely, that such a practice had become noted and unift for killing the sacrificial animals, was concealed in accordance with a resolute of the priests (Zechariah, 8:10). In an old commentary on Lv 14:1 we are told that the linen garments wore by the high priest in the Day of Atonement must be concealed and not used again on the next Day of Atonement (Jifshv, i.e. 82, ed. Weiss; Tosefta, 26a, etc.). The command to conceal is especially emphasized with reference to the very text of the Bible and the writing of the Divine name. Those copies of the Bible which present an abnormal form of letters, or in which the sections are not divided in the traditional way, or in which portions of the text which ought to be written in stichoi are written continuously and in normal fashion, are to be concealed as well as those in the preparation of which the prescribed ink was not used in which the Divine names were written in gold (Jifshv on Ex 6:1; Bar. Shabb. 106b). It is also related (Sopherim i. 10) that the scribes ordered a manuscript belonging to a certain Alexander (i.e. ‘the Alexandrians’), which had been shown to them and which had the Divine names written in gold, to be concealed. The command to conceal refers also to copies of the Bible which a heathen had written (Tose. Megila iii. 15; Arakh. 6a). The same instruction is found on which the name of God is written (M. Sopherim, i. 13), to handle of house utensils, or the feet of sinews on which the Divine names had been inscribed (Shabb. 61a; Arakh. 6a). The scribes belonging to the casuistry of the Tannaim on this subject, as it meets us in the Halakha, are the following: If a wife suspected of unfaithfulness refuses to drink the ‘bitter water that causeth the curse’ prescribed for her in Nu 5:12, then the record on which the words of cursing are written (5MWM) must be concealed and not used on another occasion (M. Sof. iii. 8). If the whole property of a city which has gone over to idolatry (Dt 13:29) is given up to destruction, then the tenth of all that is found in it as well as all the written parts must be concealed (Sanhed. 1123). From the casuistry of the Amoraim we have the decision that a roll of the Pentateuch which had on every page (column) three errors must be hidden (Menach. 20b). With regard to sacred books written in any other language than Hebrew, the Tannaitic tradition tells us (M. Shabb. xvi. 1) that they must be concealed. That is a command which is to be treated with the same consideration as the prohibition of the use of written translations of the Bible, which, in fact, remained only theory, like the prohibition of fixing the original tradition in writing. But, as an ancient piece of evidence for that command, the instance of Gamaliel IV is added (Tose. Shabb. xiv. 12; Bar. Shabb. 115b), who ordered a Job Targum, which was laid before him as he stood on the temple mountain, to be walled into a layer of the first temple the priests, before they went into captivity, had concealed the fire of the altar. Here the Greek word used (αιπενεσυρ) is the same as we find in Amos 7:12; Isa. 36:3, and elsewhere. In connection with this, the information supplied by a well-known Tannaitic reporter, Abba Saul, seems quite credible, namely, that such a practice had become noted and unift for killing the sacrificial animals, was concealed in accordance with a resolute of the priests (Zechariah, 8:10).
forgotten. Regarding the intentional 'concealment' of individual books of the Bible, we possess definite information about the prophecy of Ezekiel (Shabb. 135) and the writings of Solomon (Proverbs [Shabb. 36b]; Qoheleth [ib. Leviticus Rabba, c. 25 ad nos. Qok. R. to 11 and 11]); both along with Canticles (Yeb. 129b), and in the last-mentioned source (ed. Schechter, p. 2) the tradition held by Abba Saul, the Tannaitic teacher already referred to, is as follows: In the beginning people said that Proverbs, Canticles, and Ecclesiastes were "concealed" (grăvăsin), because they were only fictitious and did not belong to the world or Synagogues, and for this reason they ought to be concealed. It was the men of the Great Synagogue who first came and, by means of their explanation of those passages of these books which gave offence, brought it about that they were again received among the sacred writings. This tradition is the only one in which the expression grăvăsin (A. Apocalypse) occurs as the term for such writings as are no longer in use. King Rezeshia is praised for having concealed a 'book of means of healing' (M. Pesahim vi. 56c; Berak. 106; cf. Jarna, Shaked. 14th). Regarding the 'Book of the Genealogies,' which, according to Pesharim (692), was 'concealed,' see Schechter in Ex. T. xvi. (1905) 186. In relation to the Apocalypse of the OT, especially the Book of Sirach, which alone is mentioned in the Jewish traditional literature, there is no mention in the Tannaitic sources that it had been 'concealed.' But the Amora Joseph (head of the sect of Pardes, who died 333) spend the express of the fact that the scribes (the old authorities) have 'concealed' (găvăsin) the Book of the Son of Siraj (Shaked. 1035; see Ex. T. xvi. 236).

No particulars regarding the act — how the 'concealment' of sacred writings no longer in use and of fragments which are to be carried out — are contained in the traditions either of the Tannaim or of the Amoraim. Only a 4th cent. utterance of a Babylonian authority (Raba) is preserved, according to which Pardes, who as a writer of the seventh generation of the Amoraim, was the author of the 'Book of the Genealogies,' is mentioned in the Book of Sirach, which alone is mentioned in the Jewish traditional literature, there is no mention in the Tannaitic sources that it had been 'concealed.' But the Amora Joseph (head of the sect of Pardes, who died 333) spends the expression of the fact that the scribes (the old authorities) have 'concealed' (găvăsin) the Book of the Son of Siraj (Shaked. 1035; see Ex. T. xvi. 236).

The practice of the Jewish congregations has so developed that not only Bible manuscripts (and in later times printed Bibles) which have become unfit for use, but all Hebrew writings or fragments of these, as soon as they were useless, were brought to some room or other in the synagogue-building which was difficult to reach, and in this way preserved from profanation. Since the special aim here in view was to protect the Divine names contained in the books, and the whole of the latter came to be called Shemădat (names, i.e., Divine names). From time to time the contents of the Genizah, in accordance with the instructions mentioned in the thirteenth century, were brought to the cemetery. But the whole of the latter came to be called Shemădat (Names, i.e., Divine names).

In the Beaune des Écoles de l'Alliance Jésidatis, 1901 (p. 103), there is an article on the Shemădat of the manuscript of the handwritings of Moses Maimonides. With regard to the Arabic portion of the Cairo Genizah in Cambridge, H. Hirschfeld commenced his researches in January 1903 (JQR. p. 16), and published a number of valuable communications. From his introductory
These Ghair-Mahdi sects display an intensely fanatical spirit towards orthodox Muslims, and, in fact, regard them as unbelievers. Their creed ends with the words: 'The Imam Mahdi has come and has gone away; whose belief is accepted by the majority', and they find support for this article in the hadith saying, 'man kadhkhaba bi-l-mahdi faqad kafara' ('he who denies the Mahdi is thereby an unbeliever'). Sell is undoubtedly right in holding that the Mahdi pretensions of the 10th cent. A.H. were an outcome of millenarian expectations, and purported to be a fulfillment of prophecy. The rise of the sects which thus stigmatized all other Muslims as heretics is the subject of a fatwa, given by Ibn Hajjar al-Haitami (+ A.H. 973-A.D. 1066) against them, in which he called upon the Muslim authorities to take drastic measures against their adherents.


I. GOLDSHEIER.

GHATS.—See BENARES.

AL-GHAZALI.—See ETHNIC (Muslim).

GHEBERS.—See GABARS.

GHOST.—See DEMONS AND SPIRITS, DOUBLES.

GIANTS.—At the present day there is no human race of 'giants,' taking that word to denote men greatly above the average human stature. There are, indeed, families or groups of exceptional height. In his Anthropological History of Europe (Paisley, 1915, p. 165.) John Beddoes observes, selecting Scotland as the home of the tallest Europeans:

"The men of the Hebrides are among the stoutest in Britain. Probably the average stature is about 5 feet 9 inches (1744 millimeters); the fishermen are not so tall as the peasantry, but of the latter, of pure local descent, who were measured and weighed by Dr. Charles Stewart of Chrimesdale, yielded the remarkable average of 5 feet 10 inches (1744 millimeters), and 190 pounds in weight. Here the weight exceeds, though the stature falls short of, the huge proportions of the men of Balmoral in Upper Galloway, who as yet, I believe, hold the record as to stature among all tested communities in Europe."

As Beddoes places the average height of the Balmoral men at 5 ft. 10-44 in., or nearly 1790 mm., that may be taken as the average stature of any race in Europe—leaving out of consideration the exceptional cases of individuals whose height is greatly above that of their kinsmen. Probably, also, the figures just quoted represent the maximum average height of any human family. The Tehuelches of Patagonia, although long regarded as of gigantic stature, are now ascertained to possess an average male height of 5 ft. 10 in., or 1775 mm. Some individuals among them are as tall as 6 ft. 4 in., or 1830 mm., but the same thing can be said of other races. The statements made by Bourne cannot be quite ignored, but the subsequent information supplied by more accurate observers points to exaggeration on his part. He thus describes the Patagonian natives:

'In person they are large; on first sight, they appear absolutely gigantic. They are taller than any other race, even, though it is impossible to give any accurate description. The only standard of measurement I had was my own height, which is about five feet ten inches. I could stretch from the ground to the arms of many of them, and all the men were at least a head taller than myself. Their average height, therefore, is nearly six feet and a half feet, and there were specimens that were little less than seven feet high.'

1 The Giants of Patagonia: Captain Bourne's Account of his Captivity amongst the extraordinary Savages of Patagonia, London, 1858, p. 29.
It is possible that at the time of Bourne’s captivity (1850) a sub-division of the Tehuelches contained a larger proportion of tall men than can now be seen in any Patagonian tribe. His statements are very explicit, and he undoubtedly indicates a race exceeding in height a very small race, or a very small race, the Belmarchen men reported to us by Beddoes, even if some allowance is made for exaggeration on the part of Bourne. In any case, however, the alleged stature of those Patagonians is not so much above that of normal Europeans as to entitle them to be seriously spoken of as ‘giants.’ Nor is there any other Russian Macnach, 9 ft. 6 inches long, at the present day, which has a greater claim to that title.

There are, however, many individual instances of abnormal height in modern times. The case of the Russian giant Macnach, who was exhibited in London in 1806, is perhaps the most striking. Although a well-made man, and free from the physical defects which often accompany ‘giantism,’ Macnach’s stature reaches the amazing height of 9 ft. 3 in., or 2819 mm. A famous instance in the 19th cent. is that of Chang, the Chinese giant, who was 7 ft. 7 in., or 2283 mm., in height. Like Macnach, Chang was in all other respects normal, in mind and body. The same cannot be said of the 18th cent. Irish giant Magrath, whose great height (7 ft. 6 in., or 2268 mm.) was due to disease. Magrath lived only to the age of twenty-four, and he had the feeble intellect and figure associated with ‘giantism’ regarded as a disease.

In his book ‘The gigantic and Dwarfs’ (London, 1888), Edward J. Wood gives numerous cases of individuals of giant stature in the past. Thus, he refers to John Macnach, who was born on Hailes Hill, near Oxford, in 1757, who was 7 ft. 3 inches high. He lived on among the smaller races, and his portrait is preserved in the library of Brasenose College, Oxford. Then there is a painting by F. Zuccheri in Hampton Court Palace, representing a giant, the Lowen, who was a household servant of Elizabeth of England, and whose height was 7 ft. 6 inches. Contemporary with him was a Piedmontese seen by Martin del Rio at Rouen, in 1792, who was 9 feet high. In 1831, Stow records in his ‘Chronicles’ a Dutchman whose height was 7 ft. 7 inches.

‘Beasty Britannia’ refers to the giant, the Emperor Charles X., in his ‘Orphæus Antiquus’ (1689), and as a boy, he was said to have measured nearly 9 feet and a man almost, and a woman quite, 10 feet in height. The man lived within a few miles of the author’s own residence in Finsbury (Wood, p. 91). In considering the possibility of a woman quite 10 feet in height, one must keep in view the following statement: ‘The Brown Gougeus in his ‘Memorials’ tells us that giants were introduced into the British race, and that on May 10th, 1544, there was a giant in St. Martin’s-in-the-Fields (London) with, among other accompaniments, giant’s, which were in fact men on stilts’ (Wood, p. 94).

This suggests an easy explanation of the great stature of the woman referred to by Becanous, as well as of many other nominal ‘giants.’ Nevertheless, it will not explain every instance. There is no reason to suppose, for example, that John Middleton, whose portrait is preserved in Oxford, was anything else than a real giant; and, although his height was immense (9 ft. 8 in.), it is exactly paralleled by that of the existing Russian giant Macnach.

With the exception of Magrath, the giants here cited were not of the same race as any other, or of the same people as his stated people. Their great stature was not, therefore, the result of disease. To what cause was it due? The usual explanation is that such abnormal stature is merely caused in the same way as any other exceptional development in the animal or vegetable world; that is, by a favourable environment accompanying a happy combination of elementals. On the other hand, Macnach, the Tehuelches contained a larger proportion of tall men than can now be seen in any Patagonian tribe. His statements are very explicit, and he undoubtedly indicates a race exceeding in height a very small race, or a very small race, the Belmarchen men reported to us by Beddoes, even if some allowance is made for exaggeration on the part of Bourne. In any case, however, the alleged stature of those Patagonians is not so much above that of normal Europeans as to entitle them to be seriously spoken of as ‘giants.’ Nor is there any other Russian Macnach, 9 ft. 6 inches long, at the present day, which has a greater claim to that title.

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the common tradition among the people is that a giant with his wife lived in this isle of Hoy, who had this stone for their castle.' As the hollowed-out chamber, or bedroom, in which this giant was supposed to lie was 20 ft. long, it is obvious that the word 'giant' did not convey the idea of a person of tall stature, in the minds of the common people. A similar problem is presented by the Gaelic word fomhair, or fomhair, which J. F. Campbell and other translators of Scottish Highland tales render by the English word 'giant.' But O'Reilly, in his Irish Dictionary, defines it as 'a pirate, a sea robber, a giant.' The Irish forms of the word are fomhar, or fomnor, with plural fomnori. Sir John Mills speaks of 'the fomnor, so well known in Irish legend, which, however, does not always represent them as giants, but rather as monsters.' Mr. F. A. Band: 'I remember hearing, however, years ago, a mention made of the fombaircacht (an alternative spelling), which, without conveying any definite alliance to their stature, associated them with subterraneous places. An inundation from the neighbourhood of Kilbride, in Kerry, happened to make his bowing bow, when he was exploring some underground reefs near his house, he was warned by his father, 'to beware of the fombaircacht.'

When it is understood that the dimensions of the underground structures referred to are often so large that these men have difficulty in entering them, it will be seen that here, again, we have the idea of 'giants' whose stature did not exceed that of medium-sized men. In modern Gaelic a word fomair, (literally 'mole-man,' or 'mole-lodger') is used to denote a mole-catcher, fombaircacht signifying 'mole;' and it is not unlikely that the legends, it was a contemptuous nickname, given to a race of 'mole-men,' the builders and occupants of underground dwellings, of which numerous specimens are still extant in Ireland and Scotland. To be this it may, the foregoing references show that in Scottish and Irish tradition 'giants' are frequently noted, not for their great stature, but as being pirates, searovers, cave-dwellers, savages, and offensively-smelling people. Cf. art. CELTS, ii. 321.

That giants were regarded in some vague way as abnormal is further indicated by Teutonic references. The Old Norse óttaðma or ótjama, Swedish jätte, Anglo-Saxon sētum, Scotish stín or stín, represents a being whose attributes are only partly human. In the translations of the Scandinavian Eddas, where the jotun occupies a prominent place, its name is usually rendered by 'giant' (Lat. gigas). Like the Irish fomnor, they are associated with Teutonic buildings. Eternæ of old days, when early, was said of the underground house wherein Tristan and Isolde lay (Tristram, 5, 17). Grimms states that the jotun, 'when at rest, is good-humoured and unblamable, but when provoked, gets wild, spiteful, and violent' (i. 530). The jotun-mother, or rage of the jotun, is strongly suggestive of the 'Berserk-fury.' Grimm further points out (iv. 1411) that one passage (Isanm. 55a) describes the jotuns as pithoed beings, 'drittrinar ope, simiarum cognitus.' The Red King of Northern Scotland is similarly remembered as a savage cannibal, scarcely human. Under other names, the 'giants' of Teutonic and Scandinavian tradition are intellectually inferior to men, Gothic tan, 'giant,' being translated by Latin gigas. From many sides, therefore, there are indications that 'giants' differed from men chiefly on account of their more brutal nature, the question of stature being frequently left out of consideration.

How complex the evidence relating to giants is made clear by the data brought together by Jacob Grimm. There is no clear line to be drawn between giants and the wild hairy wood村干部, he observes in one place (ii. 553); while on another page (ii. 538) he speaks of 'a giantess or merwoman, as though these two names were synonymous. Many of his statements support the view that the giants of Europe were a primitive race that preceded the modern European.

The old giant race have to give way to agricultural man, agriculture is an eyesore to them' (4). This problem is presented by the idea of the giant race being driven out, or supplanted, by the new race, and their place taken by men, who are at first only a smaller race, but who gradually increase in number and strength, and in the end completely drive out the giants. The giants are said to have been driven out of the land, and to have given place to sowers of corn, hunters to husbandmen. Giants consider themselves the older race, yet they are driven out by the new one. The new race is called 'men,' from the old one the 'giants.'

In pointing out their similarity to the 'wild hairy wood村干部,' he further remarks (ii. 533): 'In the woods of the Ringenholm Mark are seen the stone seats of the giant folk who once lived there, and the print of their hands on the stones. In the vale of Gatan, says Echthe, (p. 117), wild men have lived within the memory of man, but the breed has died out since... They were the strongest giants. Their dwelling was an inaccessible cavern on the left bank of the Arbe, as the Lauf to the Easum. To the inhabitants of the valley they were rather friendly than otherwise, and often put a quantity of butter and milk before their house-doors. This last feature, he adds, is 'more of a piece with the habits of dwarfs and elves than of giants.'

The mention of the stone seats of those wild folk agrees well with the ascription to giants of numerous stone structures of primitive character which are found throughout Europe. The names onda bury, riordan bury, and Hanum scott, all denote giants' castles, and the Gaelic term ciosan na fuas, found in Scotland, has the same meaning. It is of much significance that such names are specially, perhaps exclusively, associated with buildings of the character known as 'cyclopean,' in which the chief features are the rudeness and size of the stones, the absence of mortar, and the use of the 'false' arch instead of the true or 'Roman' arch. The former is made by approaching the upper courses of the opposing walls together, until the space between them is narrow enough to admit of large flag-stones being superimposed. Architectures of this kind is found in Palestine, Greece, Malta,1 Sardinia, the Balearic Isles, and Scotland, its most striking manifestation being displayed in the three localities last named, in the form of the massive circular towers known respectively as merpeople, lighthouse, and Brodick. No fewer than 3000 of these towers are known to have existed in Sardinia, and 500 in Scotland. Besides those towers there are unnumbered megalithic structures above and below ground, of the same general order, not only in the localities just indicated, but throughout the Continent of Europe and in the British Isles. These are known by various names. The remarkable cairns, akin to dolmen, which are found in the province of Drenthe, in the Netherlands, are called Hanumbeuten, or Hanumbedden, while the similar structures in North Germany are known as 'Giants' Graves.' There is great difference of opinion as to the age of these structures, some being known within the Christian era, and others assigning to them a much greater antiquity. The cyclopean buildings in the Levantine region are believed to date from 3000 B.C., and on the other hand, the brochs of Scotland are understood to have been built only ten or fifteen centuries ago. Both inferences may be correct, assuming that the more modern structures were built by the modified descendants of a more primitive race. Perhaps the most important point, in connexion with the present theme, is that in Greece, Sardinia, Germany, and the British Isles—presumably elsewhere—the builders of these rude stone structures are often, in popular tradition, regarded as giants. That word is


not invariably held to denote people of great stature is shown by the fact that some traditions speak of them as dwarfs.

Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the prevailing opinion with regard to giants is that they were beings of immense stature. It is possible that the term "giants" might have given rise to this conception. If a long mound of 15 or 20 feet once became known as a giant's grave, then the inevitable deduction would be that a race of men 15 or 20 feet high once existed. Out of this, beings of much greater stature and power might be evolved, in the popular imagination. From whatever cause, the existence of beings of great stature is called "giants," was once an article of faith in folklore. Innumerable instances of this might be adduced.

'I am told,' says Grimm (U. 548), 'of two giant con-

nades on opposite sides of a river, and holding converse. In Osterrichtsholz, near Tumbo-

to, there was a giant named Funam, who, when he wished to speak to his comrade Oden at Hermanns, two or three miles off, he went up a neighbouring hill, and from which you can see all over Tumo. . . . Two horses, one near the bottom, the other on top, had but one axe between them; but when the Eberstein hills was going to work, he hooted across to Homborg four miles off, and, without further ado or ado, threw the axe over. . . . The hills of the Brunsberg and Wittberg, between Godesheim and Assenheim, played at bows together across the Weser.'

The same kind of story is found in other countries. In R. Hunt's Popular Romances of the West of England (London, 1865, 1881), he shows that the Cornish people have parallel traditions.

'Some told me,' says Grimm (U. 143), 'that the giants on the Mount and the giant on Treveoban Hill were very friendly. They had only one cobbling-hammer between them, and they would throw from one to the other, as either required it.'

This is a Celtic tradition, of the Cymric family. Gaelic tradition in Ireland, Man, and Scotland tells us of similar beings. Improbable as these stories may be, they are true, and impossible beings are wholly the creatures of popular fancy, or have been gradually evolved from a race of beings of real stature, a problem that remains to be solved.

Although certain localities have received special consideration in these remarks, it is not to be supposed that the question can be limited to those regions, or to Europe; for it belongs practically to all countries and all peoples. Hebrew references, for example, are in accord with those of Europe.

Giants in Hebrew story are variously known as Gibeon, Nephilim, Repham, Anakim, Emim, and Zamzummim. The first of these terms, Gibeon, corresponds to the word 'giant' in the Septuagint, and is held to mean nothing more than 'strong men,' 'heroes,' or 'warriors.' Nephilim is a word of wholly uncertain signification. It is applied to an antediluvian race in the well-known passage (Ge 6:4), 'there were giants in the earth in those days; the word is retained as Nephilim in RV. Most of the English translations have 'giants,' but John Rogers (1537) merely uses 'tyrants.' With regard to the Rephaim, or Raphaim, they are referred to as the descendants of the Rephaim, a Philistine of Gath (2 S. 21:20). It is not improbable that this Rapha is merely the eponym of the race. During the Philistine war in the reign of King David, the Rephaim figure prominently, and indeed they are included under the term 'Philistines.' It is recorded that in a battle fought between the Israelites and the Philistines at Gezer, Sibbechai the Hushathite slew a giant of the Rephaim, 'and they were numbered among the subdued.' Again, in a subsequent campaign, Elhanan the son of Jair slew Lahmi, the brother of Goliath the Gittite, 'the staff of whose spear was like a weaver's beam.' In a third war there figured another of the Rephaim, 'a man of great stature,' distinguished by the peculiarity of having six fingers on each hand and six toes on each foot, who was slain by Jonathan, the son of Shimea,

David's brother. These three, Sippai, Lahmi, and the unnamed warrior just described, are all said to have been born in the land of the Rephaim in Gath. 'And they fell by the hand of David, and by the hand of his servants' (1 Ch 20:9). David's famous encounter with Goliath had, of course, some influence.

On more than one occasion 'the Valley of the Rephaim,' on the Philistine border, to the west of Jerusalem, was the scene of conflict (2 S. 21:20). This seems to be the 'valley of the giants,' which is referred to in Joshua (15:20-21 AV). 'The land of the Philistines and of the Rephaim' (Jos 17:11), an interesting connotation of the names, seen again in Genesis (15:16), indicates the more northern territories of Geissle and Bashan. The reference, however, apparently signifies nothing more than that the Philistines were neighbours to the Rephaim. But undoubted kinship is asserted in the mention of the Emim who preceded the Rephaim on the east side of the Dead Sea; for it is stated that 'the Emim dwelt therein a long time; a people great, and many, and tall, as the Anakim; these are accounted Rephaim, as the Anakim; but the Moabites call them Emim' (De 2:10). This statement is repeated, with some amplification, in the same chapter (v. 11), where it is said of Ar of Moab: 'That also is accounted a land of Rephaim; Rephaim dwelt therein in old time; but the Ammonites call them Zamzummim; a people great, and many, and tall, as the Anakim; but the Lord destroyed them before them; and they succeeded them, and dwelt in their stead.' In these references (Dt 2) the AV always renders Rephaim by 'giants.' Thus we have the names of Emim, Anakim, and Zamzummim (or Ezem) variously given to tribes of the race of Rephaim, or giants, formerly inhabiting Southern Palestine, the Anakim occupying territory on the west of the Dead Sea, and the Emim or Zamzummim inhabiting Ar of Moab, on its eastern borders.

The last refuge of the Rephaim was N.E. Palestine, in the lands of Bashan. At the time of the Israelite conquest under the leadership of Moses, Bashan was called 'the land of giants' (Dt 3:9), and the latest representative of Rephaim sovereignty was Og, king of Bashan: 'for only Og king of Bashan remained of the remnant of the Rephaim.' The great stature attributed to him is demonstrated in the account of his body being a bedstead of iron (is it not in Rabbah of the children of Ammon?), nine cubits was the length thereof, and four cubits the breadth of it, after the end of a man' (Dt 3:11). It is worth noting that these dimensions are consistent with the height ascribed to Goliath of Gath, which was about 11 feet, or 6 cubits 1 span (1 S. 17), and that consequently the Rephaim, whether in Bashan or in Philistia, were believed to be of that immense stature. In passing, it may also be remarked that the iron bedstead of the king of the Rephaim, and the iron chariots with which their probable kindred are credited (Jos 17:12), point to a civilization superior to that of the Israelites. The same conclusion may be made from the statement that the Anakim were, as a nation, 'greater and mightier than the Israelites, having cities great and fenced up to heaven' (Dt 2:10). The armour of the Rephaim—"the breastplate of Goliath—happened to have been born into the champion of the Rephaim and his Jewish opponent, who was similarly equipped. Nevertheless, the Israelites regarded their giant foes as
GIANTS (Greek and Roman).—The English word 'giant' is derived from the Greek γίγας, pl. γίγαντες; and γίγαντας was the name of a certain mythical group of beings. There is no mention of Gigantes or their exploits in the Odyssey, the word occurs three times. 

(1) In Od. vii. 59 the king and queen of the Phalakae descended from a daughter of Eurymedon, who once was king of the haughty Giants; but he brought his intoxicated people in a panic to their downfall. 

(2) In Od. xiv. 347, the genealogy was presumably invented as a by the poet; it serves to indicate that his Phalakae belong to the same order of being as the Gigantes. The name Byrgymede ("wide-ruling"), here assigned to the Gigas-king, also looks like an invention of the narrator. The passing mention of the "wickedness" and "destruction" of the Gigantes implies that a story which had something at least in common with the later Gigantomachia was already known to the poet and his audience. 

(3) In Ov. Met. x. 150 the Leucarce, a tribe of man-eating savage beings, are classified among the Giants.

To the poet of the Odyssey the Gigantes were a tribe dwelling upon earth in the distant past; they were mortals, but surpassed men in size and strength, and stood in close relation to the gods; they were wild and savage in their ways, and, having committed some great wickedness, they were exterminated. 

In the Hesiodic Theogony (185), we are told the story of the Gigantes. When Uranos (Sky) was mutilated by his son Kronos, Gaia (Earth), impregnated by the blood-drops which fell upon her from the wound, gave birth to the Erinyes, (2) the great Gigantes, flashing in armour, holding long spears in their hands, and (3) the Melian Nymphs (i.e. nymphs of the ash-tree). The three appeared, it seems, in the very presence of the god, and were driven by him from the earth. Since from this time the human blood stream has been defiled by the blood of the gods (see art. Eumenides, Erinyes); the ash-tree grows out of the earth; and the Gigantes also sprang directly from the earth. The connexion of their origin with the mutilation of Uranos is, no doubt, a piece of deliberate systematization. But the notion that the Gigantes were the sons of Earth stands on firmer ground, and is based on primitive folk-lore, and forms part of the connoted purity of the term Gigantes throughout all later literature. 

The notion is allied to a tradition as to the origin of man which was widely current among the Greeks, namely, that the first human generation grew out of the soil, like vegetables (cf. Paus. v. n. xii. 6). This tradition was largely overshadowed by the prevailing tendency to trace man's first ancestors to some divine ancestor; but the belief persisted that at least some of the Greek races were staked-human, i.e. that their first ancestors had sprung from the soil; and the origin of the Gigantes was explained in the same way as that of other primitive races. A parallel instance may be seen in the legend of the Thessalian Sperchios, the man who sprang out of the earth (fully equipped for battle, like the Hesiodic Gigantes) from the dragon's teeth sown by Kadmos; and a variant of the same legend occurs in the story of Jason. 

The Gigantes were, in other words, men whose birth was suitable to the Gigantes for another reason also, when they came to be identified with personifications of subterranean Nature-forces: but there is no evidence that they were thus regarded in Hesiod's time.

In the prelude of the Theogony (50) the Muses are described as singing first the birth of the gods and the rule of Zeus, and, next to the birth of men and of the mighty Gigantes. The poet here distinguishes the Gigantes from the Giants, as if he did not think of them to be a species which had once dwelt on the earth, but had been long extinct; so that his notion of them is comparable with that of the 'Race of Bronze' and Iron (see art. Iron, p. 143 ff.)—a race of fierce warriors 'sprung from ash-trees,' who occupied the earth before the age of the Homeric heroes, and perished by mutual slaughter. 

So far, we have found no mention of the Gigantomachia ("battle of the Gigantes"), with the exception of the doubtful allusion in the Odyssey, vii. 99 ff. But in all later times, the interest in the Gigantes centred in this battle. The story that the Gigantes made war against the gods, and were destroyed in battle by their divine confreres, is told in some of the later Epic poems which have perished; but the earliest positive evidence of its existence appears in certain vase-paintings of about 600 B.C. Xenophanes (c. 575-500 B.C.) speaks of the battles of the Titans and the Gigantes, and tales of the Centaurs, as familiar themes; frequent references to the Gigantomachia occur in the poets from Pindar onwards; and its popularity is shown by the numerous vases on which it is depicted. But the first continuous and detailed narrative of the battle, to us, is to be found in the compendium of mythology which passes under the name of Apollodorus, and, in its present form, dates perhaps from the 1st or 2nd cent. A.D. That narrative (Apoll. i. vi. 1) runs as follows: 

Earth, in her indignation at the overthrow of the Titans, gave birth to the Gigantes; their father was Uranos. They were of huge bulk, of irresistible strength, and of frightful aspect; their hair and beards were long and thick, and they had scaly serpent-coats in place of legs. They were produced, according to some accounts, in Phingal, according to others, in Pallen. They hurled rocks and blazing tree-trunks against heaven. Emicent above the rest were Pheriphrygus and Alkyoneus. The Gigantes was immortal as long as he bought in the land of his birth. (He had driven off the cows of the Sun from Erythia.) Now the giants had been told by an oracle that the Gigantes could not be slain by gods, but would meet their death if a mortal joined in the fight against them. It happened that, informed of this, was seeking a magic herb, by which the Gigantes might be secured against death, as a part of his mode of life. But Zeus, with homeward Alka, and to withdraw his flight, gathered the herb before the mortal could find it, and, by the agency of Athena, summoned the mortal Herakles to take part in the fight. Herakles first shot a cloud of arrows at the Gigantes; the latter were put to flight. 

1 The Greeks accordingly assumed the name Gigantes to be derived from γίγας ("earth") and γενή ("birth"), and this etymology is inadmissible. A derivation from the root of γένος is possible, but has not been proved of absolute ground, and that the ash-tree was, consequently, associated with bloodshed, may help to account for the juxtaposition. 

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down Alkyoneus with an arrow; and, as he revived through contact with Hera, the suggestion of Alkyoneus, as it was his cost, dragged him away out of Pallene, whereupon he died. Porphyrion assailed Herakles and Hera; but Zeus caused him to be killed by the lightning of Hera, and, when he sought to do her violence, she cried for help; whereupon Zeus struck him with a thunderbolt. Then Herakles killed him with his arrows. Reptalius was hit in the left eye by an arrow shot by Apollo, and in the right by an arrow shot by Hera. Dicynus killed Bryces with his Ixion; Nereus killed Lycus [with his Ixion]; and Reptalius struck down Alkyoneus [with his Ixion]. Poseidon, through the sea, Poseidon, had reached the land of Koé, when Poseidon broke off a piece of the land and flung it upon him; the little island called Niýros is the fragment which Poseidon flung. Hermes, wearing in the battle the cap of Hades (which makes its wearer invisible), saw Hippolytos; Artemis slew [Aigisthos]; the Moera, [fighting 1] with claws of brass, killed Agamemnon. Zeus struck and dashed with thunderbolts the rest of the Gigantes; and Herakles shot them all with his arrows as they were dying.

Here we have the fully developed story of the Gigantomachia—or, rather, the dry bones of it, stripped of the poetic flesh and blood. How did this story arise? The narrative is built up of discrete elements; most of the several incidents were current separately before they were included in the Gigantomachia. Thus, the combat of Herakles with Alkyoneus was known to Pindar (Isthm. v. 38, Nem. iv. 27) as an incident belonging to the story of Herakles, but unconnected with the battle of the Gigantes; his name has not yet become a Gigas; but in a lyric fragment of later date (Bergk, ii. 719), Alkyoneus is called 'the most of the Gigantes.' For instance, Porphyrion was the son of Aethra, two monstrous brothers, named Otoe and Ephialtes, who, while still beardless boys, made war on the immortals; they strove to pile Mount Ossa on Olympia, but their father, Erechtheus, cut them off at the foot of the mountain. They had a hundred hands and fifty heads. Their father, Uranos, horrified at their threatening aspect, imprisoned them beneath the earth; but, when Zeus was engaged in war with the Titaes, he was told by Gaia and the Erinyes that one of the two brothers would win him victory. Accordingly, he released Briares and his brothers from their unmerciful prison, and made a compact with them; and so, in the crisis of the fight, the monsters struck in on the side of Zeus and his adherents, and won the day for them. They hurled three hundred rocks at ones with their stout hands, and darkened the air with missiles, and sent the Titaes down to Tartare, and bound them in grievous bonds; and there (keeping guard over the imprisoned Titaes) dwelt Gyge, Kottos, and Briares, trusty warders in the service of Zeus.

These monsters seem to be personifications of the forces of storm and earthquake (cf. Earth, Earth-gods, § 4). Their abode is in the depths of the earth, in which they were imprisoned from their birth; and Gaia, they were hoped, saw that in the war with Uranos, and then return to their home in the abyss. They side with the supreme god; yet a suggestion that they were by nature enemies of heaven appears in the fact that the original name of one of them is Zeus; and ultimately a doublet of Zeus) imprisoned them in

1 It occurs (in the form Hylas) as the name of one of the Gigantes on the vase of Oesa. The word Hylas usually means 'seawater,' and was used by the Greeks in the sense of 'nightmares.'
GIANTS (Greek and Roman)

the depths. Storm and earthquake, in fact, admit of two different interpretations. They are clearly manifestations of conflict between superhuman combatants; but are these terrible forces brought about by the Giants’ battle against the ruling god, or by the ruling god himself against his enemies?

In the Homeric story of the Hundred-handed Brothers, it is the latter notion that happens to have prevailed.

In the Iliad also (i. 408) Briareus appears as an ally of Zeus.

Here, Poseidon, and Athena once sought to put Zeus in bonds; while the hundred-armed, hand and foot. From his shoulders rose a hundred heads with locking tongues and fire-flashing eyes; and from those heads there issued sounds of roaring lion and prying hound, or piercing hisses; and many were the heads of gods and men; but Zeus struck the darts of Athena and the earth ran like molten metal. Thus did Zeus hurl him down to Tartaro. And from Typhon spring the evil windstorms which wreck ships at sea, and ruin the works of men on land.

Here the narrator is clearly conscious of the meaning of the Nature-myth. Typhon is the fire-demon whose work is seen in panic eruptions, and in the blasting winds which were thought to be of similar origin; and the description of the conflict is probably based on accounts of some eruption of Mount Etna, transmitted by the Greek colonists of Sicily.

The resemblance of Typhon’s fight to the various combats included in the Gigantomachia (some of which at least had arisen out of similar Nature-myths) was sufficiently close to cause Typhon also to be associated with the Giants; and through assimilation to the abode of monsters the shape and aspect of the Giants underwent a change. In the earlier form of the myth (Hes. Thesp.) they are armed as depicted on the vases, they are indistinguishable in appearance from civilized combatants. Later, they appear in the form of savage men, clothed in beast-skins, and bearing weapons and tree-trunks in place of weapons. But from the time of Alexander the Great they commonly take the shape described in Apollodorus: head, arms, and trunk are human, but in place of legs they have a pair of serpent-coils. (The serpent form was the more appropriate, because the snake was among the Greeks a symbol of the earth and of the powers beneath the earth.) They are depicted with wings, after the analogy of the wind-gods—which is again a sign of their assimilation to Typhon, the father of wind-storms.

Moreover, it was probably through their association with Typhon that the Giants came to be specially connected with volcanic forces; and this notion led to fresh localization. The battle was commonly placed in Phlegra. But Phlegra (’Land of burning’) was a mythical land unknown to geography, the birthplace of the various myths which entered into the composite picture had its own original site, one in Arcadia, another in Attica, a third in Euboea, and so on; but a certain consensus arose in favour of Pallene, the westernmost of the three Chalkidic promontories on the north coast of the Ægean. We may suppose that the growing myth was carried to that region by the colonists from Chalkis in Euboea who settled there. Confusions between similar names may have helped to fix the site of the battle in the Chalkidic Pallene. (A personage named Pallas, who came to be included among the Giants, was known to local tradition in the Arcadian Pallasion, in the Achaean Pallene near Sikyon, and in the Attic district of Pallene.) Moreover, the place was well situated for an assault on Olympus, which stood in full view across the Gulf of Salonika. Thus it came about that, at least as early as the 7th century (vii 150), Phlegra, the scene of the Gigantomachia, was identified with Pallene.

There are no conspicuous signs of volcanic action in Pallene. But, through the westward colonization...
tion, the Greeks became familiar with two volcanic regions, the neighbourhoods of Etna and Vesuvius; and the settlers accounted for the outbreaks of subterranean fire by the fancy that some enemy of the gods lay hid alive beneath the soil. Thus, in the Hesiodic Theogony, Typhoeus appears to be already located at Etna. But the imprisoned monster might equally well bear other names, as was often with one or other of the Gigantes; hence comes, for instance, the statement in Apollodorus that Athens threw the island of Sicily on her opponent Enkelados. The volcanic district of the Campanian coast was, for like reasons, regarded as the scene of the Gigantomachia, and the name of Phlegra was accordingly applied to it (Polyb. iii. 37. i.).

Again, after Alexander’s conquests, the Greek emigrants carried their myths with them to fresh regions, and located many of them in their new settlements in the East. Thus Syrian Antioch, for instance, developed a local Gigantomachia of its own.

A precedent in the Greek-Syrian legend will serve to illustrate the process of myth-making. The name of the city of Damascus sounded to Greek ears as if it were derived from the Gr. *daemos* (Demeter), and was therefore invented a Gigas named Askos, who was slain by Zeus or Dionysus, and was afterwards deified and made the patron of Damascus (Curt. de Bibl. Sid. 13, ed. Bekker, Berlin, 1824–25; Dict. Myth., s.v. Damascus).

The popularity of the Gigantomachia was increased by the readiness with which the story lent itself to moral and political applications; for it might be made the type of any victory won by the forces of order and legitimate authority in conflict with lawless violence. A good example of such applications may be seen in the first Pythian Ode of Pindar. Addressing Hiero, the monarch of Syracuse, the poet deals with the story of Typhon, and in his hands the myth becomes a parable, in which Zeus stands for harmony, and Typhon for discord. Hiero is the human Zeus, whose life-task is to keep the monster down, and to keep him safely bound; that is, to maintain peace and prosperity against unruly factions within his realm; to crush the foreign foes who threatened Western Hellenism—the barbarous Carthaginians and Etruscans—and, further (so the poet hints), to see to it that within his own soul, too, the forces of order and harmony prevail; else, he whom men now praise as a king might come to find them curbing him as a tyrant.

Pindar elsewhere (Pyth. viii. 16) couples Typhon with the king of the Gigantes. Under whichever name the enemies of the gods are spoken of, the significance of the story is the same; and it was with some such meaning that the myth of the Gigantes was repeatedly employed in plastic art. Thus the Megarians (c. 550 B.C.) sculptured the Gigantomachia on the treasure-house which they dedicated at Olympia as a thank-offering for a victory over their neighbours of Corinth. At Athens, before the Persian invasion, the same subject was already represented in the sculptures of the earlier temple of Athens on the Akropolis; after the Persian war, it was carved on the metopes of the Parthenon, and on the shield of Pheidias’ colossal statue of Athene; and it was depicted in the embroideries of the robe which the Athenians presented to the goddesses of their city at each Panathenaic festival.

The Gigantomachia was an appropriate subject for an offering to the warlike goddess, who was prominent in the story of the fight. At the same time, the Gigantes might be taken to represent the Persian enemy, and the battle-scene served to symbolize the victories won against barbarism and impious presumption in the fights of Marathon and Salamis. A Gigantomachia was also the sculptural decoration of the temple of Apollo at Delphi (Eurip. Ifig. 306 f.).

The irritation of Gallic horde into northern Greece the Asia Minor expedition of C. Tiberius Crassus (65 B.C.) got a fresh illustration of the story. Kaillimachos (Hymn. Del. 174) speaks of the Gauls as ‘late-born Titans’ (i.e. Gigantes) from the furthest West.’ Attalus I. of Pergamum (Paus. i. 22. 2) sets up, after his great victory over the Gauls, set up at Athens four groups of sculpture, representing respectively the battle he had won, the battle of Marathon, the Gigantomachia, and the fight of the Athenians against the Amazons; thus coupling his own victory with that of Marathon, and placing beside each of them a mythical prototype. So in the Battle of the Gigantes was the subject chosen for the decoration of the monument erected on the citadel of Pergamum by a successor of Attalus I. (c. 180 B.C.) to commemorate the defeat of the barbarous invaders by the forces of Hellenic civilization. This monument took the shape of a great altar; and along the sides of the rectangular block of building which it formed there ran a continuous band of sculpture, over 400 feet in length, in which all the chief deities of the Greek Pantheon were represented, each engaged in combat with some special adversary. Of the Gigantes, who are falling stricken before the victorious gods, or offering hopeless resistance, some are in wholly human shape, and might be taken for idealized portraits of Gallic combatants; some are men with serpent-legs; some have wings springing from their shoulders; and here and there appears some more bestial monster.

References to the Gigantomachia are frequent in Latin poetry. Horace (Od. iii. 4. 62 ff., ii. xii. 5 ff.) found in it a type of the work accomplished by Augustus in suppressing the anarchy of the Civil Wars, and establishing the peace and order of the Roman Empire. Ovid began a poem on the subject in his youth (Amor. ii. 11). In the last song of Pagan literature, Nonnos, in his Dionysiaka, makes numerous references to the myth, and (bk. 48) introduces an episode of his own invention, in which Dionysos single-handed kills the whole tribe of Gigantes, but refrains from destroying them, in order that something may be left for Zeus to do; Claudian (c. A.D. 440) wrote a Latin poem on the Gigantomachia, the first 129 lines of which are extant; and a portion of a Greek poem on the same subject has also come down to us under the name of Claudian.

The Cyclopes (Kyklopes), as described in the Odyssey, are giants in the sense in which the word ‘giant’ is used in our nursery tales; but they were not called Gigantes by the Greeks. The story of the encounter of Odysseus with the wounding ogre Polyphemus is told in Od. ix. Polyphemus, a son of Poseidon and a sea-nymph (Od. i. 71), is one of a tribe of wild men called Kyklopes, who dwell on the coast of some unspecified land in the western seas. The Kyklopes are housed in caves; they do not cultivate the soil, but live on the natural products of the earth, and the milk of their flocks of sheep and goats. They are ‘a lawless folk;’ they have no gatherings for council; each lives apart, ‘giving law to his children and wives,’ and ‘they rock not one of another.’ So far, the poet might be describing a tribe of savages (cf. Od. vi. 5, where we are told that the Phaeacians migrated to Scheria); but in their earlier abode they suffered from the raids of the Kyklopes, ‘over-bearing men, who used to harry them.’ But Polyphemus is distinguished from ordinary men
by his huge bulk and strength (he can lift a rock which could not be moved by two- and twenty wagons), and it is implied that in place of two eyes he has a single eye in his forehead.

The Homeric narrative of the Kyklopes persists through all later Greek and Roman literature; e.g., Euripides adheres to it closely in his satyric drama of the Kyklopes. In Homer's time the abode of these Kyklopes was localized on the coast of Sicily at the foot of Etna (Eur. *Kyk. 20*; Thuc. vi. 2). A later addition to the tale of Polyphemus was the story of his love of the beautiful Galatia, which was told in a poem of Philonoeus (c. 386 B.C.), and may have been invented by that poet.

But the name Kyklopes was also used in a different sense, which first occurs in the Hesiodic *Theogonia*. The Kyklopes there spoken of are three sons of Uranus and Gaia, born after the twelve Titans, and before the three hundred-handed Brothers. The three Kyklopes are named Brontes ("Thunder"), Steropes ("Lightning"), and Arges ("Flash," or "Flashy Thunderbolt"); and they gave Zeus the thunder, and made for him the thunderbolt. They were like to the gods, except in this, that each of them had a single eye in the middle of his forehead. They had mighty strength, and were skilled in handiwork (Theog. 130-146). Those parts of the narrative which have to do with the Kyklopes are somewhat obscure, but the meaning appears to be that they were imprisoned beneath the earth by their father, Uranus (ib. 154 ff.), and that Zeus, when about to fight the Titans, released them from their bonds, and they, in gratitude, *gave him thunder, thunderbolt, and lightning* (501-506). Armed in this fashion, Zeus was victorious against the Titans (506-512). In post-in, in gratitude for their services, Zeus *bestowed on Poseidon the Isthmus of Corinth* (Paus. ii. 2). The Kyklopes were thus transformed into powerful deities, and they were accorded a prominent role in the religious and cultural life of ancient Greece.

The Homeric narrative of the Titanomachia seems to have been constructed by interweaving two distinct versions of the story. In one of the two, Zeus wins his victory over the Titans with the help of the hundred-handed Brothers; in the other, he owes it to the lightning-weapons with which he is provided by the Kyklopes.

The Hesiodic Kyklopes have nothing in common with the Kyklopes of the *Odyssey*, except that they are one-eyed. They are not men, but immortal; they are beings of the same order as the Thunderers, and they stand in the same relationship to Zeus as the Thunderers. It is probable that they were originally demons of the thunderstorm, who were *enraged* by Zeus and defeated by him. In post-in, in gratitude for their services, Zeus bestowed on Poseidon the Isthmus of Corinth (Paus. ii. 2). The Kyklopes to whom sacrifices were offered on an altar in or near the sanctuary of Poseidon at the Isthmus of Corinth (Paus. ii. 2) were presumably storm-demons of this kind.

The Homeric conception of the Kyklopes survived in later literature side by side with the different conception of them which is presented in the *Odyssey*. As forgers of thunderbolts, they were associated with Hephaestus, the metal-worker of the gods (Orph. Theog. fr. 92; Abel), and were described by Alexandrian and Roman poets as workers employed in his service (Kallim. *Hymnus a Artemis*, 48); and the smithy in which they worked was located in some volcano (Lipara *Kallim. l.c.); an island near Lipara (Verg. *Aen.* vii. 418 ff.); Etna (Verg. *Georg.* iv. 173). The immortal and cunning-makers of the Homeric *Theogonia* seem to be confused with the mortal savages of the *Odyssey* in the story that the Kyklopes were killed by Apollo, who was angered with them because they had supplied Zeus with the thunderbolt with which he slew Apollo's son Asklepios (Hes. *Theog.* fr. 47; Gotting; Therskydes, schol. Eur. *Adv.* 1; Apollod. iii. 4).

The Kyklopes were also spoken of as the builders of certain ancient fortress-walls, especially those of Tiryns, Mykenai, and Argos (Pindar, fr. 169; Perg. *Eur. Herc.* Par. 15, 244; *Ib. Aut.* 1600; Strabo, viii. 372; Paus. ii. 26). As the walls of Tiryns were constructed of huge blocks of stone, it was natural to assume that their builders were beings possessed of more human strength; and the notion that these builders were the Kyklopes may have been suggested either by the Homeric narrative, in which the Kyklopes Poliphemos heaves vast masses of rock, or by the Homeric conception of the Kyklopes as skilled artificers.

The origin of the name Kyklopes is unknown. The Greek word *kyklopes* might mean "round-eyed" (it was used by Parmenides as an epithet of the moon), but this meaning is not specifically appropriate either to the one-eyed Poliphemos of the *Odyssey* or to the one-eyed or the Homeric *Hesiod*. As to the notion of a being with one eye in his forehead, compare the description given by Pausanias (ii. xxiv. 8) of an old statue of Zeus in the citadel of Argos, which had a third eye in the forehead. This may have been a statue of a lightning-god; and it is possible that the god whom it represented may have been originally called 'Kyklop', though in later times it was supposed to be a statue of Zeus. The 'one-eyed Arimaspai' of Aristaeas (Apoll. *Prom.* .50; Herod. iv. 27) are comparable rather with the Kyklopes of the *Odyssey*.

It may be conjectured that the name Kyklopes was first used to signify demons of the thunderstorm, and that the power of the *Odysseus* (as in the earlier story-teller whom he followed), working into his narrative an old tale of an ogre outwitted and blinded by a bold and cunning hero, made the ogre a member of the same tribe of savages, and transferred to this tribe the name of the storm-demons.

Among the many representations of the Gigantomachia in art, the following are specially noteworthy: statue from Cnossus, Louvre (Overbeck, *Kunstgraph.* Atlas, Leipzig, 1875-81, tav. iv. 8); Mazarin Treasury at the Louvre; portrait of a Gigantomachia, Berlin, 1907, pl. 5-10, and Tafelband iii. (fig. lii.); Venetian painting of Aristophanes, Berlin, 1911 (Berger, *Gr. und d. Thronfall.* Berlin, iii. 8; Overbeck, v. 8); Amphora from Minoic Labyrinth, Munich, *Monuments press.* Paris, 1876, pl. 1; *JHS* iii. 349; altar-treise of Pergamon, Berlin (Puchstein, *Bemerkungen der Bildwerke aus Pergamon*, 2, 3, 1896); Pergamon-Museum in Photographien, do., 1898; Fuentrell-Dallongue, *Pergamon*, Paris, 1890, pl. 12.


W. BOOTT.

**GIFTS (Primitive and Savage).**—I. General conception among uncivilised peoples as to the nature of the transaction of giving.—(1) it has commonly been assumed that the 'presents' of savages and barbarians are the outcome of the same feelings and intentions as those of the modern man. Our act in giving is (in theory, at all events) an act of spontaneous bounty without thought of a return. It springs from good-will, or generosity, or gratitude, or sympathy. But we are a practical, selfish and sentimental gift is he absolutely ignorant.1

(2) Of course, there are exceptions, real or apparent, to be found.

GIFTS (Primitive and Savage)

Thus Parry tells us that on one occasion he received a present from a grateful Eskimo, who looked for nothing in return although the gift was the habitual practice of his people; and Howitt says of the Dieri that they made presents not for mutual utility but to preserve a friendly intercourse and save the life of one of their members. Finlay states expressly of natives on the east coast of Cape York that they expected no return for the presents of food and water, but that they gave them to strangers. Among the Bawo and Bapuk, the donor can demand a counter-gift only if it is greater than the recipient's. Among the Bagoes and Abyneeans, a gift called masjat is given by the female and takes the latter is given to a relative impoverished or ruined by war, on condition that the donor may recover it if he falls on evil days, or if the recipient revives his position. Again, it is not unusual for a tribe on the occasion of a visit to a friendly tribe to make presents; and of this we have an instance in the gift-dance of the Wundj. But it is to be kept in view that the gift-dancers receive similar gifts when the visit is returned.

(3) Further, it is to be observed that amongst many peoples—the Yaghan of Cape Horn, for example, and some of the natives of North Queensland, the distributor, in sharing food, keeps little or nothing for himself; and it is a commonplace that the rudest savage is often profuse in his hospitality, which frequently includes a parting gift to his guest, it may be in the form of provisions for his journey (see § 9 below), and art. STRANGERS. But it does not follow that such conduct is due to a spirit of usurious liberality. For, where the supply of foods is abundant, and procurable only by the joint exertions of the community, it is not unnatural that he who has a superfluity will give, on the understanding that he will receive a return which requires no exertion, and where there is no provision for public entertainment, to travel, especially if the country is insecure, would be highly dangerous, if not impossible, were it not for a hospitality based upon the experience that 'he who is the host to-day may be the guest tomorrow.'

(4) In the vast majority of instances, however, the gift is given on the understanding or, at all events, in the expectation that the recipient will make a return, either by giving something, or by doing or abstaining from doing something.

2. Return in the form of a material thing.—(1) The New Zealander sometimes gave away every article which he possessed; but he always expected an equivalent, and frequently, like the natives of Tahiti, dropped a hint of what he wanted in return. The Yaghan are ready to share what they have with others. They desire to possess in


W. H. Dall, Alaska and its Resources, Boston, 1870, p. 286.


W. C. Sumner, Leben und Reisen auf der Koam, London, 1865, Elia, II.


determined by purely commercial considerations. See below, p. 82. (1)

g. Return consisting of an act or of an abstention from acting.—(1) We come now to the second class of instances—those, namely, in which the recipient makes a return, not by giving something, but by doing or abstaining from doing something. It is stated to be ‘the universal custom of the East for none to present himself before a superior, more especially the king, without making a present;’ 2 for will offerings were brought to the chief-men of old Germany; 3 and a similar practice prevailed in Mexico, and among the Chibchas, and has been observed in Tahiti and Fiji, 4 in New Caledonia, 5 among the Mombutsu, 6 and in Sumatra. 7 On the Lucalla, each district from which representatives attend the fair must give a present to the chief within whose territory it is held. 8 Very frequently the protection of a king or a headman, his permission to enter the country, to trade within it, to leave it, must be purchased with gifts (see art. STRANGERS); and it has been observed that the stranger may have less to suffer from beggars in a despotic than in a republican country, it being presumed that on his first arrival he had satisfied the greatest beggar of all—namely, the king. 9

It may be noted by the way, that of the presents, of which the original purpose was to secure the protectorate of the foreigner, many less in course of time their voluntary character. In Fiji, forced presents were made to nurses by the under-nurses; 10 and in New Zealand, 11 and among certain Kaffir tribes, 12 chiefs who kept a sitting place to receive large presents from their under-chiefs, the revenue they derive being really a tax. 13 Spencer points out that, where the political head assumes universal ownership, he recompenses his subordinates for giving them gifts. 14 Thus, liberality is expected from the chief; so, that, especially the Aborigines, for example, he must give what he has, even when asked for the garment on his back. 15 ‘We still have in vails and Christmas-boxes to servants, etc., the remains of a system under which fixed remuneration was paid out by gift—a system itself sequel upon the earlier system under which gratuities formed the only remuneration.’ 16 The system to which Spencer alludes is in full force in the East. An Oriental expects not only to be paid for his services at the stipulated rate, but to receive a gift on leaving his employer; and this expectation prevails among persons in all ranks of life.

(2) No one consults a prophet, 17 or a priest or priestess, 18 without giving presents; and, in New Guinea, the Toarip tribe members obtain the prayers of the sorcerous by means of gifts. 19 If beggars are not growing well, the Murray Islander takes some

2 A. H. L. Herren, ‘Status, Researches into the Political Inter- sources, and Trade of the Prussian Nations of Antiquity, Oxford, 1833, l. 412; cf. Jg 357, K 1090, Ps 7393.
3 Dan, Germ. 18; see also G. Grimm, Deutscher Rechtsworterbuch, 6, Gottingen, 1881, p. 335.
9 J. L. Krapf, pp. 376, 376.
11 Polnack, l. 40.
13 See A. van Gennep, Taboo et todemisme à Madagascar, Paris, 1906, p. 97. Many other instances will be found in Spencer, §§ 835—878; see also R. H. Steward, pp. 46, note 2.
14 4, § 370; L. T. Lang, De West-Afrikhee, op. cit., p. 308.
16 Spencer, p. 376.
17 3, § 76.
18 15, § 74.
19 3, § 76.
of them as a gift to the sokele, who makes a charm to ensure a plentiful crop; and presents are given to the men on a buffalo hunt in return for their skill in hunting the

nick; and, if the latter dies, in ascertaining whose witchcraft slew him. If he fails to cure, he must return the gift. 5

(2) Often the purpose of the gift is to procure the abandonment of rights. Among the Jekris, Soboas, and Ijos, the son-in-law gives his father-in-law a desk, 6 (i.e. a present) on the birth of the first child; while, among the Be-Yaka, on a child's birth, the chief of the mother's village gives a gift of fowls to the father; and, as soon as it can walk, it is sent to the chief's village, to which it legally belongs, and from which the father cannot even purchase it. 7 Again, there are cases in which the bridgegroom is resisted, as he meets the bride, by his own kimmen, until he gives them something, and cases in which the bride refuses to enter the bridegroom's house until she has received a present from her friends. Sometimes a present is given by the bridegroom to his mother-in-law, to signify that the bride is thenceforth separated from the home of her girlhood; 8 and with this gift may be compared that given, among the Chamorro, by members of the bride's and bridegroom's families to the latter's mother. 9 Somewhat similar is the case of a bride in Uganda. During the first month of her marriage she veils her face; and the bridegroom is permitted to lift the veil only on giving her a goat to be eaten by her and her friends. A present of money procures a similar privilege in modern Egypt. 10

(3) Sometimes a gift serves as compensation for loss. Thus, among the Banaka and Bapukra, it is a custom of the husband whose wife has died to give something to her family; while the kindfolk of a dead man must make a present to the relatives of his mother. The Déné recognize the former obligation. 11

(4) In Ashango-land, if a stranger accepts a present from the natives, he is bound to make some stay in their district. 12

(5) Crime is expiated, 13 and peace is purchased, 14 by making presents. Again, a taboo may be removed by a gift of food; and by presents the impotency of a taboo may be bought off. 15

(7) It is a world-wide custom for the wife to open his suit by making a gift, it may be to the

1. A. Dunant, 'Ethnog. Notes on the Murray Islands, Torres Straits,' JAI, xxvi. 1909, pp. 70 et seq.
3. Id., 'Adowa,' pp. 71, 73 (Assam).
8. W. Crooke, 'The Hill Tribes of the Central Indian Hills,' JAI, xxvi. 1909, pp. 159 et seq.
10. Id., 'Adowa,' pp. 71, 73 (Assam).
18. Id., 'Adowa,' pp. 71, 73 (Assam).
22. Id., 'Adowa,' pp. 71, 73 (Assam).
pracised in the world of Homer, and in the northern countries; and it is in observance in the Aztecs, the Benaeka and the Rapu, in New Guinea, and among the Alteus, in New Zealand, and among the Ostoks. It may be noted that a gift is sometimes given by the guest to the host that he may gain a reputation for generosity (see (3) above). The donor's present to the guest's parents may be due to his desire to ingratitude himself with them (see (7) and (8) above) and the host's parting gift may express nothing more than a wish to kindle friendly feelings in the breast of his guest (see (9) above). We shall return to the consideration of this question in (3) (6) above.

(11) In connexion with the last two instances mentioned in the preceding paragraph, it is to be noted that the purpose of the donor—the suitor who gives to the host's parents, and the host who gives to his departing guest—is not always and everywhere one and the same. The donor gives sometimes to the parents to train their children to be brought up right, and sometimes to buy off their rights in their daughter; and the host gives sometimes to strengthen the ties of friendship, and sometimes, it may be, to secure the host's good will. If it is his turn to be entertained (see (1) above). These instances might easily be multiplied. Moreover, it is not to be forgotten that, in making a present, the donor may have in view more personal than that. He may, for example, be seeking, by one and the same act, to obtain the donor's favour, to acquire a material benefit for himself and his family, and to take part in the performance of a religious or magical ceremony. The ground upon which the donor rests his expectation that a return will be made.—(a) Where there is no form of a material thing. It is obvious from the evidence which has been adduced that, among uncivilized peoples, gifts are given in the expectation that a return will be made; and the ground on which this expectation rests is what we may term an exchange. In other words, whatever it is which induces or constrains the recipient to make a return? We shall take, first of all, the case of a material return. (1) Now, it is strictly in accordance with primitive notions to regard 'the nature of anything as including in all its parts, even when the parts are separated from it, and to treat as part of a man's substance not only his blood, saliva, umbilical cord, sweat, sweet, hair, snuff, nail-paing, and the like, but earth from his foot.

1 Od. i. 811; H. i. 397; v. 593 f; xii. 10, xv. 118f.
3 Man. p. 28.
4 Steinitzlein, p. 43.
5 A. W. E. Memoirs, 4th ed. In these instances, the gift takes the form of provisions for the journey.
6 G. de Neve, the Story of the Horse, London, 1889, p. 328.
7 F. S. Plass, Voyages, dallas, pictures of the skeleton and the face of the skeleton, tr. F. X. de la Peyrroue, Paris, 1880, p. 162.
8 Nicolet, op. Steinitzlein, p. 185; Taw. Lea; Wealsdin, p. 59.
9 See A. van Gennep, Le Miroir de passage, p. 61.
10 See A. van Gennep, op. cit. 1.
14 See (3) above. It is considered dangerous, not only for the recipient to receive it without saying, "I give it to you, but also for the giver to give it without uttering the same formula, by way of protestation. . . . It seems likely that the custom of not receiving partial payment at the hand of the guest is largely due to that same general law which underlies many other rules of hospitality" (E. Westerman, G.L. 1890, 26). (2) To give is frequently regarded as perilous to the donor. Thus, among the Australian tribes other than those of the centre, hair is never given by the owner, lest he should put it into the power of the recipient to injure him. Again, it is thought to be dangerous to give salt or leave out of the house, for, if it pass into the hands of any person who has the power of wishing, i.e., of bringing down the result of wishing or of wishing the possession of it to pass given entirely within the power of the wish-material." (3) In some cases a gift will ward off harm at the hands of witch or fairy. In the Isle of Man, in Somersetshire, and in some parts of Scotland, it was customary for the woman who carried a child to be christened to give bread and cheese to the first person who met her and would do her no harm, and a refusal of the gifts was regarded as an expression of evil wills towards the child. With this practice we may perhaps compare that of the Sidh (or Lillieeets), among whom visitors to the parents on the birth of a child receive presents from its father. In the Highlands of Scotland, if a stranger has looked over a cow, the dangers of the evil eye are averted by offering him some of its milk to drink; and in Australia a tabu is removed by a present of food. Thus, among the Unnius and Kaitiah tribes, a widow is under a ban of silence after her husband's death, usually for many months, until she is released from it by the dead man's youngest brother.

Thus, when this takes place she makes an offering to him of a very considerable quantity of food, with a fragment of which he licks her mouth, thus indicating to her that she has no more free to talk and to take part in the ordinary duties of a woman." (1) E. S. Hartland, L.P. London, 1894-96, ii. 25, 66-116.
2 J. G. Fraser, G.L., p. 1. vol. i. p. 179; Crawley, p. 177, 180.
7 E. H. Westerman, G.L. 1873, 101; see (11) below.
9 Spencer-Gordon, op. cit. p. 61.
10 Spencer-Gordon, op. cit. p. 466; see also, 328, 380, 368, 545, 544, 640, 640 f., also 4, p. 327, 329, 329 f.; Howitt, p. 553; cf. Crawley, p. 88.
accept Wallis's presents until his men had taken all the articles which they offered in return. 1 The Islanders of Manana, with whom the whites were on terms of enmity, and left untouched the articles placed there as a counter-gift. 2

With these instances may be compared those supplied by popular superstition: the case, for example, of the Durham schoolmaster, who dared not give a knife to one of his pupils without receiving a penny, in order that it 3 might be purchased, not given; 4 and the widely prevalent belief that it is unlucky to give a knife or a pair of scissors, unless some return be made to the donor. 5 We are told that, in South Germany, the dwarfs were always careful to make a return for anything which they had received; 6 and that, in Allenburg and Silesia, if anything is given out of a house, the luck is given away unless some trifle, such as a needle, be given in return. 7

(7) We have seen that the principle of exchange is that of giving in order to receive—that the gift is made in the expectation, if not on the understanding, that a return will be made. Further, the evidence adduced seems to warrant the view that this expectation rests to some extent, at all events, upon the notion that it is dangerous to accept the thing given without giving something in exchange for it, and that, if each of the parties both gives and takes, the danger is avoided. Is it then that this is the nature of this new relation? It is that of union, brought about by an interchange of substance—a union, therefore, of the most intimate character. 8

The closeness of the connection is illustrated by the fact that, among the Estimos of Baringa, people exchanging presents at the 'Walking Festival' are considered to have established a certain temporary relationship. Formerly they gave and received presents at the festival every successive year. A somewhat similar instance is that of the Tarahumara, with whom a purchase establishes a kind of brotherhood between the parties to it. Thenceforward they call each other 'soulmates,' and a confederacy is established between those who have so exchanged, as that which subsists between 'comrades' among the Mexicans. 9

(8) The duration of this substantial union appears to differ in different cases. Where, for instance, men have been made 'brothers' by an exchange of blood or by the use of some other rite, the relation so constituted is often a lifelong, and sometimes a hereditary, relation (see BROTHERHOOD). Among the central Australians, a connexion which appears to be temporary is created between those who are about to take part in an avenging expedition, by an exchange of blood, which has the effect of rendering trecerych impossible. 10 So, too, when the uninitiated is told by his, and not about by an exchange of food or drink, or by eating together—which is regarded as virtually the same thing—it is often merely temporary. Thus Doughty 11 tells us of a cattle band among the Aborigines of the desert that salt and peace is established with the stranger for a time—for, that is to say, two nights and the intervening day—whilst their food is in him; and Burton 12 says that some tribes required the bond to be renewed every twenty-four hours, as

7. ib. 137.
8. O. Criddle, Tjapukai, 1897.
otherwise, to use their own phrase, 'the salt is not in their stomachs.'

(9) It would seem, then, that in every case of a breach of this union the wronged one lays himself open to the vengeance of the man whom he has wronged. But this is not the only or the greatest danger to which he exposes himself. For, where the relationship is intimate and complete, that each of the parties is, in a very literal sense, the alter ego of the other, its rupture may be productive of the direst consequences to him who is in fault; and these consequences are due not to the action of the injured party, but to that automatic retribution—in the form, it may be, of disease, or death—which follows upon the breach of a taboo.1

(10) If an exchange of presents can produce a union such as this, it is easy to understand why it is that so solemn a ceremony as savage or barbaric life are almost invariably celebrated by such an exchange. It signalises the birth of a child,2 and it accompanies marriage,3 circumcision,4 initiation,5 and the constitution of such relations as those of brotherhood by choice (see BROTHERHOOD [Artificial]), and those between partner and protector of club and privileged stranger.6 In China, it has a place in betrothal,7 and in mourning ceremonies;8 and it is practised at inter-tribal assemblies,9 on the occasion of a death,10 and in evidence of intimate friendships.11 Visits are frequently the occasion of an interchange of gifts, as, for example, those made to a woman on her confinement;12 while in the Lapp sup, the female visitors, who bring presents to the young mother, are, at a later date, entertained by the father to a feast.13 Among the Mowachs, visits are always accompanied by an exchange of presents;14 and similar accounts are given of the Andaman Islanders,15 of the Eskimos of Greenland,16 of the Yanomamo,17 and of the natives of Samoa.18

On days of feasting and rejoicing the Jews sent portions to one another;19 and a similar practice was followed in the Homeric world.20

The Lapps give and receive gifts on coming into the presence of a superior;21 and, in Brutan,22 an inferior on approaching a superior presents the white silk scarf, and, when dismissed, has it thrown over his neck, with the ends hanging down in front. Equals exchange scars on meeting, bending towards each other with an inclination of the body.23

(11) This view of the operation of an exchange of gifts makes it readily intelligible why the refusal of a gift is generally regarded as the highest degree insulting,24 or injurious.25 In old Germany, such a refusal had its special forms. Thus, in order to show that it did not proceed from selfish motives, it was accompanied by the invocation of a blessing upon the object returned—'got lose in furer bone heiden aussein.'26

(5) Where the return consists of an act, or of an abstinence from acting. We have seen that, where the return takes the form of a material thing, each of the parties to the transaction—donee as well as donor—gives part of himself to the other. Each puts himself in the other's power. There is an exchange of substance which creates a union. But, in the case in which we are considering, neither act nor abstinence from acting passes to the donor as part of the donee's substance. Suppose, for example, that an inferior makes a present to a superior in order to obtain his protection, and that the latter accepts it on the footing that he will see to the security of the donor's person and property. The acts with which the possession of the completed engagement are not parts of himself which he gives to the donor in exchange for his gift. They are not elements out of which a union is created. They are, rather, results of the donor's giving, a union already in existence, of which the elements are the donor's gift on the one hand, and the donee's acceptance of it on the other. This operation of acceptance appears quite in those cases in which the return consists rather in a state of feeling towards the donor than in an overt act or abstinence in his favour. In this connection we may perhaps make those cases, in which we have noted above (see 4 (a) (3)), where a gift to the person, or by the person, whose ill-will is feared averts the danger; and, further, we may refer to the world-wide in accordance with which a girl sends a gift to her lover, in order to transmit to him her feelings and to quicken his affections. The gift may be, as in the case of the women of Timor, a flower from her hair or a scarf-pin from her bosom,27 or an article, such as a head-band, which, having been 'sung,' acts upon the wearer as a charm.28 It seems that, in all these instances, the acceptance of the gift by the recipient as his makes it part of himself, just as it is already part of the donor. Donor and recipient are thus united in and through it, to precisely the same effect as they are united by an interchange of presents; and precisely the same relation of reciprocal good-will is brought into being (see above, 4 (a) (3) (6) and Crawley, pp. 257, 239). If these views be sound, it is plain why presents are given on days of friendly intercourse or family reunion, as in China, where valuable gifts are made to parents and heads of clans on their birthday festivals;29 and why gifts are distributed as part of ceremonies in which the community is interested, as on the 1 C. Lommel, De Lapponum Piscatorum, Copenhagen, 1784, p. 272.


3 a.g. Bridges, p. 179 (Tener), Powers, p. 336 (Gibbon); Dalh, p. 240 (Altona).

4 See H. von Wissmann, p. 147, and 4 (a) (0) above.

5 Meyer, p. 35.


8 Gray, p. 379.

1 See A. von Gonzen, Teubl et tradition & Magadon, Paris, 1912, p. 275. See also art. Intestationale (Artificial). In 1879, 224 (Rome); Williams-Oliver, l. 175 (Pisa).


3 J. H. Gray, China, London, 1878, i. 189-197.


admission of a child into a gens among the Kwakiutl; at the initiation of novices into the secret societies of the Bismarck Archipelago and Solomon Islands; among the Brahmins of the Deccan and Madras Presidency at ceremonies of adoption; on the bestowal of a family name among the Lekonos; and on the burial of a living being at York’s Island. At a Yahgan burial presents are liberally distributed.

5. The completion of the transaction.—(1) The primitive transaction to which we in ordinary parlance assign the name of ‘gift’ is thus really a bilateral transaction; and the position of the donor is really that of a person who makes an offer which he can recall, until it has been accepted. In many instances acceptance is signified by some trifling payment or present—a survival, it seems, of the return gift of which we have so often heard among the primitive peoples, and which is given under the name ‘lanegigl,’ ‘guidarod,’ ‘gueretorn,’ ‘galar- don,’ and recognizable in the earnest, or the eucharistic meal, which is sometimes given in evidence of the completion of the bargain. Edmond de Bryon quotes from Haran, Le Folklore de Godarville (Antwerp, 1893), the statement that, in cases of sale,

‘en échange d’un objet qu’on vous offre, vous devez faire un cadeau, quit de la plus mince importance. Ainsi l’est d’usage de donner une pièce d’orisel ou une épingle laquelle vous cherchez du petit fait à la ferme.’

(2) There are to be found in which other methods are employed to complete the transaction, and to place the object transferred beyond the donor’s or seller’s reach. Of these a common one is that by which the recipient makes the object his own, or, rather, part of himself, by some act of appropriation. Thus, Cook says of the natives of Tahiti that

‘they return to their heads, by way of thanks, as we conjectured. . . . When we gave things to the children, the mother lifted up the child’s hand to her head. They also used this custom in their exchanges with us; whichever we gave them for their goods was put to their head, just as it had been given them for nothing. Sometimes they would look at our goods, and, if not approved, return them back; but, whenever they applied them to the head, the bargain was infallibly struck.’

A similar practice seems to have prevailed in Fiji. So, too, the Eskimos of Baffin Island ‘lick with their tongue everything that comes into their possession,’ ‘as a finish to the bargain and as an act of appropriation.’

The significance of these acts appears clearly from the converse practice of the Eskimos of Bering Strait, who retain and, in some cases, swallow part of the article which they are trading, in order to keep possession of its essential essence, and move, through its agency, to obtain another article of the same kind; and from other instances. Again, it is not unusual for farmers, market-women, hawkers, and the like, to spit for profit.


4 Bridges, p. 176.

5 J. M. H. de Groot, Bastiens, II, 86.

6 Henderen, p. 112; Jackson and Barrow, p. 278; C. W. John, Fish and Amer. Laws, Contracts, and Letters, Edin- burgh, 1804, p. 228.

7 Le Folklore du droit immobiliaire, Brussels, 1904, p. 59.

8 Le Folklore des Français des South Pole and round the World . . . , in the Years 1877-78, London, 1877, pp. 122.

9 J. Williams and Cleavers, I, 156.


luck on all money received by them, probably for the reason given in Lemon’s Dictionary (1783), viz. prevent its ‘vanishing away like a fairy gift’; and a like practice prevails among the Brahmins of the Deccan and Madras Presidency at ceremonies of adoption; on the bestowal of a family name among the Lekonos; and on the burial of a living being at York’s Island. At a Yahgan burial presents are liberally distributed.

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‘en échange d’un objet qu’on vous offre, vous devez faire un cadeau, quit de la plus mince importance. Ainsi l’est d’usage de donner une pièce d’orisel ou une épingle laquelle vous cherchez du petit fait à la ferme.’

(2) There are to be found in which other methods are employed to complete the transaction, and to place the object transferred beyond the donor’s or seller’s reach. Of these a common one is that by which the recipient makes the object his own, or, rather, part of himself, by some act of appropriation. Thus, Cook says of the natives of Tahiti that

‘they return to their heads, by way of thanks, as we conjectured. . . . When we gave things to the children, the mother lifted up the child’s hand to her head. They also used this custom in their exchanges with us; whichever we gave them for their goods was put to their head, just as it had been given them for nothing. Sometimes they would look at our goods, and, if not approved, return them back; but, whenever they applied them to the head, the bargain was infallibly struck.’

A similar practice seems to have prevailed in Fiji. So, too, the Eskimos of Baffin Island ‘lick with their tongue everything that comes into their possession,’ ‘as a finish to the bargain and as an act of appropriation.’

The significance of these acts appears clearly from the converse practice of the Eskimos of Bering Strait, who retain and, in some cases, swallow part of the article which they are trading, in order to keep possession of its essential essence, and move, through its agency, to obtain another article of the same kind; and from other instances. Again, it is not unusual for farmers, market-women, hawkers, and the like, to spit for profit.


4 Bridges, p. 176.

5 J. M. H. de Groot, Bastiens, II, 86.

6 Henderen, p. 112; Jackson and Barrow, p. 278; C. W. John, Fish and Amer. Laws, Contracts, and Letters, Edin- burgh, 1804, p. 228.

7 Le Folklore du droit immobiliaire, Brussels, 1904, p. 59.

8 Le Folklore des Français des South Pole and round the World . . . , in the Years 1877-78, London, 1877, pp. 122.

9 J. Williams and Cleavers, I, 156.


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The bond of a common language is no security for kindly offices. A stranger and an enemy are almost synonymous terms.

On the other hand, it has been observed by Spencer and Gillen that, among the tribes with which they are acquainted,

"there is nothing so common as a tribe being in a constant state of enmity with another. ... The members of one tribe will tell your tale in a way in which they are not even new to the other; and the same tribe may be living upon most friendly terms with its immediate neighbours, and some of the latter will be doing precisely the same thing with the tribe of which your informant is afraid and suspicious. At the same time it is quite true, that, if a member of an unknown tribe made his appearance, except, of course, he came accredited as a sacred messenger, he would most probably be promptly scared. Anything strange is uncanny to the native, who has a peculiar dread of evil magic from a distance."

In many instances the conception that the stranger is a being to be feared and hated is held most strongly by that portion of the population which is most remote from and, therefore, least familiar with him. Thus, those of the Yaghn who have never met with the Ona regard them as mortal enemies; while those of them who are their neighbours intermarry with them and fall, to some extent, at all events, under their influence. So, too, among some of the N. Queensland natives, that they will hunt down and slay and eat the stranger who trespasses on their territory; while those of their divisions which lie north of them are said to live out of their reach. It is not always easy to determine whether this exchange is or is not subject to the same limitations as the practice of lending, which occurs only between members of the same tribe or clan. The Bakali are not themselves traders, and they do not possess the stone suitable for axes. Accordingly, they procure these articles from their neighbours. An exchange presents to his host some article peculiar to his tribe or locale; and the latter, either on receiving him, or, more generally, on parting, gives him something in return. But, until our informant's visit to them, the Bakali knew nothing of exchanging specific object for specific objects. The guest expected to receive something, but it remained with the host to determine what he should receive. Again, it is said of the Indians of Guiana that each tribe has some special manufacture; and that its members constantly visit other tribes, hosts though they be, for the purpose of exchanging the products of their labour for articles which they themselves do not produce. These trading Indians are allowed to pass through an enemy's country without let or hindrance. The New Zealand affords another instance of the circulation of property by exchange of specialties. The inhabitants on the upper Wanganui send preserved parrots and other birds which are considered a delicacy as presents to other parts of the country where they are scarce; and, in due time, a return present of dried fish, or something else not to be obtained easily in the inland country, is received. Of the Bushmen we are told that they had no contact with people beyond their own communities, except in war, for they were without a conception of commerce; 12 while R. Moffat 13 informs us that they supplied Hottentots, Coranas, and Namaquas with quivers, bows, and poisoned arrows. S. Passmore, 14 relying on the information of a Bushman attendant, speaks of the commercial relations of the latter's countrymen with Bechuana tribes, and adds that large prices were obtained for certain commodities; but as to the modes of these transactions he leaves us in ignorance.

The most remarkable example of this primitive traffic is afforded by the aborigines of Australia. In their case it seems to reach its highest point of organization among those tribes of Queensland of which W. E. Roth supplies an admirable account. He tells us that certain unde-rottei led down from time immemorial along the score of their own or nearest tribe" are followed by the members of a tribe or tribes, along which each knows that he is free to go, and the others are to be present."

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2. Hyades-Deniker, viii, 12.
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travel unainted; these routes, of greater or less extent, are rigidly adhered to. The opening of the local market, so steeped in the usages of the time, of the older or "houses" as one of the larger camps. . . . where instructions are often given to all who go, what to take, and what to return with.1

Roth gives a list of trade routes and of the articles bartered at the various 'swapping stations,' and observes that this intercourse is productive of the same exchange not only of material things but of ideas.2

In the case of the tribes of S.E. Australia, commerce is less systematic in form. Trade-centres exist among them, but barter takes place only on certain solemn occasions, such as the settling of a blood feud, the celebration of an initiation ceremony, or the occurrence of a great tribal gathering;3 and it is worthy of note that the very tribes which frequent these resorts make annual expeditions to obtain pitchers and red ochre, during which they are permitted to fight every inch of the way.

But, besides this trading at recognized places, articles pass from one tribe to another by way of barter. Thus, the Yarrurwoote obtained wooden shields from their neighbours higher up Cooper's Creek, who got them from tribes farther to the north-east4; and, in the case of the central Australian aborigines, the hunting clubs made by the Karrabri and Warnamunna are traded down to the Macowan Range and right away to the south of the Arunta and Larithina.5 In this way ornaments,6 alluvial stones,7 spears, plumed girders, bones (diorites),8 stones for axes and hatchets,10 articles of food,11 red ochre, sandstone, slabs for grinding grass and other seeds,12 and skins13 pass from tribe to tribe by way of barter. It is, of course, true that in many instances, widely separated from one another,

There are two Australian usages with regard to trade which deserve special mention. Of the first, called yateke, prevailing among the Pitjantjara, and which is known to be a very old practice,6 it is this that the chief is said to bring back with him articles for his yateke, while he is away, to collect presents for him. Under no circumstances is such a pleasure forgotten.14 The second usage is practised by the Murngin. When a tribesman has a child born to him, he preserves its umbilical cord, and gives it to a man of another tribe, who has children. In this way these children become adopted by the child's tribe. If they do not touch, or approach, or address each other; and, when they have arrived at adult age, they become the agents through whom their respective tribes carry on barter. Their arrangement is said to answer two purposes. It gives security to the tribe of a protection of their agents for their own benefit, and also compels the two always to consult the tribes through which they trade.15 It is a matter of indifference whether the children do or do not belong to the same tribe.

(3) These instances from Australia establish the fact that the tribes of which Roth speaks possess a far more highly organized system of commerce than is to be found among the natives of the centre. They show us further that the S.E. aborigines engage in barter with strangers as well as friends at certain established trading-centres on certain recognized occasions; and they supply ample evidence of the passage of commodities from tribe to tribe, sometimes directly and sometimes through the medium of friendly tribes or of a special class of persons. At the same time, it is obvious that, except perhaps in the case of the tribes first mentioned, such trafficking is exceptional. Yet the mere fact that it exists indicates that the parties to it have made a notable advance along the path of commercial progress. The privileges accorded to the trader among the natives of Giau have been productive of the same exchange not only of material things but of ideas.12

The practice of exchanging guest-gifts has a wider range among the Bakali than among the Andaman Islanders. Among the former, it may take place between strangers; and, on the other hand, it takes place only between friends, or between a host and an accredited stranger. Accordingly, it is plain that in each of the three last instances we meet with a personal exception to the general rule of treating the stranger as an enemy—an exception that is to say, in favour of the stranger-trader and the commercial guest.

(4) Now, a large body of evidence attests the prevalence, both in the past and in the present, in almost every quarter of the globe, of a mode of trading which throws, it is thought, so little light upon the origin of this exception. This so-called 'silent trade' is, in its simplest form, a transaction by way of exchange between persons who are unseen by one another; and examples of it are supplied by European and Asiatic Russia, by many parts of Africa, by Sumatra, Borneo, and the Moluccas, and by the Central and South America.1 Here we propose to consider only those instances which occur amongst peoples regarding whose life and surroundings we have adequate if not full information.

It has been said that this form does not represent the first beginnings of intercourse with the stranger—that it is, rather, a device adopted by traders of a higher civilisation in order to evade the suspicions and fears of those belonging to a lower civilisation and to induce them to trade. It is undoubted that so many primitive peoples the practice of making exchanges with persons outside of their own clan or tribe was unknown until it was introduced among them or forced upon them by strangers of a culture superior to their own. Thus, while there is no evidence of exchange between the extinct Tasmanians or Botocudos or Seris with the tribes in their neighbourhood, it is reported of the two former that they exchanged with the Europeans with whom they were brought into touch, and of the last named that they learned to practise it from the whites of Sumatra, with whose missions and military expeditions they came frequently into contact. It would be unjustifiable, however, in view of the evidence, to attribute the origin of this curious form to the ingenuity of civilized traders; for, while it is true that not infrequently such traders employ this method in dealing with rude peoples, it is no less true than in many cases it is practised by such peoples in opening a trade with those outside their borders.

(5) The Veddas of Ceylon, the Sakais (Senoi) of Malaya, the Todas of Celebes, and the Kubus of Sumatra are regarded by the latest authorities as related races, on the ground of the similarity not only of their somatological characteristics, but of their habits and modes of life; and, consequently,

1 See Hamilton-Gierson, pp. 41-47.
3 Ibid., pp. 226-227.
6 See also W. J. MacGillivray, The Red Indians, 1849, pp. 114, 115, 124, 125, 204, 372.
7 See also Miss Beveridge, op. cit., pp. 41-47.
8 E. P. H. Smith, Tbe Aborigines of Tasmania, Halfax, 1882, pp. 41, 42; Maximilian Prisno Wied-Neuwied, Reise nach Brasilien, Frankfurt, 1851, i. 554, 555, 563.
10 See also W. J. MacGillivray, op. cit., pp. 114, 115, 124, 125, 204, 372.
11 See also Miss Beveridge, op. cit., pp. 41-47.
it is of especial interest to us to find that all these peoples practice this method of exchange in its simplest form. Fa Hian is apparently speaking of the Veddas, when he says of Ceylon that
'...it is a country of demons, goblins, and dragon-dwellers. Nevertheless merchants of other countries trafficked with them. When the season for trade came, taxes and demons appeared not, but set forward their precious commodities marked with the same price. If the merchants of other countries sold them cheaper, they raised the price and took the goods.'

Many instances might be collected in which the merchant is said to have been uncertain whether he was trading with men or demons. According to E. Schürer, 8 the coast-people of Laccad (Ceylon) traded clothes in accordance with this method. It is possible, however, that his account applies not to Ceylon, but to those lands in the Indian Ocean, where, according to Gavrilin, 9 a close trade was conducted in this manner. The method is still practised by the Veddas of Nilgiri. 10 Accordingly, the statement of Saley 11 to the contrary appears to be contrary.

Robert Knox's account—which is corroborated by many other reports to the same effect—inform us that, when the Veddas want arrows, they 'will carry their load of fish in the night, and hang it up in a Smith's, also a leaf cut in the form they will have their bow made, and wait them. Which the Smith makes also according to their pattern they will require, they bring him more fish; but if he makes them not they will do him apresent of money and a leaf for the night. If the Smith makes the arrows he leaves them in the same place as the Veddas hung the fish.' It may be noted that in the case of the Sinom and the Trukka, who employ a similar method of trade, each article is subject to it as a sample of what is wanted in return; and a similar indication is given by the natives of the Rio del Norte in bartering with the whites.

The wild Sakais of Peru, in trafficking with the Malays, either employ a 'tame' Sakai as an intermediary, or deposit their wares, which consist of jungle produce, on the banks of rivers, at certain times and places known to the trader. They then withdraw, and return after an interval to take the articles offered in exchange. Hugh Clifford 12 speaks of the 'tame' Sakai only as exchanging with the Malays, who deposit the articles of commerce, river by river, wherever the Sakais remove them, replacing them with their wares. The Todias of Celebes formerly practised this mode of trading, laying down their produce in the forest, without which any one could take it on leaving something in exchange. Winter tells us that the Orang Kuba of Sumatra deposit such articles as rattan, beeswax, and tobacco on a river-bank where they may catch the eye of the Malay trader, and then retire. They return from time to time; and the article offered, which suits their taste has been laid down beside their offer, they take it away with them, leaving their barker for the trader to carry on board his procui.
to exchange fresh or dried flesh for maize. As to the manner of the exchange, we have, unfortunately, no precise information.

The accounts of the trading methods of the Negritos of the Philippines are somewhat wanting in precision. We are told of the Aetas that they deal only with the Malay tribes which are their neighbors, for their honey and beeswax, such articles as arrow-heads, knives, blades, cloth, etc., which they cannot provide for themselves. It is said that they always, as far as possible, employ the same persons to conduct this traffic. Further, it is stated by a recent American authority that 'in many places in the Archipelago to-day, especially in Mindanao, periodic commerce is carried on regularly on neutral territory. Market-places are selected where products are put down by one party, which then retires temporarily, and are taken up by the other party, which comes and leaves its own productions in exchange.'

Blumentritt's informants spoke of the Mamansas of Mindanao as exchanging, but said nothing of the method of the process. The 'silent trade' is employed by the wild Apoyoses of Luzon in barter their tobacco with the Christian natives.

Wright's description of the Kuba's mode of exchange is remarkably similar to Bell's account of that employed by the Smoos and Twakas of the Mosquito country.

Similar accounts are given of peoples regarding whom we have little information. Thus, we hear of the practice at Mosambique, and, if we credit a native story, at Amboyna. It was employed by the Palomino in exchanging their tea with the Burmans, and the legends of the invisible smith in Berkshire, and in the Aolian Isles of Lipari, and an echo in Denmark, in Westphalia, and other parts of Germany, and on the West Coast of Africa.

(10) We are told of the natives of Cumberland's Island, by the writer of Martin Frobisher's second voyage to the coast, 'that on their manner of traffic is thus: they use to lay down of their merchandize upon the ground so much as they mean to part with, and so looking that the other party with whom they make trade should do the like, they do se themselves depart, and then if they do like of their Mars they come again and take in exchange the others merchandize, otherwise if they like not, they take their own and depart.' It is not quite clear whether those who carried on this trade were mutually unseen, or whether this instance is an example of another form of the practice, in which the parties are seen by one another, but keep at a safe distance. Of the latter form many examples might be cited. In some of these a considerable interval separates those engaged in the trade, while, in others, a mere line drawn on the sand is the only division between them.

A very instructive instance of another form of the practice is supplied by Landar. His object was to obtain yams, and some of the natives with him proceeded well-armed to a town near the river, and returned followed by many armed people carrying bundles of yams. They were accompanied by an old woman, who seemed to be a person of authority. On arriving at the river, she directed the yams to be placed beside the bundles before Landar's natives, and ordered the owner to retire to a short distance. The purchaser then inspected the bundles, and, having selected one to his own satisfaction, placed beside it what he considered to be its value in cloth, flints, etc. The old woman looked on while this was being done, and, if she thought that what was given was sufficient, she took up the cloth and gave it to the owner of the bundles, the purchaser taking away the yams. If, on the contrary, she thought that the purchaser's offer was insufficient, she allowed it to remain a short time, so as to give him an opportunity of adding something to it. If he did not add anything, she directed the owner of the yams to move them out of the way, and left the purchaser to remove his cloth. 'All this was carried on without a word passing between the parties.'

With Landar's account may be compared what is said of the Alents.

'They never transact business with each other personally, but always through some one third person. When they come to barter anything, sends it into another house by this agent, who, without mentioning the owner's name, says 'take your yam.' To such an object. The agent sees what is wanted in return, and sends as much as he thinks fit of what is required. The agent then takes the object he has, and, if it is not to the bargaining is remarkably similar

2. See Hamilton-Griffith, Travels in the Interior of Africa, ii. 147.
5. N. B. du Chatellier, 1061.
6. Hastiky, i. 68.
7. Hastiky, ii. 68.
8. See Hastiky, ii. 68, and cf. O. von Kuroscha, A Voyage of Discovery into the S. Sea and Barhí's Straits, 1815-1818, London, 1821, i. 226 f., as to the dealings of the Chuchulis with the Ekitines near Kutasoum bound.
10. See Hastiky, i. 68; and cf. O. von Kuroscha, A Voyage of Discovery into the S. Sea and Barhí's Straits, 1815-1818, London, 1821, i. 226 f., as to the dealings of the Chuchulis with the Ekitines near Kutasoum bound.
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familiar with exchange as practised within his own group, and he believed that the parties to it were brought into a relation of such a sort as to secure their good faith. Here, then, was a method to his hand. He would exchange with the savage, but only by keeping out of sight—by neither seeing nor being seen by him—would limit his contact with him to that affected by the exchange itself. The stranger would not dare to take his goods without making a return; and the good faith of both parties would be guaranteed by the nature of the relation which he thus united them for the time. Thus, the method, in its simplest form, is an application of the principles which operate in exchange, as adapted to the special circumstances of the case. Among the Alemis, the contact of the parties is limited to that implied in the act of exchanging; but, in other instances, the case is different. Sometimes the parties come into view of one another; sometimes they even approach one another; sometimes they transact wholly through intermediaries; and sometimes they take the additional precaution of making silence as long as the traffic lasts. Lastly, there are instances in which honest dealing and peaceable conduct are assured by fear, not of the mysterious retribution which follows upon a breach of taboo, but of the punishment inflicted on the cheat and the trouble-breaker by the god of the market. It will be seen from the facts which have been adduced that the mutual avoidance of the parties, accompanying, as it does, the mysterious union which exchange creates, serves more than one purpose. It begins, so to speak, by being a safeguard, and it becomes a rite, without, however, in many cases at least, losing its primary character. It seems impossible, notwithstanding Smol's observations1 to the contrary, that the method of trade practised by traders of the Aborigines among the members of the Alemis tribe, being with a rude form of the taboos of persons in use among the Narrinyeri (see 6 (2)) to be regarded as a survival of practices formerly prevalent among the natives of Australia before they had reached the stage of commercial development which they now occupy; and a like explanation may hold good in the instance supplied by Melville1 of trading through the medium of a 'tabooed Kannaka,' and in the case of the Alemts and the Eskimos of Bering Strait already referred to (see 6 (11)).

In only one account of this method of trade, and that a very vague one, is it expressly stated that the place of its occurrence is regarded as neutral ground. This matter will be dealt with in art. MARKET.

LITERATURE.—This is indicated in the footnotes.

P. J. HAMILTON-GRIFFIN.

GIFTS (Greek and Roman).—1. There was an old Greek proverb that gifts persuade the gods and the majesty of kings (Plat. Rep. 380 E). Besides testifying to the universal efficacy of gifts, it serves to mark a natural division of the subject-matter. Gifts made to the gods will form no part of the present article; for information concerning them the reader is referred to SACRIFICE. But, even if these are excluded, the giving of presents on particular occasions was often dictated by superstitious fears, as in the case of the sacrifices, which have survived from an immemorial antiquity to the present day, because that which was formerly accounted to possess a magic virtue has endured as a symbol of affection, and a feeling of great act of courtesy (cf. BIRTH-DAYS). It is true that valuable gifts could never be out of season, when an enemy was to be won over or a friend had been estranged. Nevertheless, in heroic times the customs regulating the giving of presents had a

1 B.S., 1861.
2 'Here is a Four Months' Residence among the Natives of a Valley of the Marysassey Islands, London, 1864, p. 61.
3 Junius, 150; see 2 (1).
serious importance, which the growth of civilization subsequently assailed (Monro on Hom. Od. xiv. 269). This may be illustrated by the survival of ceremonial gifts in the East, as well as by the dealings of travellers or political agents with the chieftains of savage tribes (see preceding ars.). The gifV was not merely a token of esteem as a compliment, but coveted for its intrinsic value.

In Od. xiv. 282 ff. Thebom inion is represented as showing to another the parting gifts which Odysseus had collected on his travels—brass, gold, and iron enough to support one another's youth—father to the ten year guest. In Od. xiv. 282 ff. Menelaus offers to accompany Telemachus on a journey through the Peloponnese, and assures him that from every household he may visit he will take away something valuable—a brass tripod or a bowl, a pair of mules, or a golden cup. In Od. xiv. 282 the disguised Odysseus rejoices at the coming shown by Penelope in procuring gifts from the suitors without any intention of choosing one of them as her husband. The most instructive case in Homer is that of the embassy to Achilles in H. ix. The return of Achilles to accept the handsomely recompense offered by Agamemnon is clearly contrary to public opinion, as expressed by Phoinix (406 ff.) and by Ajax (428 ff.).

Even the gods are open to permutation, if the sacrifice and vows made to them are adequate to the occasion; for Achilles to reject the gifts of Agamemnon is not less an act of god-like honour which the Achaeans are anxious to bestow upon him. Even when, as in the case of the offer of the shield of Hector, if the blood-price is offended, no one persists in his resentment; but Achilles is stubborn and resolute in an inconsiderable affair.

In primitive times hospitality to the stranger is a binding obligation, enforced by the belief that his person is under the special protection of the gods, and that a return (hale) for his wants will be visited with divine displeasure. All strangers and beggars are favoured by Zeus; a gift, though small, is welcome, says Nicias to Odysseus (Od. vi. 200). It is thus easy to understand how a fit gift was to provide for food and lodging suitably to his means for any stranger who arrived at his homestead; and such gifts were known as the guest-portion (past, pastin), which no prudent man would refuse (see H. xi. 778, xviii. 387)

It is possible that the motive which originally inspired the institution of hospitality was not so much pious as fear. Plenty of evidence has been collected by anthropologists to show that strangers (q.e.) were regarded by uncivilized men as a source of danger, and that special precautions must be taken to guard against their influence. Hence the reception of the stranger with particular marks of honour may have been in its inception intended to exercise the evil spirits surrounding him, or to counteract his magical powers. Instances of this kind from the practices of savage tribes are quoted by J. G. Frazer, G. ff. i. 193, but the earliest civilization known to us in Greek literature has reached a much higher stage of development, and what was originally a mere act of superstition has become a religious and social duty.

The progress of civilization in later times tended to reduce to a formality the observance of hospitable relations; but that in critical circumstances the person of the stranger continued to be sacrosanct is shown by the story of Themistocles, when an outlaw, throwing himself upon the mercy of his enemy, the king of the Molossians (Thuc. i. 196). Normally, however, hospitality became less an obligation than a sign of good-will—a point of view which is illustrated by the sovereignty conferred on the Daedalic upon Miltiades, who had offered board and lodging to their envoys when passing through Athens (Herod. vi. 35).

Gifting is specially appropriate to the recurrence of particular occasions. The earliest allusion to a birthday feast is in the Pseudolus of Plautus, the original of which belonged to the year 309 or 308 B.C. But there can be no doubt that the celebration of birthdays prevailed at a much earlier date. For its special purpose was to invoke the aid of the Good Demon (epi So), a silver pencil (at 350) at a time when one the two men—sot spirits were especially prone to extend their influence. It may be inferred from Aesch. Eum. 7 that, at any rate as early as the time of Aeschylus, children's presents were of oenanthia (peach). At a later date there is plenty of evidence for the custom: as examples of such gifts we find the mention of golden rings and charms (Plant. Epid. 563), a silver pencil (at 327), and a garland of flowers (at 346). In the same connexion it may be added that at the Amphiphonia, a purificatory festival which took place five days after the birth of a child, presents were made by friends and relatives (66666 and 86666, according to Hecroc. p. 15, 8), as at a marriage. The gift is also expected to have a present when the child is born, then again on his birthday, and a third when he is weaned.

Gifts made on the occasion of marriage require special treatment. In the Homeric age we find clear traces of the time when marriage was an affair of bargain and sale. Aristotle (Pol. ii. 8. 1296 sq., 61) testifies to the fact that the Greeks of old bought their wives from each other. The bride-price paid to the father by the suitor is called foon (66666) in Homer (A. xiii. 492) and Iliad 778, 175). The value of the bride is sometimes reckoned in oxen. In H. xi. 243 the premature death of the husband prevents him from getting his own bride-price paid down on marriage, with the promise of 1000 sheep and goats afterwards from the increase of his flocks. Hence the epithet 6xv-emitting' (666666666) (400000000) and 666666666 for 666666666. In exceptional instances, or as a special compliment, the father might remit the price, as when Agamemnon offered to Achilles one of his own daughters in marriage (H. ii. 146, 666666).

In Od. i. 277, where the 666666 seem to come from the wife's family, we may detect a changing custom: there may perhaps that they were sometimes expedited for the bride's outfit, and to that extent were returned to the bridegroom. However this may be, it is unquestionable that, at least in the case of ladies of high rank, it was customary for their family to provide a suitable portion (666666). This is also true of Or. xiv. 204, Od. xxi. 324; cf. H. xi. 61).

When we examine the records of the Attic period, we find that an entirely different system has come into play. The principal evidence concerning the change by which the revolution in custom was effected. But the change is evidenced by the shifting sense attached to the word 666666666 by the poets who still continued to use it. Thus in Aesch. Prom. 579 it is applied to presents made by the bridegroom to the bride to induce her consent to the marriage; in Pind. Pyth. ii. 94, to gifts made by those who were present at a wedding—like our wedding presents; and in Pind. Op. ii. 11 and Eur. Andr. 163, to the portion of the bride. The practice of providing a daughter with a dowry eventually became the rule in Greece. The terms 666666666 and 666666, generally interchangeable, were in use to denote a dowry; but some authorities hold that 666666666 was originally limited to the outfit or 666666 of the bride, and that it must be so understood in Plut. Sol. 30, to be presently quoted. Aristotle (Pol. ii. 666666666) accurs that the curious information that two-fifths of the land at Spart had passed into female ownership in consequence of the number of heiresses (666666666) no doubt that the celebration of birthdays prevailed at a much earlier date. For its special purpose was to invoke the aid of the Good Demon (epi So) at a time when one of the two men—sot spirits were especially prone to extend their in-
was no such limitation at Athens, except the law of Solon forbidding any woman other than an ἀνέπτυχος to receive any ὑπαρχόν in excess of a few clothes and articles of furniture. If ὑπαρχόν is to be understood in the full sense, it is clear that the law soon became obsolete; for it was so general a custom at Athens to provide a dowry for daughters that a regiments disability which was obliged to make sacrifices for that purpose (see Plant. Tris. 639; Dem. xl. 25). The reason was to be found in the facilities for divorces permitted by Athenian law. In such a case the wife’s dowry became repayable to her guardian (ἐπιφανῆς), and the husband was often required at the time of the marriage to provide security (ἀνεπτυχόμενος) by a mortgage of real property (Dem. xxvii. 17, etc.). The position of a dowless wife was not only precarious but degrading (Men. Μοισεί. 39). The law required that an heiress (ἀνέπτυχος) without estate must either be taken in marriage by her nearest male kinsman or portioned by him suitably to his means, if bestowed upon another (Dem. xlix. 54).

5. In these cases family pride and natural affection, apart from legal obligation, combined to supply the necessary motives stimulating to action. Otherwise there is little to show that liberality in giving was highly esteemed among the Greeks. The philosophers may be taken to stand upon a higher plane of morality than was attained by the ordinary citizens towards the distribution of the means of life. Plato (Republic iv. 1) of liberality (Ἀλεξανδρινος) is typical of the most elevated Greek sentiment. The action of liberality is thus described:

"The discriminator (Sto. 39), then, will give from a noble motive and in a right spirit; for he will give the right answer to the question, 'What is to give it to the right person and at the right time, and will satisfy all the other conditions of right giving."

But the Christian precept, 'It is more blessed to give than to receive' (Ac. 20. 35), ushered in an entirely new conception of liberality as founded upon love. Sir A. Grant, in an excellent note on Eth. Nic. iv. 1. 16, remarked:

"Aristotle’s statement would be, ‘It is better to give than to receive, because it is more noble.’...In Aristotle’s whole account we do not find a word about benevolence or love to others, or the giving of alms to the poor. We find other motives but the ‘spleendour’ (στέλεχος) of the act itself was nothing.’

The strictly prudential attitude of the average man (ὁ προστατικὸς) is clearly indicated by the common usage when he is said to be a rich man. The word "rich" constantly implies a reciprocal relation. He who has received a boon lies under an obligation to return the favor. Here a person is to bestow an obligation, much as a deposit is made of a valuable property which on a convenient occasion may be reclaimed (cf. Thuc. i. 35). The philosopher may protest that a boon causes to be such, if it is conferred with the ulterior object of prospective gain (Arist. Ethik. ii. 7. 1386c, 18), but is compelled to acknowledge that, so soon as the action is done, a return is contemplated; and the giver is as prone to overrate the value of his beneficence as is the recipient to disparage it (Eth. Nic. viii. 13. 1162a, 9).

6. Voluntary contributions to meet the needs of the State were known as ἀνέπτυχος. It seems, however, that, like the 'benevolences' of English history, the name was largely euphemistic. In a small community indirect pressure could readily be applied as a spur to the unwilling. From an inscription of the 3rd cent. B.C. (CIL ii. 934) we learn that a minimum and a maximum amount were sometimes prescribed—in that case 500 and 200 drachmas respectively: the appeal was followed by a list of subscribes with the amounts given. Isaeus (v. 37) tells of a man who, when challenged to subscribe, offered 300 drachmas on a critical occasion, but failed to make good his word, and was posted with other defaulters. The mean man, according to the description of Theophrastus (Char. xxii. 3), is apt to rise in his place as if to make an offer, but then quietly slips out of the assembly.

7. We pass to the juristic aspect of gifts (Μετακινήσεως), although our knowledge of the provisions applicable to them by Greek law is extremely limited. (a) As regards gifts inter vivos, in view of the testamentary disability which was imposed upon the alienation of their property by public officials who had not passed their audit, and by freedmen dying without issue. In the latter case the bar operated in favor of their former owners (Ziebarth, in Pauly-Wissowa, v. 1599). Bastards were not allowed to receive gifts from their putative parents in excess of the amount fixed by law, which was 1000 drachmae (Harpoc. p. 133. 1).—(b) Gifts made in contemplation of death occupy a middle place between gifts inter vivos and testamentary dispositions. A valid gift of this kind could be made by the deposit of a sum of money or valuables with another, to be retained by him in the event of the owner’s death, but to be returned if he should survive a journey or other adventure about to be undertaken (see Dem. lli. 23, 24).—(c) An early instance of what we call a testamentary charitable trust is to be found in Nicias of a piece of land at Delos, which he had bought for 10,000 drachmae, on condition that the revenue should be used by the Delians in defraying the costs of a solemn feast (Plut. Nicias. 3). In the Graeco-Roman age the endowment of foundations for religious or secular use became increasingly common. Thus, the erection and maintenance of public buildings, such as theaters, gymnasiums, were often due to the munificence of rich private citizens. In such cases a corporation was formed to undertake the ownership of the property and management of the trust so as to secure its perpetuation. A right was sometimes reserved for the founder or his representatives to intervene, in case the management failed to carry out the terms of the trust; or the State might visit a supervising control through its own officers.—(d) Gifts by testamentary disposition require only a brief mention here (Greek and Roman). A general right of disposition by will did not exist throughout Greece, and is not recognized by the law as it is construed in the Hellenistic era. Our information is naturally most complete in regard to Athens. The right of disposition outside the family, but subject to certain restrictions, was first conferred by a law of Solon. All citizens of full age and of proper capacity were competent to make a will, but no one could disinherit a son (Dem. xx. 102), or, if he had no son, leave his property away from his daughter, although he might direct that a particular person should succeed on condition of marrying her (Isaeus, viii. 68). When a man had no issue, he was at liberty to adopt a son either in his lifetime or by will (ib. vii. 1). Subject to these limitations, legacies might be given to friends or relatives.

8. It was customary at Rome for presents to be made by friends and relatives to each other at certain of the annual festivals. The first of March was the beginning of the year according to the Roman religious calendar, and was also the dius natalis of the temple of Janus Novus on the Esquiline. On that day, to which Horace refers in a well-known ode (iii. 8) as celebrated by married folk, husbands were accustomed to make presents to their wives (Mart. v. 84. 10). Juvenal (ix. 50) mentions green parasols and amber balls as gifts
which a woman is likely then to receive. After the year 153 B.C., when the beginning of the civil year was transferred to the 1st of January, it became customary to give New Year presents on that day. There the feeling—nevertheless unceasing (see chapter 2.2) —of the custom underlay the custom—if the importance of an auspicious start is acknowledged in Prov. 1:19. The gifts might be of trivial value—a gilded date (Mart. viii. 21. 11), like our Easter eggs; or a dried fig; or honey in a white jar (Ov. Fast. i. 192). Especially, it was usual to tender small brass coins, as a symbolical gift of wealth. These gifts were called stenon; and the name, if not the custom, is preserved in the French stennes. Susianus (Cat. 46) describes Caligula, who had announced that he would accept stennes on New Year’s Day, as giving present to his herd, while a crowd of persons of every class pressed round him with their hands full of coppers. On the other hand, Tiburtius often absented himself from Saturnalia, with the beginning of January in order to avoid the nuisance (Dio Cass. viii. 5).

All these occasions the best known to us is the festival of the Saturnalia, which lasted for several days from the 17th December, and was kept as a popular holiday, characterized by every kind of merry-making and licence. The giving of presents then was as common as it still is at Christmas, and there is no doubt that the sports of the Saturnalia have been perpetuated for after-ages in the games of Christianized festive. Martial’s xivth book is entirely occupied with epigrams on specimens of rich or poor gifts suitable to the Saturnalia. The same idea (vii. 43) gives an appalling list of useless presents supposed to be sent to him at the Saturnalia, in order to remark in conclusion how much simpler it would have been to present him with the money which they cost. The serci and sigillaria deserve special mention. The former were wax taper (fusciculi cereri), which may originally have had a symbolical reference to the revival of the sun’s power after the winter solution. They afterwards passed into the Christian ritual of the Latin Church. The latter were lighted images of a then, and sometimes of dough; Martial (xiv. 182) mentions the earth-ware figure of a humpback (gibber). These also survived into Christian times; and even in England it is reported that bakers made little images of paste at this season (Brand, Pop. Antiq. 1870, p. 180).

The significance of the giving of presents on the Kalends of January says March is to be found in the same superstitions feeling which has already been mentioned as operative in relation to birthday-giving. Magic indices must be excised. This is a practice, which must be distinguished from the division of spoils on the occasion of a triumph, appeared for the first time in the last century of the Republic. The earliest instance is associated with the name of Sulla, and his example was followed by Julius Cesar, Octavian, and Brutus and Cassius. In Imperial times the donative to the legions, and especially to the praetorians, became a regular institution. A new Emperor invariably sought to ingratiate himself with the troops by a liberal gift, and the refusal of Galba to confirm the donative promised in his name was the immediate cause of his downfall. In connexion with the gifts of rich men to their clients, the practices of the sportula deserves notice. In acknowledgment of the homage rendered by the clients who attended the house of their patron, and escorted him when he went abroad, it was customary to invite them to share a dining meal. Subsequently, under the Empire, those who attended to render their morning salutations also received a dose of sportula, which they carried away in a basket (hence the name sportula). This dose was soon commuted, as convenience dictated, for a money gift of 25 asses, or about 1s. 3d. (Juv. I. 129). An edict of Domitian enforced for a short
time the revival of the cosa restit., or regular meal (Suet. Dom. 7; Mart. iii. 7).

12. The conditions necessary to a valid gift were minutely investigated by the Roman lawyers. A gift was a mode of acquisition by which the husband, without the consent of the wife, transferred to a person to whom he had a personal interest in it, the property belonging to her, and gave it to him as the property of the husband. The donor was therefore, before and after the marriage grew up in order to provide for the husband. For this purpose, a sum of money put into settlement by the intending husband, in order to provide for the wife, if she became the survivor. It was considered the property of the wife, but could not be alienated even with her consent. Justinian provided that these gifts might not only be increased, but might be made, after marriage; and, accordingly, that they should be styled donatio propter not ante seipsum. Dowries were placed on exactly the same footing.

14. Donations mortis causa are contrasted with donations inter vivos as being gifts made upon condition that, if anything happens to the donor, the donee's title shall accrue, but if the donee dies before the donor, the latter shall receive back the gift. The gift was always revocable at the pleasure of the donor. It differed from a legacy as being a disposition made in the lifetime of the donor, and not merely as a residue of his estate. Hence, it was considered as a part of the property of the donor, and was not affected by the prevalence of present-giving on particular occasions which has been mentioned above. These latter gifts were generally trivial in value, and were considered as differing in kind (mensa, dona) from voluntary benefactions. The growth of wealth and the increase of political and social consolidation, led to the passing of the Lex Falcidia, forbidding a testator to give more than three-fourths of his estate in legacies to the Dei Fantorum. The English Law has adopted the doctrine of donatio mortis causa from the Roman, but has still further restricted it by insisting on the necessity of delivery, and making the immediate expectation of death an indispensable condition to the validity of the gift. The provisions of the Roman law concerning gifts made under a will are described in art. Inheritance and Wills (Greek and Roman).

Inheritance — On the legal aspect of gifts, see L. Blanchet, Hist. des droits privés de la République algérienne, Paris, 1897, iii. 132; O. Kaizens, Rom. Rechtsgesch. 2, Leipzig, 1902; H. Burckhardt, Die Gesetze der Strafbarkeit in der deutschen Völkerrechtsgesetze, Würzburg, 1891; and for consequences and donatismen: J. Markgraf, Rom. Staatsurore, 2, Leipzig, 1861-1884. See for the donatio intest. of. Douguier, "Donat." (Dono.), "Donatum," "Dono," and "Donis," in Pontif., Wisn., and other articles in Smith's Dict. Of. Rom. Law, London, 1880. For birthday customs, see Wilhelm Schmidt, Geburtstage im Alterthum, Giessen, 1826. A. Carbor. GIFTs (Hindu.) — Gifts, especially religious gifts to Brahmans, form an important subject with the early legislators of India. The receipt of gifts, according to the Sanskrit lawbooks, is one of the principal sources of income of a Brahmam. What has been once promised to a Brahmam may be claimed by him like an outstanding debt. Their greatest means of support consisted in the grants of land, including sometimes houses, gardens, etc., given in perpetuity to gods or the priest. There is no lack of special Sanskrit treatises on the subject of donas, i.e. gifts to the Brahmans. The gift of a man's weight in gold or silver, called tulāpusaras, was considered specially meritorious. Thus Chapdevilla, a minister of Mihiragauraha, presented in A.D. 1214 an sum of 25,000 gold and 50,000 silver coins to Brahmans with his own weight in gold. Great grants of land on copper-plates have been found in great numbers all over India, and have furnished many interesting historical dates. The
land was generally granted rent-free, and with other privileges. Many agraharas, or villages occupied by Brahmans, held either rent-free under special grants, or on a reduced rate of assessment, are still in existence. There is a rule that desivera, landed property, i.e. lands dedicated to an idol, to a temple, to the maintenance of Brahmins, or to religious purposes, cannot be subjected to payment of Government revenue, if they were so dedicated before A.D. 1765. Funeral ceremonies were a special occasion for making gifts to Brahmins, likewise a marriage, a thread-girding, and other family festivities and religious celebrations.


J. JOLLY.

GIFTS, SPIRITUAL.—See CHARISMATA.

GIFTS TO THE DEAD.—See ARYAN RELIGION, li. ii. 20; DEATH, iv. 429, 466.

GILDS.—There exist among many barbarous peoples certain systems of confraternity and association which are analogous to the gilds of medieval Europe. The concurrence is inevitable in social evolution from primitive continuity cannot be established, as, for instance, it can be established in the case of the State or of marriage. An attempt has been made to trace the Teutonic gild to the blood bonds of the ancient Scandinavian peoples, in which occurred the ceremony of mingling the blood of the parties in a footprint. This would connect the system continuously with the various methods of forming the brotherhoods which are a feature of the lowest wild societies (see BROTHERHOOD [Artificial]). But the thread is too slender. Similar social impulses acting in different conditions and in different ages will produce similar forms of union. An earlier hypothesis has been discredited, viz. that the gild originated in the drinking feasts of the ancient Teutons. Herbert Spencer traced the origin of the gild system to customs of paternal inheritance; Maine, to customs of adoption. But it is merely analogous to these, as it is to the family itself. Alone among peoples other than the Western, the Chinese and Hindus possess a similar system. The comparison of the three groups suggests that the gild belongs to particular types of humanity at a particular stage of social evolution. It is generalizing somewhat too broadly to say that 'the conception of the gild is common to all particular age and to no particular country.' The gilds of medieval Europe were a growth from the crossing of Teutonic and Graeco-Roman ideas and institutions. In this connexion it is to be noted that intercourse between the peoples of Europe and their knowledge of one another was, in spite of relative slowness and difficulty of communication, not less, but probably more, than it is to-day. Half a century later than the Code of Justinian, which takes cognizance of the classical collegia optima, a craft gild of soap-masters was established at Naples, and in 7th cent. England the 'Laws of Ine' illustrate the conception of the gild. It has been suggested that the corps des métiers of early France were directly connected with the Roman collegia. On the other hand, the influence of the Christian Church is to be taken into account; for an essential characteristic of the gild is the religious conception of brotherhood. When,' says Gresw, 'the old bond or uswath was beginning to weaken or dissolve and the State did not yet afford adequate protection to its citizens, individuals naturally united for mutual help.'

The reference is to England in the 5th and 6th centuries, and we may compare the fact that the first mention of Continental gilds is in the Carolingian Capitulare of A.D. 779, and that Charlemagne regarded these 'conspirations' as dangerous to the State. It might be said that the early Christians were the first gildsmen.

Three classes of gilds are distinguished: (1) social and historical, often described in German by 'reliigious' (religious gilds proper, such as were formed from the clergy, are a sub-species of the social); (2) gilds merchant; (3) craft and trade gilds. Roughly, this order represents the order of development. The second and third classes are not prominent until the 19th century. Even these, as perhaps may be said of every medieval institution, had a strong religious element, and possessed the functions of social and benevolent gilds.

In the O.E. and O.N. terms several formations have apparently coalesced. The O.E. gild has the meaning both of 'payment' and of 'gild,' and also of 'offering' and of 'idol.' O.N. gildr is 'payment'; Goth. gild is 'tribute.' The decision of the earliest meaning of the root, however, is a matter of conjecture. It involves the question whether gildsmen were originally those who contributed to a common fund or those who worshipped and feasted together. The question is perhaps irrelevant; in all likelihood the distinction was never made either in theory or in practice. The one function involves the other in all 'societies' formed in early Europe from classical times onwards.

It is convenient to bear in mind the analogy already suggested of the Christian Church, while tracing the history of the gilds. They were the precursors of the microcosms. In gilds of the social class, life generally, in its social aspect, was the main object. In other gilds other objects preponderated, such as the furthering of commerce, or of a craft; in short, livelihood was the main object.

A gild, in general, is a confraternity, brotherhood, or association formed for the mutual aid and protection of its members, or for the prosecution of some common purpose. It is for Europe essentially a medieval institution; other applications of the term are secondary or metaphorical; in several cases, as in Scottish burghs, the modern use is directly continuous with the mediæval. Such a confraternity in its social aspect performed functions similar to those of modern benefit clubs, benefit, insurance, and friendly societies, the most important of the last-named being direct descendents of the medieval type. The earliest included the payment of the overgild; all included the saying of Masses, and the holding both of religious services and of an annual feast. The majority had a saint as patron. In the commercial and craft gilds, the religious and social functions of the benevolent gild were retained, though the worldly ideal was predominant. This in the gilds merchant was the best use of the monopoly of the town market; in the craft gild it was the furthest of the art or trade in question, the maintenance of good work, the fixing of a reasonable price, and the organization of employment on the system of apprenticeship. The gild was essentially a local institution; its members were neighbours.

The gild had a master and various officials. Each member took an oath, and paid an entrance

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2. K. Hegel points out that this brotherhood did not exist among the Franks and Anglo-Saxons, where guilds first appeared. (Biddix u. Blasius, germanii. Vossber Mittelalter, L 300-303).
5. Early History of Institutions, Lond., 1879, loc. cit.
7. Ribbert, i.e.
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fee and annual subscriiption. Regular business meetings and an annual gild day were held. The
livery of the gild was held at fairs and at all
meetings of a ceremonial nature. Small parish gilds met in a room or in members' houses. Large
and wealthy gilds possessed a gild hall. Legacies and
were made to
members, and gifts of charity to poor guildsmen
out of the gild funds. The gild possessed a chapel or chantry, where its Masses were said, and where
members met on the day of the patron saint.
Every town had many social, religious, and trade

1) The frith gild, or peace gild, so called, refers to
an occasional feature of town life in Northern
Europe from the 8th century. The 7th cent.,
Laws of Ise, and the 10th cent., Dooms of London,
show that the frith gild was a matter of
consequence throughout Europe, though not in form.
The intention is to suppress the
defensive nature of town constitutions, not merely
as a matter of peace. The
idea of the gild was implicit, and occasionally expressed, as in the
of thames at Cambridge, which gave its
members assistance in the blood feud and provided the

2) The oldest gild ordinances of Europe are those of Cambridge, Abbeysbury, and Exeter,
belonging to the first half of the 12th century. It
is often supposed that the Normans brought over to
England the idea of craft gilds which had been
so largely exploited in the Frank empire for three
centuries. The Anglo-Saxon gilds themselves were of
the social type, apart from a few traces of
co-operation in monastic orders. But the fact that
religious gilds properly flourished under the Anglo-
Norman kings was due to the Normans themselves.

Among the most famous social-religious English
gilds was that of Corpus Christi. Organisations
of a gild type have been traced to a period prior
to the 7th cent. among English monasteries. The
modern Catholic confraternities are lineage descend-

ants of religious gilds. Gilds of Kalendars, so
called because the gild met on the first of each
month, were formed among the clergy. Gilds of the
higher clergy were major, those of the lower
were minor. But the social gilds were strongly

1) The frith gild was also called "peace" gilds. The Lord Mayor is derived from such.
3) On religious gilds generally, see Lambert, 100-119.
were usually large landowners. The Gild Merchant was exempt from the town tolls, their chief obligation being that of "soot and lot," participation in the Government. On occasion they supplied the town with money. The majority of householders became members, but not all gildsmen were burghers; the status of burgher in the 14th and 15th centuries. There was some friction in London, which was soon removed. In Scotland the large admixture of a Flemish element in the population led to a division of the inhabitants into guilds and burghers, just as was the case in Bruges and Ghent, for example. The guilds, as elsewhere, were the mercantile aristocracy. The prohibition of the 17th century and the 18th century did not become important till the 18th century. Each gild, as it was created, was regulated by a deacon appointed by the town. The craft gilds struggled during the 16th and 17th centuries for the right of electing their own deacons and for a share in the government of the burgh. They succeeded at the end of the 17th century. The privileges survived till 1846. The guilds are still applied to the municipal corporations of the Royal Burghs. By the 18th century the guilds practically formed the Corporation. In Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, the "Dean of Guild" is still elected by the Guilds; elsewhere the choice is by the Town Council from its members. This Dean of Guild is technically the Dean of Guild of the city.

(8) By far the most clearly defined, and historically most influential, were the craft guilds and trade guilds. The former term frequently implies the connotation of the latter. Members of the craft guilds, industry, or trade, working in the same town, combined in association to protect and promote their common interests, but on principles very different from those followed by modern industrial organizations. Their lineal descendants in London are the Livery Companies, whose title retains the fact of the uniformity of the gilds, and also one of the synonyms for the guilds, and also one of the synonyms for the guilds—"company" and "mystery." The latter is a reduction of the Late Latin, "misteriwm," and is frequent in the dual term "craft and mystery." The North German term, "Zunft," the South German, "métier" the French, and "arte" the Italian. They have been traced—not without success, as noted above—to the Roman collegia opificum. It is unlikely that they had any evolutionary connection with the manorial groups of the serfs. In the Frankish empires the "Craft and Craftsmen" are considered as brotherhoods of artisan serfs. In England they are first mentioned in the reigns of Henry I, and were probably due to Norman and Flemish influence combined. The Weavers of London, Oxford, Winchester, Lincoln, and Huntingdon, the Cordwainers of Oxford, and the fullers of Winchester were among the first to be formed. In the 14th century, they were extremely numerous, their number and importance growing with the growth of the respective trades. In Normandy, Flanders, and Germany they were prominent in the 15th century. They were

1 Gross, Gild Merchant, l. 250, 251, 252, 253; Bibers, 13, 14.
2 Gross, 13, and Gild Merchant, l. 372.
3 Gross, Gild Merchant, l. 149, 150, 151, 152.
4 Cunningham, i. 151, 152, 153, 154.
6 Th. i. 565.
7 Th. i. 584.
8 J. K. E. W., 18, 19.
brethren, providing against the enticement away of apprentices, and fixing terms of payment. At their complete development, already attained in France by the 13th century, the gild comprised the three ranks of Masters having apprentices, Journeymen or Yeomen, and Apprentices. An eldest son was free of the craft by patrimony. The central figure in the Master Craftman, who owned and sold his wares. The executive consisted of these and two Wardens, who had the duty of supervising the competency of apprentices and the right of search. There was a board of three Assistants: two stewards, a clerk, and later a treasurer; with a beadle who summoned meetings and issued bills of mortality.

The religious aspect of the gild has already been noticed. The town authority, the Convenors, was careful to maintain control over the gilds (the histories, in town records, and aimed. On the other hand, it is entirely unconnected with the modern Employers' Association or Capitalist Syndicate. The gild represented capital, manual labor, and consumer alike. It has been described as an 'aristocracy of labour,' so far as the labor element was concerned. Considering all its elements, we can reach no modern analogy except the district of a modern city. It was forerunner of a guild, the latter resembling rather the older Gild Merchant. Large numbers of half-taught helpers and unskilled workers were connected with, but had no share in, or membership of, the gilds. At Newcastle and elsewhere the aggregate of craft gilds was spoken of as the Gild Merchant. In many towns 'the old Gild Merchant lived on, not so much as a distinct body, but in the life of the separate crafts into which it had been specialized.' In short, they 'can hardly be regarded as democratic bodies, for they are the 'elite of each trade,' closely attached to the interest of a particular town.'

The economic principles which they expressed are significant of the age of their best work, most of which is the glory of their respective countries.

The purpose of these gilds was the regulation of work in such fashion that the public might be well served and that the trades might therefore flourish. But, whereas nowadays the same purpose is carried out on the following principle that each manufacturer produces at so low a price as possible to force a man by his goods for their cheapness another avenue of profit being the exorbitant price of articles of the best material and workmanship, so-called luxuries, in old times, continues our saddest student of economic evolution, the effort was to secure satisfactory conditions for production—skilled workers and honest materials—and to suppress those which should be 'reasonable' to trade and therefore reasonable to pay for such wares thus made. It was on these principles that all gild ordinances were framed. Hence the Wardens' right of search, and the proviso in articles that those members of the craft should be resident. A gild was a police system, an association of artisans, and a Christian brotherhood. Its members included consumers; its status and functions were closely connected with municipal government.

England was not, as Brentano supposed, the
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The gilds of Scotland are to be classified. First heard of in Italy, they became important in pre-Carolynian France. Not till the 11th century did they becum important in Norway and the Netherlands, at which period their revival in France, after their suppression by Charlemagne, is to be placed. Denmark and Sweden developed them in the 12th and 14th centuries respectively. The Gild Merchant on the Continent is the Kapitel Gild. The Gild Merchant, or the Commanguild, the Comman Guilds of the Netherlands and Northern France (Home is a synonym in both cases, Mercon scam, Université de Mercanti di. Often identified with 'patrician governments,' these Gilds Merchant kept up a conflict with the craft gilds during the 13th and 14th centuries, a conflict extending from Italy to Scotland. The gilds in the guilds in the end succeeded in obtaining a share of authority. Such a struggle, but against the nobles alone, was carried on in Florence by the arti majori. The Reformation, by disallowing the religious and social gilds and crimes against the craft gilds, prepared the way for Poor Law reform and the changes in industrial evolution which were then shaping. An intermediate process remains to be noticed. England, as well during the 14th cent. the class of gildsmen known as journeymen or yeomen set up confraternities of their own. The movement was analogous to a struggle between workers and employers, and to a similar movement in Germany in the following century. The result was the formation of sub-sidiary craft guilds. 'Journeymen's Companies,' and 'Merchant's Companies' (the latter not to be confused with the old Gilds Merchant) became important in 15th cent. England. Agamemnon followed in the 16th and 17th centuries, often resulting in a more or less definite identification of the gilds with borough organizations. The privileges of the craft gilds were not formally abolished till 1835, in Scotland 1846, some still surviving. But the new economic forces broke the old principles in the 18th and 19th centuries. The gilds of France were abolished in 1789; gilds of European origin survived in Constantinople till 1877. Their break-up, generally speaking, was more rapid and clearly marked in Northern Europe, where the new commercial and industrial factors had most influence.

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GILDS (Greek and Roman).—I. Origin, etc.—The word 'gild,' which is here employed in default of a better, is in some respects unsuitable to the alliances which had to be considered, because it carries with it ideas which are foreign to the ancient world, as will presently appear. The Greek and Roman gilds had a long history, and their character varied greatly under the manifold influences, local and general, which were continually remoulding the social structure. Broadly, the association of a number of men in origin is a feature rather of the later Greek and later Roman civilization than of the earlier. Few of these unions or brotherhoods or corporations (as a somewhat loose use of this designation be permissible) existed on the Greek side of the Mediterranean earlier than the 4th cent. B.C., and on the Roman side few were older than the Imperial age. It is natural to connect the vast outgrowth of private associations in both cases with the reign of freedom. When the liberties of the Greek city-State on the one hand, and of the Roman burgesses on the other, were impaired, men naturally sought to compensate themselves by extending and strengthening social bonds of various kinds. It is, however, important to observe that in the Greek and Hellenized lands after Alexander, and in the whole Roman world after the inauguration of the Empire, peace became more stable, international intercourse increased with improved communication, and forms of cult spread from their centres of origin over ever-widening areas. Religion, in the social aspect—these were the main sources from which the ancient gilds sprang, and these naturally became more productive as political and municipal liberty declined. In some communities a gild is usually named collegium or corpus. On the side of the Roman dominions where Greek influence was paramount, the titles were varied, and nothing like a common designation was in use. The evidence for the history of the Greek as well as the Roman corporations, in the period before they were wholly subjected to public control, is to be found almost entirely in a vast multitude of inscriptions, chiefly brought to light by very recent research. The details thus revealed are of intense human interest as opening up the social evolution of which literature betrays almost nothing. From the 4th cent. A.D. onwards the gilds were enslaved to the State, and participation in the universal misery. The severe regulations then enacted form a great element in the history of the age, and the Theodosian code supplies not a little information. The ancient gilds were intimately bound up with the ancient municipality. In one of its most momentous aspects the old Greek and Roman world consisted of a vast complex of municipalities, each retaining some semblance of State sovereignty. The gild was a group within a town, and rarely had any links connecting it with similar groups outside. A notable exception is that of the 'Dionysiac artists' (vexia), a union of men who served the theatres and exhibitions cognate with it—actors, dancers, musicians, and the like. Exceptionally large gilds of these persons were early formed, and they gradually coalesced, until, in the Imperial age, they acquired an organization which covered the whole Empire. Their traces are often found in subject communities. The position of the gilds within the cities of the romanized West was more definite than that which they occupied in the communities of the hellenized East, and in public ceremonies they had a precedence allotted to them. After the municipal senates came the peculiar religious bodies called Augustales, then the gilds, then the unorganized common people (plebs).

2. Classification.—The gilds may be considered with reference to their three main purposes. Some had religion as their chief bond, others trade or labour, others combined, and it is impossible to draw sharp lines of severance.

(i) Gilds for religious purposes.—On Greek soil the earliest voluntary unions came into existence for purposes of worship. The process was gradual and showed a certain divergence between the cults sanctioned by the rituals of the city-states and those beloved by the masses. Among the first to be established together to satisfy their yearning after gods not publicly recognized. The attraction which a divinity introduced by foreign residents might have for the Athenians even in the great classical age, is illustrated by the mention of the festivity of the Thracian goddess Bendis in the introduction to Plato's Republic. But it must be noted that hardly any gilds, either Greek or Roman, were entirely dissociated from religion. As religion was primarily a municipal concern, and citizenship was intrinsically connected with it, the religious body of persons within a town could live without a cult. But the degrees of importance which the religious element possessed in the organizations were very various. In some it was the principal, in others it was only a few of its points, in others article. Such gilds are far more characteristic of Roman or romanized cities than of those which were or became Hellenic. An early propaganda, obscurely recorded, gave birth to many brotherhoods in regions where Greeks dwelt, which spread far and wide the ideas known as Orphic. Another remarkable movement began in the 2nd cent. B.C., in favour of cryptic and ecstatic forms of worship. It gave rise to many unions of men who described themselves as mystics. It embodied a revolution from unbelief similar to that which created the great drift of the Western world towards forms of pagan faith in the 2nd and succeeding Christian centuries.

At Rome the more antique brotherhoods which served the gods (sodalitiae or sodalicia), apart from the great State colleges, were organized and supervised by the State. Such were the associations for the worship of the Great Mother, introduced from Asia in 206 B.C. In Italy, private religious groups were first called into life by Greek influence. Many societies for the veneration of Bacchus sprang up as a consequence of the passionate superstition which the disasters of the Hannibalic War engendered. The secrecy of these brotherhoods led the Roman government to regard them as criminal, and to believe the wildest allegations concerning them. In 189 B.C. and the following years, in the conflict with Carthage, the movement was suppressed by judicial murder on an enormous scale. For a very long time the societies for the service of Oriental divinities—Anis, Osiris, Serapis, Anubis, Mithras, and others—struggled for existence in the West. It was not until the age of Sulla that any collegium of this type could live unmolested. The Jews were specially favored in this respect both in and outside of Italy, al-
though the ordinary Roman deemed their creed an odious superstition. The persecution of Christian societies is partly to be explained by the fact that they appeared to be a secret, and therefore a dangerous character.

With religious gilds may conveniently be classified those which were maintained to provide for the decent burial of deceased members of the trade, whose spirits were treated with a veneration not unlike that accorded to divine beings. These were generally formed by the very poor, and sometimes even by freedmen or slaves, except by the great groups of both classes which were in the Imperial service. The inscriptions (to be found in the work of Vossius) are a vast amount of interesting and minute information about these collegia funeraticia, as scholars are accustomed to call them, though in the actual titles no ill-omened word is used. Many describe their members as worshippers of a particular divinity. In some cases these colleges are called officially 'health-giving' (salutaria). The regulations testify to the extraordinary depth of the devotion among these obscure people, not only to secure a distinguished burial, but to make certain of remembrance after death. The practice was almost universal in the Western half of the Roman Empire, while on the Eastern side, in spite of the Greek scrupulousness about funerary rites, few were founded and most of these owe their existence to Roman influence. Strange as it seems to moderns, the burial clubs, like almost all others, subserved to some extent the purpose of common enjoyment. The place of interment provided by the contributions of the members often had attached to it rooms for reunions, in which feasts were celebrated, and meetings held to keep alive the memory of the dead. These were a bright line of light in the dark, and a sacred place where the Hellenic spirit was potent. Athletic, gymnastic, and artistic brotherhoods were rare and exotic in the West, whereas on the Eastern side of the Empire they were a natural growth, alone a little make the proud claim to be Hellenic if it did not possess them. Apart from these, many social unions, both in the East and in the West, must be regarded as ephemeral. Such are the numerous companies of 'life-comrades' (sympathers in Greek, confratres in Latin), and also associations with eccentric titles, such as the 'sleepers' (dormientes) and the 'late-drinkers' (seribias). The little thieves' (furunculi) and the 'assassins' (scrofarii) remind us of the young men at Athens who called themselves by the name of a local tribe, the Triballi, and of the 'Mohocks' in London during the reign of Queen Anne. With the athletic gilds may be included the clubs of boys for military training—boys who at that stage were called epidon. These were not so much gilds as educational institutions originating with the State. From Athens they passed to every land where Greek culture was adopted. In many places, as their age advanced, the epidon entered clubs of younger men (moc), and later on became members of elder men's gilds, which bore the designation gynia (to be distinguished from the municipal councils or senates which had the same name). The numerous colleges of younger men found in the West (collegia juniorum) may have originated in an imitation of Greek custom.

3. Constitution and activity. We shall now give a brief sketch of the constitution of the gilds by the manner in which their purposes were achieved, during their flourishing period. In their organization, the voluntary associations imitated that of the municipalities, and the code of rules which inscriptions have preserved resemble greatly the codes by which the cities were governed. Greek lines were followed in the Eastern half of the Roman Empire, Roman lines in the Western half. The gild always had officers elected by the members, just as in the towns local magistrates were chosen. The members paid regular contribu
tions, usually month by month, into a common chest, and the general body sanctioned the disposal of the funds. Fines for neglect or malfeasance on the part of officers and members alike were laid down with much elaboration, as was the case in the municipal statutes. The office-bearers were, as a rule, the richer members. These were expected to contribute on objects of common interest. Money might be given; or buildings, or statues, or other benefits for the enrichment or adornment of the society might be bestowed. In course of time such contributions were more and more regularized until, as in the towns, there was a tariff of payments to be made on accession to office, whether of a sacred or a secular character. Of course, there was no universal tariff; each city and each guild enacted its own. In this way there was a great continuous outflow of wealth from private coffers for the advantage of the guild, and especially of its less wealthy members. This is a great feature of the Roman Imperial age. Ambition led many holders of office to exceed the stipulated gifts, and generosity was repaid by many kinds of honours—in particular, eulogistic inscriptions, special titles, and statues. These were full of effigies of benefactors, and the maus for erecting them was a common subject of ridicule. Cassiodorus, in the 6th cent. A.D., spoke of the statues in Rome as surpassing in number the population. The resources of the guilds were further increased by a device commonly practised also by the municipalities. Rich persons were adopted as patrons, and were honoured in proportion to their benefactions. The wealth of the guilds naturally increased when Marcus Aurelius made them legally capable of taking benefits under wills. We have many records of extensive endowments and rich properties acquired in this manner.

The expenditure out of the common chest was largely made in the various ways, of the members by banquets, exhibitions of games, and other spectacles, and social enjoyment. In the case of the funerary guilds the main expense was incurred in granting sums to the representatives of the deceased, wherewith to carry out the obsequies. Benefactions to the associations, like those made to the municipalities, had the effect of enabling the poor to profit in a certain degree by the generosity of those better endowed. But the ancient guilds, unlike their medieval successors, did not regard as charity that which we should regard as charity. In all the multitude of inscriptions which have left behind them there is hardly a single instance of benefaction in aid of the sick and needy (cf. further, 'Greek' and 'Roman' sections of art. CHARITY, ALMSGIVING). In this aspect the Christian societies from the first contrasted strikingly with those which were pagan, and they won thereby the admiration of their bitter enemy, the Emperor Julian. Indeed, the poorer the guild, the less likely was it to be the recipient of important gifts. The burial clubs, composed of the poorest of the poor, had hardly any resources beyond the contributions of the members. It is very notable that, when distributions of money (opporta) were made on feast occasions, the members of a guild who were higher in social station received a larger sum than those of humblest rank. This fact shows the Christian societies were more liberal than the layman's.

As the guilds were not charitable institutions, so they were not societies for mutual benefits, like the clubs for mutual insurance and pensions. Exceptions are rare. Some Greek unions which bore the name of èporeta advanced money for certain purposes, to be repaid by the recipient (see Poland's work, mentioned below). These societies were characteristic of Attica and the Greek islands. Here and there similar practices may be traced in connexion with guilds bearing other titles, but not often. In the 3rd and 4th centuries the minor officers were allowed to form societies for mutual aid. Records of such unions have been found especially in Africa (Walting, i. 371). In towns or in large villages, advancement or change of station were met out of the common funds. The institution provided, in effect, an insurance against possible sudden requirements.

Modern writers have often been tempted to compare closely the ancient guilds of artisans with the workmen's trade unions of our day, and with the guilds of the Middle Ages. There is not a single true point of comparison. By combining, the ancient workmen might procure from local or central authorities a grant of legal privileges and immunities which scattered individuals could not have secured. But apart from this consideration, it is not too much to say that the trade bond, which was vital in the medieval guild, as it is in the modern trade union, was merely incidental in the ancient association. No league of artisans in ancient times made any attempt to force a rise in wages, to prescribe the conditions of work, or to regulate apprenticeship. Still less were the workmen's collegia companies for the carrying out of contracts, as the medieval guilds were. The expression of existence of slavery partly accounts for the fact. But among the free workers, who were far more numerous in the cities than modern scholars often suppose, the strike was so rare an event that the known examples of it may be almost counted on the fingers of one hand. We have an instance of a strike in Magnesia in BCH, 1888, p. 594 of a Roman governor compelling the bakers of a city to work; but in the Imperial age the bakers were more and more under local or imperial direction, in order that the supply of food might not be endangered. A decree of the island of Paros (Ch. 337) tells us that the emperor erected a statue to an official of the community who compelled the artisans to resume the work which they had stopped for the purpose of forcing the baker to pay wages without the necessity of legal procedure. What was the exact nature of the quarrel does not appear.

It may be observed that the inscriptions show not a few examples of freedmen, and even slaves, being admitted to membership of unions mainly composed of free workmen, and even to offices (Walting, i. 369). The case is not uncommon when we remember that, in the times of the Empire, capitalists often entrusted large operations to men who were technically slaves, but actually subordinate partners. Another noticeable circumstance is that women appear among the members of the funerary guilds; even in the earlier Imperial centuries they were not disincluded as 'patronesses' (patronae) of other guilds, and were sometimes given the title 'mother' of the guild (see Walting, f. 369, 373).

4. Relations to the Government.—The process by which the guilds were, in the end, subjected to the most stringent control by Government fills a chapter in the history of the ancient world which is of the utmost moment. The earliest interferences with the freedom of private association were due to religious causes, as in the case of the so-called 'Ecclesiarum conciliat' mentioned above, or to the misuse of liberty for political purposes. Numerous secret societies sprang up from time to time which were really dangerous to the common weal. Such were the 'conrad-bands' (Bruderschaft) at Athens during the Peloponnesian War, and the groups of ruffians organised by Clodius and others in the dying days of the Roman Republic. In 84 B.C. the Senate of Rome dissolved a number of these pernicious associations. Six years later Clodius passed a law which established complete freedom. This range of freedom the Emperor naturally could not tolerate, and to the Senate was given jurisdiction over all guilds and private societies within the Roman dominions. Many of them record in the inscriptions the fact that they possessed the Senate's licence (Walting, i. 125). But in this field, as in all others, the Emperors could intervene, and did intervene with ever increasing frequency. Some of the letters which
GILYAKS—Ethnology, etc.—A tribe of unknown racial affinities living among many other native tribes, especially the Tunguses, in the northern part of Sakhalin, on the shore of the mainland opposite, and on the lower course of the Amur (between 49° and 54° 4' N. lat.). The Gilyaks are below middle height; the average height of twelve men measured by Ziebold was 162.2 cm. (5 ft. 4 in.); that of eight women measured was 150.4 cm. (4 ft. 11 in.). They are squarely built, with a short neck and well-developed chest, rather short and crooked legs, small hands and feet, a fairly big and broad head, swarthy complexion, dark eyes, and straight black hair, which comes down to the men's plait in one tail. The Gilyaks are of two types: the Mongolian or Tungus, and a type less far removed from the European, with a long-shaped face, moderate cheekbones, more open features, and very dark hair and black eyes. There is every ground for believing that the original pure racial type has vanished owing to age-long crossing with various alien elements. What marks out the Gilyak among the Mongoloid tribes round about is his language, which has nothing in common either with that of the Alains or with that of the Tunguses. So far we can only say that certain grammatical peculiarities allow of our comparing Gilyak with the languages of the aborigines of N. America (see below, § 8). Ethnographers have accepted the view first set forth by Schrenck, according to which the original location of the Gilyaks was the island of Sakhalin, from which they migrated to the mainland. But the latter supposes that the Gilyaks are immigrants from the distant north, from the Arctic regions. The most characteristic survival of this kind is the fact that on certain solemn occasions a Gilyak is compelled to use not the door but the smoke-hole of his pit-house, which among Arctic tribes serves as the regular entrance into the hut. The actual terms used to express the ideas of entrance (lit. 'diving down') and exit (lit. 'popping up out of') confirm this view of such survival. The modern name Gilyak is probably not of Chinese origin (as Schrenck, who derived it from the words Kile, Kileung, supposed), but rather spread to the Gilyaks from the Tungus tribes which bear the name Gilyagai, Gilyakha. The Gilyaks' own name for themselves is Nivakhi, Nizyoga, i.e. 'inhabitant of my place.'

The Gilyaks numbered in all, according to Sternberg's repeated enumerations made in the nineties, 4365 souls (2392 males, 1973 females); of those, Sakhalin contained 1854 (1089 males, 865 females), and the mainland 2411 (1308 males, 1103 females). Since the appearance of the Russians the numbers of the Gilyaks have noticeably fallen off. Epidemics of smallpox, typhus, and measles in the sixties and seventies carried off 20 or 40 per cent of
the population. Something must also be ascribed to periodic famines, along with the scurry which inevitably accompanies them. According to tribal traditions, the nation of the Gilyaks would long ago have disappeared for the constant immigration into its territory of solitary exiles and refugees from neighboring peoples. These energetic immigrants, however, by natural selection and to crossing, produced vigorous and healthy progeny, which delayed the process of extinction.

2. Mode of life, etc.—The Gilyaks live in settlements whose numbers depend on the fishing conditions of the locality. There are small settlements with only five or six inhabitants, and large ones with two hundred. They follow a half-nomadic life, changing their place of abode several times in the year, in accordance with the movements of the fish, their own occupations, and the seasons of the year. Their summer quarters are generally near the sea at the mouths of rivers; in the winter they move away from the sea to the edge of the taiga (Siberian jungle). Their winter huts are of two types. On the mainland and on the shore of Sakhalin which looks towards it they have adopted a hut of the Manchurian type. It is a great shed-like house of timber, squared or un squared, with a two-storeyed roof supported by pillars inside, no ceiling, but windows filled in with fish-skin; along the walls under the sleeping-benches are rectangular big heating pipes daubed with clay, and connected with two low stoves which are placed on each side of the entrance to the house. The pipes are generally made of whole trunks of hollow trees. Another type of winter quarters is the pit-house, half sunk in the earth, and having above its level only a pyramidal superstructure of timber with soil heaped upon it. It is surrounded by a wooden fence surrounded by a low wooden fence. Above the hearth is the smoke-hole. The way into the hut is through a movable door giving upon a vestibule. Round three sides of the hearth are the sleeping-benches, of which the one opposite the entrance is reckoned the most honourable. The interior of the habitation is not unattractive: smoke, cold, darkness, dirt, and plenty of parasites. The Gilyaks' chief occupation is fishing. Two species of the gill-net (Stenurus and Tephalus) yearly visit their territory in countless numbers, and form the basis of their subsistence. Of the other kinds of big fish the most important are two species of sturgeon (Acipenser Sturca and orientalis). They use the fish not only cooked but in a raw or frozen state. They catch them with hand-nets, hooks, cast-nets, and seine made of nettle-fibre; they also spear big fish. The second principal occupation of the Gilyaks is the chase of big sea-beasts. Their vegetable food consists of berries. Hunting is a secondary occupation. They kill bearsChiefly in the time when the fish are passing, and the bears come down to the banks of the streams in whole crowds. Hunting sabers, cartridges, on pins of moose, palkins, and traps yields most of the money with which they purchase necessaries.

The weapons of the Gilyaks are the bow and arrows with iron heads. It is particularly to be noticed that they use dogs for food, which is quite contrary to the custom of the other hunting tribes. The means of transportation are boats and, in the winter, sledges (narsk) drawn by dogs. Their boats are of two kinds: (1) sea-boats after the Manchurian model; (2) river-boats of native production, dug-out made from a whole poplar, with round bottoms, long and narrow. The saddle is, like the boat, a dug-out, and very narrow, so that the driver sits astride upon it and his legs slide on snow-shoes on each side. The dogs, from five up to thirteen, get out as much as 12 verst (7.5 miles) in an hour.

The Gilyaks' winter costume is a tunic of dog-skin, with the natural selection and to crossing, produced vigorous and healthy progeny, which delayed the process of extinction.

3. Family and domestic life.—The structure of the family among the Gilyaks has peculiar features. At first sight, in an earth-created world, the family would appear to be both non-individualistic. As a matter of fact, monogamy is the commonest form; polygamy is rare, and owes its occurrence to circumstances. According to the accounts given by the Gilyaks themselves, polygamy hardly exists at all either on Sakhalin or on the estuary of the Amur or on the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk; it is fairly frequent along the course of the Amur; but, even where it is found, there are seldom more than two wives. A Gilyak buys his wives from outside his kin, and pays a bride-price for them, according to their value in various precious goods. A Gilyak's wives and his children are reckoned his wives and children in the eye of the public; but the group of men—his younger brothers, cousins in every degree of kinship, and also the husbands of his sisters and his wife's sisters—who have the right to sexual intercourse with his wife. A group of brothers possesses the same right over all the sisters of the wives of each of them. Accordingly, any man who is joined in individual obedience to any woman has rights over a whole group of women. Likewise, each woman who is married to a single Gilyak is at the same time participant in a group marriage with the whole group, consisting of the husbands of her own sisters and the brothers of her husband. This regulation of sexual intercourse, discovered by Sternberg in 1891, is in exact accordance with the words expressing relationship. Each man applies the word an'kes ('wife') not only to his individual wife, but to all his own wife's sisters and also to all the wives of his elder brother; and the woman gives the name pan'ess ('husband') not only to her own individual husband, but also to the whole group of persons mentioned above. In the language of the Gilyaks, therefore, 'son,' the like, are applied to whole groups of persons; the wives of brothers call each other 'sister,' and a daughter's husband calls his wife's father's sister 'mother.' The men of each kin
marry, for the most part (and formerly this was obligatory), the daughters of their mother's brothers, and women wed the sons of their father's sisters. The reason for this is the objection that among the Gilyaks can by no means be called immoral, as much as towards persons in forbidden classes the strictest condemnation is shown. In all cases: with such, not only jests, but even ordinary conversation, are forbidden. The position of women is one of subjection. Their marriage is often forced; betrothal is often arranged between children not yet married. The special sentiment of love is well known to the Gilyaks. The death of a beloved wife, or the impossibility of marrying one's beloved, is often a motive for suicide. This sentiment is often the cause of women being carried off. Kinship among the Gilyaks is exogamous, founded on the agnatic principle; its signs are having (1) the same heart or lord of the heart; (2) the same kind-gods and sacrifices; (3) the same kins into which the women are given in marriage, and from which the men take their wives; (4) the same common obligation of kin-vengeance; (5) the same cemeteries in common; (6) mutual rights of inheritance; (7) the bear-festival in common.

In the tenderest principle, the Gilyaks do not recognize any patriarchal power of the elder. The elders of the kin or the richer members of it, are respected and obeyed, but not in power. Juridical relations are to a great extent regulated by the kin organization. By the agnatic principle only sons inherit, or, in their absence, brothers. The eldest son takes over the wife of the deceased; but in any case the property does not pass out of the kin. Only by testamentary disposition can part of the property pass to daughters. The law into one's own hands is the proclamation, by force of arms, of a woman who has been carried off. But more frequently recourse is had to the decision of the kinmen. An insult leads to a duel with sticks. Not long ago, if a kinsman was slain by an outsider, the kin of the slain man would all unite in sangunary warfare with the murderer's kin, but the women and property were not touched. Sometimes such struggles ended in a peace, upon condition of the payment of a blood-price. Murder within the kin is not punished.

In general, juridical morality among the Gilyaks stands very high. Thefts are almost unknown; murders not committed for the sake of gain. But the evil example of the Russian traders is beginning to have its destructive effect. The moral feeling which animates the Gilyaks is visible among them in the general propriety and in the modesty of the women. They live all together; but shameless nakedness is not allowed, nor the disgusting scenes which are met with among the Ainu. Of course, even among the Gilyaks, cases of unchastity outside wedlock occur; but the parents of a girl who commits such a fault treat her with severity; the mother, according to the Gilyaks, subjects her to corporal punishment; and the father, in case of an illegitimate child being born, tries to set the evil right by killing the child and hiding its body. The marriages, though based upon sale, generally run a peaceful course. As long as the wife is young, the husband guards her jealously, and she most carefully avoids giving him cause for anger. Moreover, both sides are kept under a check by the fact that a husband who sends back his wife to her parents for any reason has no right to ask for the return of what he had formerly paid her for. If a wife has any wishes, she can demand that the payment made for her be given back to him. In allowing the labor of keeping up the domestic economy, incomparably the greater share falls to the wife. The husband is responsible only for winning the most necessary means of subsistence. Hunting, fishing, trading, and the journeys connected with them, are the main sphere of his activity. The time when the Salmonide pass up the Amur in masses perhaps requires of him re-doubled energy; but, the wife, too, in such cases gives him no considerable help. When the fish has been brought to the bank, she has to clean it, gut it, split it, and arrange it on the drying stages to be parched in marring. It is also the women, partly with the help of the children, that lay up, for the winter, stores of food derived from the local flora, and collect berries, roots, herbs, mosses, etc. The Gilyak children are kept in an extremely dirty state. The mothers wash them only in very rare cases. Nevertheless they are usually, at any rate in winter, well and decently dressed. Their clothing exactly reproduces in miniature the adults' garb, down to the smallest details and all the ornamentation. From the belt which secures the coat and apron of the little Gilyaks hang all the same objects as the adults carry—tinder, flint and steel, pipe-cleaner, etc. In their amusements and games the children love to imitate the work and pastimes of their elders.

In cases of polygamy all the wives live together in one and the same room, and each has for herself an arbor bed and her children on their own hanging-benches. All the wives have equal rights, and each gives her share of labour to the domestic economy. But the division of labour is not always equal. The wife who is the favorite of the husband is generally given only the lighter work; the heavier is allotted to the rest. According to local testimony, a Gilyak often contracts a second or third marriage, in order to render easier the life of one or other of his former wives, by putting her disposal a fresh worker. Men of the richer class, who from their ostentation, in order to make a show of their wealth, allow themselves the luxury of several wives, not infrequently adopt another means of lightening the labour of the latter. They allot to their eldest wife the husband's work, the burden of the house to slaves, usually female, but occasionally male, bought for this purpose. The Gilyaks have a special word for them, kry-gihkry's, or, according to their words, kry-gihkry's-wings for women, and kry-gihkry's-sag for men. It is to be noticed that they have no slaves of their own tribe; and the number of slaves, especially of male ones, is rather limited. The reason for this is the high price which they have to pay in getting them either directly from the Ainus, or Guf'da, or, more frequently, from other Gilyaks at second hand. The price of a female slave is much higher than that of a man. Slaves male and female are without any civil rights, and are entirely dependent on their lord; they are treated humanely only as far as the lord's own interests dictate, and he has perfect freedom to sell them whenever he likes. The business of slaves is to obey and to serve, but their chief suffering, especially in the case of the females, comes from their having no rights at all, and from the contempt with which they are treated by their masters, who do not allow themselves any human relations with them. Gilyaks are not allowed to marry female slaves, or have sexual intercourse with them; the latter rule, however, is not always obeyed by young unmarried men. But no Gilyak would ever allow himself to acknowledge progeny resulting from such intercourse. A child that comes into the world by such circumstances is reckoned to belong to its mother's tribe, and is the property of her owner. It is allowed to grow up along with its mother, and when it is adult it is kept or sold just like any other slave.
In view of what has been said about marriage, it is obvious that the right of inheriting extends only to persons of the same sex, and woman herself passes in inheritance like a chattel. The only direct heirs of a deceased Gilyak are his sons, however many they may be, on absolutely equal terms, no regard being had to the wife and daughters, whether married or single, have no rights in the inheritance. The only modification is when a man leaves behind him a wife with young children. The relict, along with all the property of the deceased, passes to his next eldest brother as his wife, whether he is single or married, and several wives. The levirate, however, is not quite obligatory. Any other person may, if he wish, marry the widow, with the consent of the brother-in-law and on payment of a certain sum. The children according to custom, are not forbidden to follow their mother. Finally, if a deceased Gilyak leaves neither sons nor brothers, the right to the inheritance passes to his nearest male relative. In the words of the Gilyaks themselves, the deceased is succeeded by his so-called kalt. A clear distinction is made between relatives on the father's and on the mother's side. The former are called agafka, and are reckoned blood relations; the latter amal, 'friends.' It is only the former who are subject to the obligations connected with the matter of blood-revenge, which plays such an important part in Gilyak life. Like all primitive peoples, the Gilyaks hold strongly to the feeling that every shedding of blood requires a corresponding retribution exacted by the victim or his kin. Not less deeply seated in their minds is the belief that any one who omits to fulfil this duty inevitably pays for the omission by misfortune or even death. This belief, which is universal among them, has in the execution of blood-revenge a powerful, decisive, and permanent influence upon them in both life and death. The laws of blood-revenge unconditionally require agafka to avenge a kinsman who has been slain outright or has died from wounds received and cannot avenge it himself. If his hurt is not fatal, he is himself the avenger, and his agafka only help him. The same obligations are imposed upon the agafka on the other side. The feeling of solidarity in the matter of blood-revenge, which binds together all the agafka of one and the same kin, especially a large one, serves as some guarantee against attacks being readily made upon any of them.

4. Government.—When Schrenck was on the Amur the Gilyaks were subject to no one, and paid no tribute either to China or to Russia. It is true that in the beginning of last century they were still to some extent subject to the Chinese power both on the Amur and on Saghalien. In the twenties of the 19th cent. this state of things was altered. The authorities of Manchuria chose headmen in many places from among the natives, and upon them lay the duty of collecting tribute, each in his own district, and delivering it at Deren. Later, the Chinese rule sensibly weakened in these parts, and concentrated itself exclusively in that region. The lower Amur, which extends up to the mouth of the river to the Sungari. The Gilyaks and Ochots remained only nominally subject to China and paid no more tribute; when Schrenck lived among them they were independent and they had no talk of any headmen among them, so that Schrenck even failed in ascertaining the Gilyak name for them. In the fifties the Russians extended their administration, while the Russians had not yet had time to introduce any new arrangements. Accordingly the people was left to itself, and within certain limits nothing interfered with its action. This was the most favourable time for studying its native manners and customs, and it is these we shall keep in view in our surveys.

With the exception of the regulations concerning the family and the parental kin, the Gilyaks have no legal rules or accepted organization to determine the course of self-government. They do not elect from among themselves any persons with authoritative power to preserve proper order in the community, settle any differences which may arise, or the like. Indeed, there seems no need for anything of the kind. They have no wars with their neighbours or internal strife; they make no preda- tries on neighbouring lands and exact no tribute; hence they need no leaders or headmen or such governing persons. On the other hand, there is a sharp difference among them in the matter of wealth. Some of the Gilyaks are reckoned rich who can make frequent journeys to trade with the Manchus and Sisams (the Gilyak name for the Japanese), and among them get a store not only of all the necessaries of life but of various articles of luxury. Further, journeys and intercourses with foreigners give the prosperous Gilyak such a breadth of view and experience, and make him so much more clear-sighted and logical, that, quite apart from his material importance, he acquires a great influence with his company. As he becomes, as it were, the soul of his village. It is his house that is chosen for the cheerful assemblies and feasts which accompany the bear-festival. The help a rich Gilyak gives to a poor or sick person is a matter of sending something or other to his house, but of supplying him with all the necessary means of subsistence gratis (in Gilyak pos). The chief ground of this is the communist spirit which pervades all primitive peoples.

5. Calendar, etc.—The Gilyaks have no exact ideas of time, but there are certain notions. Besides the usual expressions like 'day' (mow), 'night' (urk), 'morning' (tyt), and 'evening' (pruf), the time of day is defined according as the sun is rising or setting (keng-myur or paden), 'being born'; keng-myur or much, 'dying'; mounting the sky (keng-tsytrashkabir), slanting down (keng-bollich), or standing at its highest point at noon (keng-munudch). It is especially difficult for them to define some day long past but in some way memorable, as it is exactly like the whole series of similar days spent at one place amid the ordinary duties. In spite of this, they follow very attentively the phases of the moon. They have separate terms for full moon and new moon (long-chornik, 'the moon is full'; and long-much, 'the moon is dead'), its waxing and waning, and also for the various stages of these phases of the moon. The year is divided into twelve months, but the names of the months differ in various parts of the country. Some are current among the Gilyaks living on the lower Amur, while others are used in the interior and on the east coast of Saghalien. The following are the names of the months of the year as used on the west coast of Saghalien and on the mainland:
The Gilyaks divide the twelve months very unequally into seasons, of which, strictly speaking, they recognize only two—winter (turf or tuf-an') and summer (tolf or tof-an'), corresponding to the times that they live in winter-houses and summer-houses. In general their year falls into the following divisions: winter, consisting of five months, November to March; spring, one month, April; summer, five months, May to September; autumn, one month, October.

Seeing the daily rising and setting of the sun, they naturally think that the earth (miy) stands immovable and the sun (len) moves round it; further, the circle of the horizon makes them imagine the earth as a disk. But as to where the sun hides when he has set and night has come on, they do not inquire.

"When I asked them about this," says Schrenck, "they laughingly answered my questions with others, such as whether I had ever eaten a hare or other game after he had set. The more intelligent of them, such as Yushin and Belgor, immediately began to revolve the problem of the regular succession of day and night, and there came into their heads the idea of the unintermittent motion of the sun about the earth, of the earth's immobility, and, beneath the earth, of the heavenly bodies, and, as its direct consequence, that of the possibility that the sun is equally distant from the animals and people everywhere. I found it much easier than I expected to get the Gilyaks to believe that the latter."

The stars also, in their opinion, revolve round the earth, just as the sun does. Indeed, in regard to the stars, the Gilyaks have got so far in their conception of the universe that they reckon them similar world-bodies to the earth, supposing that it is only their enormous distance that makes them appear so small. This can be seen from the fact that the words wghlikr, 'star,' and wghlikr-em, 'star-earth,' are with them identical. For some of the constellations they have their special names: e.g., three stars in the tail of the Great Bear are called chowribikl, four others waygry-nyo, 'the mouse's store.' A constellation with many stars, perhaps the Pleiades, is called on the Amur "rum," 'cabal'; on Sakhalin taqgh-rino, 'the store of the little beast' (Tomias striatus), and also tammul-wghbrk, 'many stars.' Orion's sword is called chibikl; the Milky Way, wayhikon-nyi, 'the umbilicus of the earth,' and the most important of the commonest questions of the Gilyaks concerns the existence of people on the stars. When Schrenck said that the stars are so far that people on them, if they do exist, could not be seen even through a telescope, the Gilyaks always replied that the shamans do succeed in seeing them. According to the Gilyaks it is positively known that upon the stars there grow tall trees and whole forests with plenty of all kinds of animals—sables, minks, foxes, bears, dogs—and, finally, people whose the Gilyaks call sot-an', 'star people,' sometimes wghlikr-em-nibalh, 'earth-star-people.' These people are of gigantic stature, with thick brows, long noses, and so on. The inhabitants of the earth occasionally meet the star-people, and the shamans know what to do in these cases.

In festivals, etc.—The bear-festivals take the first place. These are festivals for the rich, who secure the bears for this pastime. When the beast has been caught the hunters fetter him securely, and every family, either by the pair or alone, goes to the bear and ties together. Old and young run out to meet him with joyful cries. In Gilyak villages there is nearly always a plane reserved for a bear; if there is none ready-made, it is erected without delay. This place consists of a square log-hut, open above, with a small door fastened from the outside, and a small window-opening which is never closed. After dressing the bear by force and untying him, they cover the hut over with planks, and pile heavy stones upon these so that there is not the slightest possibility of the prisoner's escaping. From that moment the bear becomes the object of the care of the village, which is bound to look after him and supply him with food, so acquiring the right to participate in the bear-festival. Thus the bear-festival is entirely communal. It unites all the members of the village, and thereby offers a kind of centre about which the whole village-life revolves. The day of the festival is commonly fixed by the original owner of the bear, i.e., the man who bought him or caught him at the time of the trapping. He also figures as the leader of the feast, keeping strictly to the customs consecrated by time. Besides the chief delicacy, bear-meat, the leader of the feast enriches the festive board with other culinary productions in the Gilyak taste. In his anxiety for greater splendour, he invites to the feast not only his kinsmen, but all his friends and acquaintances.

After the close of the festival the bear's skin is allotted to the organizer of the feast. The feeding of the imprisoned bear proceeds according to well-established rules. The food is introduced through the window-opening; it consists of first raw or dried (yubali), and mosi, a kind of thick gruel. At rare intervals the bear is brought out of his prison chiefly in order that the hut may be cleaned. Before he is put back into it, he is led round the village several times. The period for which the animal is kept depends upon its age. Grown-up bears are kept in captivity only a few months, but cubs for several years until they have grown and put on fat. Bear-festivals are celebrated in the winter months, as at that time of the year the Gilyaks live on the mountain-inlands, i.e., after the Chinese fashion. The greater part of the bear-festivals occur in the month Aw-long (December). During the opening days of the festival the bear is led solemnly round the village; there is a farewell feeding of him; he is set up as a target and, after he has been killed, he is cut up and skinned, and his head and skin are borne to the hut. The following days are given to feasting, games, contests, dances, singing, sledging-races, and other pastimes. Throughout the festival an original kind of music is incessantly played, and the blows of a stick on a hanging beam, to the accompaniment of humorous songs. The last act of the drama is the sacrifice of dogs, and the scattering off of the bear's head and bones to the common resting-place for the remains of bears.

7. Religion.—The religion of the Gilyaks is pure Animism. Regarding all Nature as animate, they give it a completely anthropomorphous expression. The island of Sakhalin is regarded as a live creature, with its head at Cape Mary and its feet touching La Perouse Strait. Every more or less important headland or hill is a live creature, to which are attached many romantic and tragic legends of a purely human character. As he sees in inanimate objects of Nature a living anthropomorphic existence, the Gilyak takes a yet more anthropomorphic view of animals, regarding them as beings to whom are granted the highest reason and power for whom the animal envelope is only a mask hiding a human being. Every element, every force of Nature, has its own lord, in all his attributes and social conditions, a pair of sledges tied together. These gods likewise, in their turn, occasionally take the form of some animal or another. The chief gods or 'lords' are the lord of the mountains, the lord of the sea, an
old man with a long beard, who throws handfuls of 'ashes' rose about in all directions; Ty-ye', the lord of the heavens; Mu-ye', the lord of the earth; and others. All these lords are in other worlds, and to them from time to time sacrifices are offered in the shape of various sweet roots, rice, tobacco, etc. In more important cases the sacrifice is a dog. Often such sacrifices are performed in the jungle to the lord of the jungle, or in the sea or the river to the lords of these. The Gilyaks burn a dead man after dressing him in his best clothes (several suits). After the cremation they break his canidoms and sledge and kill his dogs. Not far from the place of burning they set up a little house. In it they put a doll which represents the dead man, dressed up in presentable state. Above the doll they set a wooden representation of a cackoo, and round about cups, plates, pipes, tobacco, sugar, and various things. During the time immediately following death, before the dead man is settled in his new place, his kinsmen visit his little house at intervals, make libations, and present provisions. Disease and death are regarded by the Gilyaks as the results of the will of an evil spirit, who either seizes the soul or gradually eats it away. The Gilyaks believe in a world that exists beyond the world of the living, and this world is inhabited by the ancestors of the dead. Gilyaks are invited to drive this evil spirit forth. In social relations the shamans are not at all to be distinguished from common Gilyaks, but the gift of shaman-craft is ordinarily handed down from father to son.

The worship of idols among the Gilyaks must be regarded as borrowed from the Tungus tribes. Mangute, Gol'da, and Orochi, and also from the Ainu. The Sagaheil Gilyaks have scarcely any idols. Special reverence is paid to a representation of a beer which is kept in a toy-houses, into which they also put a store of victuals—tobacco, sugar, etc.—and other things belonging to the sacred animal. Gilyaks are also indicated in the sacred images as far back as the IInd and IIIrd dynasties. The ancient races of India appear to have employed the girdle in dress, and richly embroidered girdles still persist in Indian costumes; in ancient Norse mythology, e.g. Frigg's golden girdle, and amongst the Chaldeans and Babylonians (Ezek 23:2) reference is also made to them.

Coming to Biblical girdles, it is necessary to point out that in the EV the word 'dārā is frequently translated 'girdle,' whereas it is more properly rendered 'cincture.' Such were the 'girdles' of Elijah and John (2 K 1, Mt 3, Mk 1). The true girdle of the Bible consisted of a long strip of cloth wound round the waist above the tunic, with or without the ends hanging down in front; but, in other cases, it varied from a simple rope (Is 38:4) to the elaborate waist-belts of the priests and the 'golden girdles' of Rev 1:10. The 'curious girdle, who has his seat' (ch. 4:2) was 'of gold, of blue and scarlet, and fine twined linen' (Ex 28:30); it was wound several times round the waist and tied in front, the ends being fastened together on the left side.
GIRDLE

falling to the ankles. The girdle also served as a sword-belt (2 S 209); as a purse (Mt 10:9 RVm); and as a support for the inkhorn (Exk 25:9). The application of the girdle in most cases in the Scriptures is used to indicate the completeness of the dress and readiness for action—e.g. 'gird thyself and serve me' (Lk 17:11). Among the Romans, the girdle consisted of linen, and was used to confine the tunica. It was worn by both sexes, and also formed part of the dress of the soldier and gymnast. The Grecian athletes also wore girdles; in the games, and Hercules is depicted at Olympia as 'wresting from the Amazon her girdle.' Amongst both Greeks and Romans the girdle was the usual receptacle for money, etc. And Gaius also named to top this town Gabili) was the term applied to the method used by the early Romans in warfare of wearing the top, the end of which, instead of being thrown over the shoulder, was drawn tightly round the body as a girdle, thus leaving the arm's free. In Tibullus we read that at funeral ceremonies the girdle was worn by the boy or girl, with which every Zoroastrian child, whether boy or girl, is invested when about fifteen years of age, consists of a string, about the size of a stay-wool, which is first passed twice round the waist very loosely, over the sacred shirt, and tied in front with a loose double knot (right-handed and left-handed); and the long ends are then passed under the arms and round the waist and tied again behind with a similar double knot. This string contains six strands, each consisting of two fibres, white, woollen threads twisted together, or seventy-two made in all. Near each end of the six strands are twisted rope, instead of being twisted, and for the last inch they are braided into three separate string-ends of two strands each; these string-ends, therefore, contain twenty-four threads each, and form a kind of fringed end to the string. This fringe is a sort of remembrance, as its six strands are supposed to symbolise the six Gharanias or season-festivals, the twelve threads in each string symbolises the twelve months, the twenty-four threads in each string symbolises the twenty-four karats or sections of the Vipatra, and the seventy-two threads in the whole string symbolises the seventy-two books or chapters of the Yasa.

The importance of the girdle in India is shown by the fact that its absence, before which the religious rite may be performed, is the second birth. The rules regarding the northern Indians are noted below; among the southern Dravidian Brahmas the girdle is made of three strands of cotton, in each of which are nine threads; and, similarly, a three-knotted girdle is worn by the Dervishos of S.W. Asia. The Vihāra woman uses a simple cord to wear the girdle over the right shoulder, but during funeral ceremonies, when the custom connected with the living are frequently reversed for the dead (IEE, vol. iii. p. 652, vol. iv. p. 430, p. 60), the girdle is removed to the left shoulder.

At the annual May procession of the boundaries of Iguvium (Gubbio), a sacred girdle (cringatore) was worn on the right shoulder.

For different castes the girdle is of different materials.

The girdle of a Brahman is to be made of a triple cord of māraja (Sibakuram muṣa), smooth and glibble; but of a Kshatriya it should be a bewitching of muslin (Candraśaya ṣeṣṭeva); of a Vaisyas, a triple thread of hemp. If māraja cannot be had, (their girdles) are to be made of hemp (Paus yonnuma), dānabda (Sibakuram muṣa) (or) selya (Ghunna suṣa), threaded, with one knot, (or) three, or even five.

The girdle of the Brahman is composed of 3

1. Living Races of mankind, ed. H. Northcote, 5 vols., London, n.d., where many illustrations of girdles may be found.
3. West, Ser viii. (1892) 123, note.
5. For full references, see A. Hillebrand, 'Bit-Līk.' (GIAF III. 2 (1897) 516.
8. BIBL. III. (1881) 555, 455, 454, notes 1-3, 458-483; cf. xxx. (1897) 16, 17, 351.
strands of cotton formed of 9 threads, and the material must be gathered and spun by pure Brāhmaṇas. After marriage the cord must have 6 strands, and may have 9; the months of March–June are the most favorable for the investiture, and begging is permitted to defray the heavy expenses of the ceremony. The initiation with the girdle took place at 8 years old in the case of Vaiśāyins, at 11 years old in the Kṣatriyas, and at 12 years old in the Vaiśāyins. The following is the formula used at the ceremony:

Here has come to us, protecting us from evil words, purifying our minds as a purifier, clothing herself, by the power of illumination and exhalation, with strength, this friendly goddess, this sacred girdle.

With these words thrice repeated, the girdle is tied from left to right three times, and there shall be one knot or three or five, and it is finally adjusted with the words: The sacrificial cord rests upon the right shoulder, and the girdle is invested as follows: further, the student has to repeat the verse protecting us from evil word and the Protectress of right; the initiates in the girdle at the right side of the navel and draws that to the south side of it. At funeral ceremonies the relatives of the deceased wear their sacrificial cords. The Brāhmaṇa who has been invested with the triple cord is called a Brahmachārī; the cord is called Gopagopaka in Sanskrit, Jōtānu in Persian, Jōtānu in Tamil, and Jōtānu in Canarese. Other Hindu share with the Brahmans the honor of wearing the cord, e.g. the Jains, the Kṣatriyas, the Vaiśāyins, and even the Panditās.

The oldest extant charm for a girdle is contained in Atharvaveda, vi. 153, and runs as follows: The god that binds this girdle, that fastened it together, and that joined it for us, the god by whose instructions we move—may he take the further shore, and may he release us.

Offered to art thou, offered unto thee; thou art the weapon of the gods; mouthing first of the bow, be thou her protector, O girdle.

Since I am dead, a student, soliciting from existence a man for Yama, him do I, by intoxication, by favour, by lot, tie with this girdle.

Daughter of faith, born out of favour, sister of the being-making seer was she; do thou, O girdle, assign to us thought, wisdom; also assign to us favour and Indra's power.

The ascetic being-made seer bound about, do thou, O girdle, in order to length of its, O girdle.

Girdles were in use for religious purposes in the Greek and Roman liturgy, and Anastasius mentions in the 8th cent. maravasseis, or jewelled girdles of the shape of lampreys or seahorses. Zodical amulets in the form of girdles were known to the early Christians, and the girdle of the ephod must be again referred to (see above); its end when the priest was engaged in sacrifices was thrown over his left shoulder. As early as the 5th cent. Pope Celestine (423–432) deprecated the frequent use of the girdle by the priests as an article of adornment and distinction in their dress. Some mention must be made of the ovarium, a kind of scarf worn on the left shoulder and passing diagonally downwards to the right side; it was permitted to be worn by the Romans as a favour by Aurelian. The fourth council of Toledo directed that the ovarium should be worn by deacons over the left shoulder. The application of the pallium, which was used as early as A.D. 514—in its earliest form a narrow strip of cloth, passed over the left shoulder, then round the neck and over the left shoulder again, leaving the two ends free one in front and one behind—seems to the present writer to be connected with the ovarium. The girdle in its final form as an ecclesiastical vestment is a narrow band, usually and properly made of silk, but sometimes of cotton; white as a rule, it may be coloured. The esoteric meanings attached to it are mentioned in the apocryphal literature as semen omnium virtutum; virtus continentiae; perfectis Christi caritatis. Properly it is about four yards long, and is used to secure the alb, the upper portion of which depends over and often hides the girdle. The 'stole' is the successor of the ovarium, and consists of a strip of embroidery 2–3 m. wide, elaborating in a cross. The man wear it over the left shoulder and secure it under the right arm, while priests cross it over the breast. The 'pall' is also probably derived, through the pallium and stole, from the girdle, while the sub-pallium, now worn only by the Pope, was originally a girdle with a lozenge-shaped lappet depending on either side of it.

In the Orthodox Greek Church the πόρτα, and in the Malabar the σωστόν, are all girdles; and other vestments used in their ceremonies show traces of girdle origin. The girdle is also an important article in the dress of many religious orders. It is often of black leather, although a simple cord or rope is also common.

The above sketch of the part played by the girdle in sacrifices is by no means exhaustive. Little attention has been paid so far to the significance of the girdle in vestments; and it would be desirable to trace the various metamorphoses which have taken place in its descent from mythical times are often vitiated by the omission by authors of accurate descriptions of the girdles and their mode of application. Sym pathetic magic appears in connection with the girdle, in the form of spells and incantations. Thus, for example, a man can change himself into a werewolf (p. e.) by donning a belt of wolf's skin. According to Muhammad Shahristāri, who wrote his Gulistan-i-Rāvī (Ross, Garden and Mystery) in A.H. 717 (A.D. 1217), the girdle signifies to the Sufi the binding of the bond of obedience, so that the knotted girdle is the emblem of obedience. Perhaps influenced in part by some such passage as Is. 11 ('righteousness shall be the girdle of his loins, and faithfulness the girdle of his reins') or Eph 6:4 ('having girded your loins with truth'); or, as Ps. 90:2 ('I am a vile man'), an Irish monk in Austrian Klosterneuburg wrote the curious hymn which may also contain some reminiscences of the pagan Celtic period:

The girdle (ψῆλος) of Fines is round about me, to protect me, that I walk not in the way which leadeth the people... against disease, against anxiety, against illness, against pain... it is the girdle of John is my girdle... it protects me from the wrath of the enemy... it gives me strength and power... it protects me from the wrath of the enemy... it is about me that men may not wound me, that women may not wound me; in the fields I am marked; at my hour I am about me.

3. Girdles used as amulets for the cure of disease and for facilitating childbirth. (a) For the cure of disease. Girdles used as amulets for curing diseases are to be met with in many countries, and are employed in the treatment of multifarious conditions. No doubt they originally had some religious significance, but in the majority of cases this has been completely lost. Four in
stances may be cited as examples of their use. The natives of the Island of Harris wore a girdle of sealskin about the waist for removing sciatids; and, in Aberdeenshire, one was employed to cure 'chin cough' (whopping cough). Among the Nian-Niam and Upper Tribes of Bahir al-Ghazal in Southern Egypt, a tight cord is placed round the chest of a man and magic words are pronounced; a thick rope-shaped wooden charm is attached. These must suffice as typical illustrations of the wide distribution of such beliefs and of the variety of conditions in which they are employed.

(6) In pregnancy and childbirth.—The application of the girdle during pregnancy and labour forms a curious ethnological problem. It is well known that the popular idea in most nations is that everything must be unloosed in these contingencies: thus, husbands must not sit with their legs crossed, doors must be opened, knots of all kinds undone, and the hair even loosened. Whether the girdle idea arose as an offshoot of the sacrificial girdle or as a simple means of applying v'vsi 'pregnancy' to say with certainty, but the preponderance of evidence is in favour of the religious origin, as we shall attempt to indicate.

In the Brahman marriage rites the bride is invested with a red and black woollen or linen cord with three amulet gems; this is not the sacrificial girdle, nor are women allowed to wear it. In popular Hindu birth-customs, a charm is bound about the belly of a woman in labour; this charm consists of an equilateral triangle or a collection of magic words arranged into three rows cylindrical. In an Assyro-Babylonian fragment in the British Museum an inscription recited for a pregnant woman mentions 'binding being relieved.' The Brahman birth-customs, a charm is bound about the belly of a woman in labour, and carries as symbol the woolly girdle; it is, let it be noticed, comparable with Aphrodite and Frigg. Among the Greeks, a birth was forward or retarded by divine beings, the Eileithyia, handmaids of Hera; there seem to have been two Eileithyia, one advantageously and the other disadvantageously. The former is called 'the girdle-losing' (λακευτρία). Later the two Eileithyia were merged into one, who became the Roman Lucina. The Trojan maidens had before marriage to decorate their girdles to Apaturian Athene; and Athenian women pregnant for the first time hung up their girdles in the temple of Artemis. The Roman ladies bound the abdomen with a waistband-like girdle from the eighth month of pregnancy, and these bands were probably made near the image of some god; the girdle was unloosed at the confinement; hence the goddess of birth came to acquire the epithet Solonkios, 'the girdle-loosing.' In some cases the husband seems to have tied and unloosed the girdle.

It will have been perceived by this time that two or three variations of treatment are regarded as girdles. In some cases, the girdle is applied during labour as a charm, in others as a means of pressure, and it is also applied, probably as a support to the abdomen, in the last month of pregnancy, and removed when labour approaches. This introduces us to an interesting philological curiosity connected with the last variety. The Latin word isissaica means 'girdled,' sometimes 'ungirdled,' 13 and, in the vulgar tongue, 'a pregnant woman'; from this is derived the Italian isicci, 'pregnant,' Spanish asiento, 'to be pregnant,' French enceinte, 'pregnant,' and probably German entbinden, 'to unloosen,' and 'to deliver.' These words furnish excellent confirmatory evidence of the fact that the girdle played a most important part in pregnancy in early times. Amongst the Jews a girdle made of snake's skin or that of a she-ass was worn to prevent miscarriage at birth, and the Turkish women held similar beliefs; compare with the Jewish custom that of Brandenberg women, which consisted in binding the abdomen with a snake's skin to gain an easy delivery.

The same beliefs are prevalent amongst the less civilized races; thus, in China, a belt is used during pregnancy and labour; the Japanese women wear a long and flowing silken girdle, and the custom is said to have been originated by the Empress Djin-go-Nogou about A.D. 200. The fifth month is selected for its application, and a girdle belonging to a woman who has had easy confinements is favoured, and, therefore, borrowed, such as the woman referring to as 'the girdle-mother'; after the birth, part of the girdle is used to make some of the child's clothing. The Kalmucks, nomads of Mongolia race, buckle broad leather belts around the abdomen as soon as labour begins, and use pressure from above downwards; 14 and the Burmese women wear a tight bandage from the 7th month onwards to prevent the child ascending too far. The central Australian tribes have curious modifications of these customs. A certain stone is believed to contain the spirits of children; by visiting it a woman becomes pregnant; and, by tying this girdle round the stone, a man can cause his wife to be with child. Again, the Arauta husband removes his hair girdle, it is then tied tightly round the woman just under her breasts, probably with the idea of expelling the child. 15 During a Zulu confinement a grass rope is tightly fastened round the middle of the woman to prevent the child slipping up again; 16 and, to judge from an illustration, the girdle is also worn during pregnancy. 17 The Bantu of South Africa employ the girdle as an amulet for easy delivery. 18 A very curious girdle is used by the Shangaan women of Portuguese East Africa; it is of woven fibre, hinged in the middle so as to resemble a pair of calipers; but, as its height is only 6-7 in., one fails to understand how it is applied.

1 Pfliger, RN xxviii. 29; Tertullian, de Anima, xxxii.
2 Tubilius, u. ii. 13; cf. J. P. Pottier, Selections from Tuber-
4 BRR ii. 657; cf. Bernard Siern, Medizin, Aberglauben, und
5 Quellenstudien in der Turkia, Berlin, 1903, S. 270, 571, 599.
6 A. Ringelheim and W. Lohr, Der Volumenm in der Rouge
7 Brandenburg, Berlin, 1909; Ploos-Bartels, i. 108; cf. Brand,
8 i. 314.
9 Ploos-Bartels, i. 345-360; cf. A. R. Milford, Tales of Old
11 Engelsma, 206.
12 T. p. 5.
13 Customs of the World, p. 178; Spencer-Gillen's, pp. 385, 667.
15 Living Races of mankind, ii. 203.
16 Bastian, Lage des Staffa, Jena, 1874-75, i. 178, 179; BRR ii.
18 659.
GIRNAR—GLASITES

plied. The practice is general among the American Indians, where the idea again seems to be pressure; the "squa belt" used by the Sioux Indians is of leather, 4 in. wide, and has three buckles. In Macedonian folklore, if one's girdle becomes undone, some woman of the family has just been delivered, and it is also an omen of easy delivery; girdles have also a place in their marriage ceremony.

In historic times, and particularly among Catholic peoples, the belief in the efficacy of girdles in difficult labour has been, and is probably still, rife. In France, the girdle of St. Oyan; in England in 1159 that of St. Joseph, and that of the Abbess Robert of Newminster; and of the Holy Magdalen of Swabia, have all been used for this purpose. In Germany a cord the length of the standing image of St. Sixtus was used about the 14th century. Spanish women tied their girdles or shoe-latches about one of the church-bells, and struck the bell thrice. Further, we find in 1592, under the expenses of Elizabeth of York, a sum of money paid to a monk that brought our Lady gyrdle to the Queen, and the note that "it was probably a reliquary for a monastic cell; as it was in common practice for women in this situation to wear blessed girdles." Sometimes a long scroll containing the Magnificat was used. Dr. Leighton writes in a letter to Lord Cranstoun (1657?): "I saw our Lady's Girdle of Bruton red silk, a solemn relique, sent to women in travail. Other charms of a like nature were bound to the thigh.

In the Battle of Lora, by Ossian (James Macpherson), the passage occurs:

"An hundred girdles shall also be thine, to bind high-looked maidens, the friends of the ladies of homes, the crow of the sons of toil." Macpherson adds a footnote stating that "Sacredly girdles, till very lately (1761), were kept in many families in the north of Scotland; they were bound about women in labour, and were supposed to alleviate the pains and to accelerate the birth. Some were dedicated to St. Ninian, the twenty-fourth of their Tir-thanakara, or deified saints. A rock at the foot of the hill is engraved with a copy of the codicils of Aoka (q.v.; cf. "Our Lady's Girdle of Bruton red silk," in the Early Hist. of India, Oxford, 1898, pp. 129 f., and two other inscriptions—one of the Satrap Rudradaman (c. A.D. 150), recording the construction of the Sudarians tank; and a second its destruction and repair in A.D. 488 (V. A. Smith, Early Hist. of India, Oxford, 1898, pp. 129 f., 200).

The original name of the mountain was Raiwara or Ujijanta; and the Buddhist pilgrim, Himen Taling, describes it under the Pali form of the latter title, Yuh-chen-to or Ujijanta (S. Beal, Buddhist Recollections, London, 1884, ii. 209). The Jain temples, the largest of which is dedicated to Neminatha, are fully described by Burgess in his Report. On the verge of the hill, at some distance from these temples, is the huge isolated rock, known as Bhravara-jap, 'the place where charms are recited in honour of Bhravara, Siva in his destructive form. In former days, fanatics used to hurl themselves from the precipice, in the hope of gaining immediate entrance into the paradise of Siva (cf. Crooke, P.R.I., 1891). Another interesting temple is that of Amba Mata, the Mother-goddess, now one of the many forms of Uma or Parvati, the consort of Siva (see DURGA). Here newly-married Brahman couples resort, have their clothes tied together, and present coco-nuts and other offerings to the goddess, in the hope that she will secure for them a continuance of wedded felicity.

GIRNAR.—A sacred hill and place of pilgrimage of the Jains, with numerous temples, is situated in Kathiawar, Bombay; N. lat. 21° 30', E. long. 70° 42'. The hill reaches a height of about 3500 feet above sea-level, and includes five peaks, one of which, till recently, a haunt of the loathsome aegis or sphinx. In the opinion of the Jains, the sanctity of the place is second only to that of Pataliputra, because it was associated with Neminatha, the twenty-fourth of their Tir-thanakara, or deified saints. A rock at the foot of the hill is engraved with a copy of the codicils of Aoka (q.v.; cf. "Our Lady's Girdle of Bruton red silk," in the Early Hist. of India, Oxford, 1898, pp. 129 f., and two other inscriptions—one of the Satrap Rudradaman (c. A.D. 150), recording the construction of the Sudarians tank; and a second its destruction and repair in A.D. 488 (V. A. Smith, Early Hist. of India, Oxford, 1898, pp. 129 f., 200).

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GLASITES (SANDEMANIANS).—A Christian sect founded by John Glaes (1696-1779), and his son-in-law, Robert Sandeman (1713-1771). Glaes was born at Auchtermuchty, in Fife, where his father was parish minister. He graduated at St. Andrews, and studied for the ministry at Edinburgh. In 1733 he was ordained into the ministry of Fochabers. In 1739 he was appointed to the new charge of Tealing, and soon attracted large congregations by earnest and effective preaching. He was led early in his ministry to study the Scripture doctrine of the Church, through 'being brought to a stand,' while lecturing on the Catechism, by the question, 'How doth Christ execute the office of a king?' The result

Lastly, to bring the subject down to the present

1 Anthropological Museum, Aberdeen Univ., Africa No. 948, Cat. 581.
2 "A Sumerian, 24, 94, 91, 150, 150, 187.
5 Licensed by the presbytery of Dunkeld, he was ordained as minister of Tealing (1719), and soon attracted large congregations by earnest and effective preaching. He was led early in his ministry to study the Scripture doctrine of the Church, through 'being brought to a stand,' while lecturing on the Catechism, by the question, 'How doth Christ execute the office of a king?' The result
of his inquiry appeared as early as 1725 in the forming of a society "separate from the multitude," due to his new esoteric beliefs and practices. Glaser taught that there is no authority in the NT for a National Church, or for a National Covenant, such as then existed in Scotland. He maintained that the man of God was to have authority only in the Christian Church, and that the use of political and secular weapons as a means of reformation, instead of the word and spirit of Christ, is wholly wrong. This is the argument of his most famous treatise (Edinb. 1727), The Testimony of the King of Martyrs concerning His Kingdom. When it became apparent to Glaser that the Scriptural authority of Independency he was summoned before his presbytery. In 1728 he was suspended from the discharge of ministerial functions, and in 1730 he was convocated. As the members of his congregation adhered to him, the first 'Glasiot' church was formed, and Glaser was recognized as the 'kirk'. Although the General Assembly removed the sentence of deposition which had been passed, Glaser remained an independent minister to the end.

At Perth, Glaser was joined by Robert Sandeman, who had become his son-in-law. Sandeman gradually became the recognized leader of the churches of the order. It was his task to draw the line between antinomianism on the Glasiot churches. He taught that the true sect of Jesus Christ, without a supposed 'office of the part of man, is sufficient to present the chief of sinner spots before God.' He maintained that justifying faith is a simple assent to the Divine testimony concerning Jesus Christ, differing in no way from belief in any ordinary testimony.

Owing to Sandeman's prominence, the Glasiot churches became known as 'Sandemanian.' Different endeavours were made to make these churches the exact reproduction of the NT type. Elders, pastors, or bishops, who were all equal, were chosen without regard to education or occupation. Second marriage was a disqualification for office. Neither a weekly observance of the Lord's Supper, nor a love-feast at which every member had to be present, is in any way set up. Things strangled and blood were prohibited as articles of food. Decisions of the church must be unanimous. The accumulation of wealth was regarded as unsacred, and therefore wrong, and each member considered his property as liable to be called upon at any time to meet the wants of the poor or the necessities of the church.

There were about a dozen Glasiot or Sandemanian churches in Scotland, and a few in England and America. Michael Faraday was for many years a member of the Sandemanian Church in London. The most rigid churches of the order have now become extinct, and most of the members have joined the Scottish Congregational or Baptist Churches.

Gnosticism.—t. Name and character. Under this name are included all the manifold systems of belief, prevalent in the first two centuries of our era, which combined the Christian teaching with a higher knowledge. According to Hippolytus (Refut. v. 6), the title of "Gnostics" was assumed by the Naasenes; and we may infer that it did not originally bear the wider connotation which was given to it later. The pursuit of γνωσις was so intimately bound up with the religious sentiments of the age that those who shared in it were unconscious of any close affinity, and did not themselves call it by a common name. But the eventual triumph of orthodox Christianity brought into clear relief the identity of principle which underlay the various heretical doctrines, and caused them to be grouped together under the general designation of "Gnosticism."

We have to deal, therefore, not so much with a definite scheme of thought as with a large and many-sided movement, which was continually changing. The nature of this movement has often been misunderstood through a failure to apprehend the precise significance of the term γνωσις. It has been taken for granted that the Gnostics were the intellectual party in the Church, and that their object was to resolve the Christian message into a philosophy acceptable to cultivated minds. This estimate of the movement is not wholly erroneous. In working out their beliefs the Gnostics thought that they were led to construct highly speculative systems, which sought to explain the origin of evil, the nature of the Divine being, and the interaction of the spiritual and the material. In the words of Theodorus, as quoted by Clement of Alexandria (St. Theodot. 78), γνωσις is 'the knowledge of who we were, what we have become, where we came from, into what place we have been thrown: whither we are hastening, whence we are redeemed: what is birth, what is re-birth.' This definition, however, belongs to the later, more speculative phase of Gnosticism; and in any case it suggests the idea of a knowledge not attainable by ordinary intellectual processes, and only to be gained by a mystical enlightenment. To the term γνωσις, as we meet it in Hellenistic writings, there always adheres this suggestion of a knowledge obtained supernaturally. The magical papryi describe their contents as γνωσις, and the word is constantly employed, by religious and philosophical writers, to denote an immediate vision of truth, as contrasted with a wisdom that comes by seeking. These two kinds of supernatural knowledge have both been taken into account in estimating the purpose and character of Gnosticism. On the one hand, the Gnoseos possession is an occult lore. He participates in mysterious rites, and is instructed in magical watchwords and secret names.

1. By means of this γνωσις a man receives power to overcome those very angels that made the world' (Iren. 1, xvi. 5). This is the description of the invisible divinity enshrined in the hidden mysteries that show the way to the elect generation (Iren. 1, xvi. 5).

On the other hand, he undergoes a mystical experience whereby he apprehends the true nature of God and enters into communion with Him.

2. He who possesses a heart that is anointed, and that shines with light, is blest with the vision of God' (Fragment of Valentinus, quoted by Clem. Alex.).

The idea of γνωσις is closely related to that of revelation. It is assumed in all the systems that man is unable of himself to attain to the higher knowledge, which is, therefore, communicated to him by a being from the heavenly world. This fundamental doctrine of Gnosticism gives a mystical expression in the Hymn of the Naasenes (Hippol. v. 5):
Each of the sects claimed to be the repository of a secret message, revealed from heaven; and on the knowledge of this message, with its accompanying symbols and ritual, the entrance into the higher life depended. As there had been an original revelation, so, from time to time, there had arisen others. The idea of a spiri-}
Gnosticism

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on syncretistic thought before Christianity had yet emerged. Indeed, it is possible—although of this we have no certain proof—that the Jewish contribution was of great importance, and was one of the main factors which enabled Gnosticism to effect its alliance with Christianity.

The origin of the Gnostics is the result of that mingling of diverse beliefs which had long been in process at many different centres; and it had developed itself, in all its essential features, before the Christian era had fairly begun. Of this pre-Christian Gnosticism we still have an impressive monument in the so-called Hermopolitan literature of Egypt—a literature which was compiled from sources that were certainly in existence in the 1st or 2nd cent. B.C. Not a few of the Gnostic systems described by the Fathers betray a pagan origin, although they have been officially connected with Christian elements. Reitzenstein has succeeded in detaching a purely pagan document which underlies the Naassene teaching, as preserved by Hippolytus; and a similar analysis could probably be applied to the records of other systems with a like result. But, while we can thus speak of a pre-Christian Gnosticism, it was by no means the case that the characteristic ideas which define Christianity in such a way that the earlier stages of its history became only the preparation for this, its characteristic thought. For already the Christians, in their teaching, received a mighty impulse. The contact with a living religion gave a new vitality to pagan thought and compelled it to offer its own solution of the ultimate problems.

How was it that the syncretistic movement came to ally itself with nascent Christianity? A definite answer to this question is hardly possible. The tradition concerning the coming of Christian Gnosticism with Samarias may be well founded, for in the neighbourhood of Palestine the new religion would be first known and welcomed. But the same causes that led to its recognition in Samaria would operate independently in other centres where it was afterwards established. The Eastern religions were superficially akin to Christianity in their presuppositions and motives. They represented a striving after purity and redemption and a belief that the true path to blessedness could be discovered only in the light of a Divine revelation. Earnest thinkers, in their effort to win the secret of the higher life, found in Christianity a wealth of spiritual conceptions which promised to aid them in their quest. The life of Jesus Himself was capable of an allegorical interpretation whereby it could be partially fitted into the prevailing mythology. In their eclectic scheme, therefore, they made room for the Christian message, and by its intrinsic power it gradually won for itself a certain place. It may be said, however, that when, first entered the Gentile world, was still in the process of free development. Within the Church itself its teachings were subjected to a constant revision, and the Hellenistic thinkers had little difficulty in modifying them yet further and adapting them to alien speculations. For that part, the assimilation of Christianity to the syncretism of the age was not effected entirely from the outside. In their endeavour to make their Gospel intelligible to the Gentile world, the missionaries had themselves clothed many of its conceptions in terms and imagery derived from the pagan cults. The cardinal idea of a salvation offered by Christ had been expressed, even by St. Paul, in a syncretistic manner, and anticipated the current beliefs. Moreover, the Church was compelled, by deeper reflexion on its doctrines, to interpret them along the lines of Gnostic thought. The new teaching, drawing as it did from the soil of Judaism, was apocalyptic in character, and was thus involved with conceptions that became more and more untenable. A reaction against the primitive millenarianism set in almost from the beginning; and the main task which the Church set itself after the end of the 1st cent. was that of transforming its apocalyptic beliefs into their spiritual equivalent. In the process, it did not occur to itself that it could not but avail itself of ideas which were already familiar in the religions of the time. Thus the alliance between Christianity and syncretism was a mutual one. As a later date, the Church perceived the danger that threatened it from the encroachment of foreign beliefs, and required to free itself at the cost of a life-and-death struggle. But there was an earlier period when the boundaries between the Church and the contemporary cults were ill-defined, and influence could pass between the two with relative ease.

3. Origin.—Gnosticism resulted from the fusion of a number of diverse beliefs, and the tracing of its origin is, therefore, beset with many complex problems. The attempts have been made by scholars in recent times to connect it, not with only one or other of the religions out of which it sprang, but there are several considerations which make this attempt not a little hazardous. (a) 'Gnosticism' is a general term which covers a wide variety of religious thinking. It may be possible to assimilate one particular system very closely to a given religion; but the conclusions thus obtained cannot be made valid for the whole many-sided movement. (b) Certain features are common to many different Oriental religions (e.g. the Mother, the Redeemer, the Holy Being, the Ascend to a higher and the Descent to a lower state of being). The presence of these features in Gnostic systems affords no clue to the source from which they are derived. They can be traced exclusively to one religion only by obscuring details in which they remind us of another. (c) Even when a characteristic element can be assigned, with practical certainty, to a given religion, we cannot be sure that it was borrowed directly from that source. Gnosticism had been in process for a much longer time than we have means of following it; and the element in question may already have been incorporated into some later faith, from which it passed into Gnosticism. (d) In the concrete, thought the content is resolved into the abstract. Personal names are replaced by terms of philosophy, mythological figures are changed into qualities and attributes, and events into cosmical processes. It is next to impossible to make out the original contours and outlines of this blanched picture.

But, while we cannot, with anything like precision, the elements which enter into Gnosticism, some valuable light has been thrown on the problem by the investigations of recent years.

The work of Anax. (Uebrug von Gnosticismus) was the first attempt at a scientific analysis. He discovered the central idea of Gnosticism in the ascents of the soul through successive stages of being, and sought for the origin of this conception. He found it in the astral religion of Babylonism, with its doctrine of a series of heavens, each under the rule of a planet. Through the soul must make its ascent by means of magical passwords delivered to the guardian of the degrees. To this theory of Anax, at least in the extreme form in which he presents it, there are several objections. First and foremost, the soul must make its ascent by means of magical passwords delivered to the guardian of the degrees. The derivation of the one element of Gnostic thought cannot be made conclusive for the origin of the movement as a whole. (b) In the 1st cent., indeed, for several centuries before, the Babylonian religion belonged to a remote past. It is true that many of its superstitious survivals survived in the current astrology, but they had now
merged in the general belief of the time. To assume a Baby-
lonian origin for any system of thought in which we once
recognizes them is to confuse our whole historical perspectiv.
(2) The planetary gods, as we find them in Gnosticism,
have a close resemblance to the planetary gods of the
Babylonian religion. They are no longer supreme Divinities,
but they are endowed with antagonistic powers by which man is
held in bondage. His one endeavour is to throw off their
bondage, and escape to the divine life. 
(3) Admitting that there are elements in Gnosticism which must
have had a Babylonian origin, it seems necessary to hold that they came
in by an intermediate channel.

Bouquet (Haupts-probleme der Gnostik) has advanced strong
reasons in favour of the view that this channel was the Zoro-
astrian religion. He lays especial stress on the altered position
assumed by the planetary gods, and finds in it an
instance of that 'degradation' which is not uncommon in
religious history. The Persians after conquering the Baby-
lonian Empire had allowed a place to the ancient gods, but had
deposed them from their sovereign rank to that of subordinate
divine powers. To the Gnostic influence Bouquet would
attribute not only the Babylonian elements in Gnosticism, but
nor more.

It may be doubted, however, whether even the Persian
influence was exercised directly. Not a few of the Gnostic
dogmas are derived from the Gnostics of Philo, who had
been carried out from the main stem of the Persian religion,
and had already, in the 1st cent., a.b., become widely prevalent
in Asia Minor. The conception of the
ascend of the soul through the planetary spheres, and which
had associated it with the sacramental and ritual system of a highly
elaborate kind. As a mystery religion it powerfully attracted
the mass of the people. But the influence from Babylon and Persia
were combined with others, hardly less potent, which
as trace back to Egypt.

An Egyptian origin of Gnosticism was first maintained by
Ammonius, who based his argument on fancied resemblances
between the magical symbols in the Gnostic documents and
of certain hieroglyphic signs. Of late years, Reinsenstein and
other scholars have adduced stronger evidence, derived
from the inner affinities of Gnosticism with Egyptian thought. It is
significant that the Hermetic literature, our chief existing
record of ancient Gnosticism, was composed in Egypt and
is impregnated with Egyptian ideas. On the ground of the
parallels supplied by this literature, we can assume, with a fair
degree of confidence, that the Gnostic thinkers were indebted to
the Egyptian theocoria, or the growth of the Pleroma, of the birth of the
soul by a process of emanation, and of the enenites, or pairs
of male and female gods. To the Egyptian thought we may also
assign the conception of an apocalyptic, or absorption into the
Egyptian nature, which in Gnosticism is the final goal of
the ascent to heaven.

The main sources of the Gnostic beliefs must be sought in
Phrygia and Egypt; but other religions added their contribution. Phrygia had long been the home of a peculiar
worship, mysterious in its character, but powerfully
affected all the Hellenistic cults. It centred in the
two figures of Cybele and Attis, the Mother and the Victim-
deliverer; and it was largely through Phrygian influence that
these figures, although they have counter-parts in almost all
the oriental religions, were brought into prominence. They held a
foremost place in Gnosticism, and were conceived in a manner
that combined the dualistic and the Oriental mythologies; indeed, the Naassene
document in Hippolytus appears to be borrowed directly from
Phrygian sources, and is well calculated to dispel
no trances of influence proceeding from India. The Buddhist
system, as described by Hsüan-tsang, affords striking analogies
to the Gnostic thought in itsnegative conception of God and its
dogma of the Great Ignorance (Nirvana) which will accompany
the perfect knowledge of the Paracetamic Soul, so well
held by Jadzarda, son of Basilides, likewise suggests a well
known apocalyptic conception, and hardships, the 'lost of the
Gnostics,' was confessedly influenced by his acquaintance
with Indian thought. It is easy, however, to attach undue
importance to the Indian contribution even in the later systems;
but in Gnosticism of the main period it seems to have played little
or no part.

The ground-work of Gnosticism was supplied, then, by a number of mythologies which had become
fused together in the process of syncretism. Ideas which had come down from the astral worship
of Babylonian and Phrygian religions, and these, again, with the cults of Egypt and Phrygia. Other religious (e.g. the local
cults of Syria) also helped to form the character of their
contribution cannot be identified with any
certainty. It is more than likely that this mixture of
oriental beliefs had been partially leavened,
even before the Christian era, by elements taken over from Judaism. As a result of the Gnostic
alliance with Christianity the OT came to occupy an
even greater place in the building of the various
systems. Gnosticism was thus trained in Greek philosophy the mere opposit

forth supplied the framework for the Oriental
mythologies. The whole mass of belief which had
thus been compounded out of the diverse
religious was informed with the spirit of Greek
speculation. What had been given as myth and
legend was construed metaphysically. Theories concerning the nature of the soul
were interwoven with the ancient traditions. But,
while Gnosticism availed itself freely of the
language and ideas of philosophy, the appearance
which it thus assumed was for the most part de
ceptive. It was not a speculative but a mytho-
 logical system. In spite of all efforts to read a
deeper meaning into its hieratic consistencies, the
material could not be made tractable to philo-
 1
osophical interpretation. As a movement which
strangely influenced Christianity in its formative
period, Gnosticism has an important place in the
history of human thought, but in itself it remained sterile.
For all its pretension to hold the key to a
higher wisdom, it never really transcended the
primitive mythology out of which it sprang.

4. Doctrine of redemption. The affinities of
Gnosticism are not with philosophy but with
religion, and it has to be explained through the
view of its practical religious motive. This is for-
gotten by the Christian polemical writers, who
deal almost exclusively with the Gnostic specula-
tions. In all the sects these, no doubt, had a large
place, but they were at best subsidiary to the
religious interest. The central idea of Gnosticism,
as of all the mystery religions, was that of re-
demption. A popular, or spiritual enlighten-
ment, was offered to the elect, whereby the soul might
be delivered from its condition of bondage. Redemp-
tion, as understood by Christianity, is fundamen-
tally ethical, although the ethical meaning is
obscured, even in the NT, by apocalyptic or
speculative forms. But in Gnosticism the ethical
aspect of redemption falls almost entirely into the
background. Here we may discern the chief
peculiarity of the movement, which gave direction
to all its thinking, and brought it finally into open
conflict with the orthodox Church.

Two ideas are involved in the Gnostic doctrine of
redemption. They are closely associated, or
even identified, in all the systems, but were
different in their origin, and need to be considered
separately. (a) The redemption is a deliverance
from the material world, which is regarded as in-
trinsically evil. (b) As a result of this, these systems
had a Persian dualistic conception; but, while in Par
isian light and darkness appear as two natural
principles in eternal conflict, the Gnostics trans-
formed the physical dualism into a metaphysical
one. Under the influence of Greek speculations the
contrast of light and darkness became that of
spirit and matter—the lower world of sense and
the higher world of pure being. Although these
two views are recognized as irreconcilable opposites, it is
recognized that they have come to be mingled to-
gether. All the evil and misery in the world are
held to stem from this forbidden intermixture of the
antagonistic principles. This is the grand calamity
which has made necessary a work of redemption.

In most of the Gnostic systems the Oriental
dualism is frankly accepted, although we consis-
tantly meet with efforts to overcome it. The
Naassenes conceived of a 'chariot' perishing from the
first-born.1 The later Valentinian school
regarded the fall of Sophia as taking place within
the Pleroma. Basilides, according to Hippolytus,
resolved the historical Christ into two elements taken
over from the Oriental
1
continuos process. Moreover, in a number of systems
a mediating power is assumed between light and
darkness (cf. the Sethian conception of soteia as
a fragrance even mentioned by Origen). Under
trained in Greek philosophy the mere opposit
of the two worlds was a standing challenge to discover some ground of unity. But the dualism is rather concealed than overcome, and may be traced more or less clearly underneath all the apparently monistic constructions. Indeed, it constitutes the basis apart from which the Gnostic type of thought has no meaning or meaning. A spiritual essence has come to be imprisoned within a sphere which is radically alien to it; hence the need for a redemption, to be achieved only by some supernaturally endowed one.

(b) But the idea of deliverance from the material world is blended with the further idea of escape into a world of freedom. To ancient Hellenic thought, necessity was the power above the gods (see Fate in Greek and Roman); and at the beginning of the Christian era this mode of thinking had been immensely strengthened by oriental fatalism. The conception of a κατανάλωσις imposed on all human action had grown into a tolerable tyranny—all the more so as it was now connected with astrological beliefs which had come down from the Babylonian religion. The planets were regarded as the ἀρχήτοροι or κοσμοπράγματες to which the whole creation is subject. By their influence, Good and Evil was brought into this bath, and was forced under the yoke of mechanical necessity, although conscious all the time of his vocation to freedom. Gnosticism took the direction from these contemporary beliefs. Its motive was a genuinely religious one—sacred to secure for the human spirit that liberty which is implied in its very nature. The deliverance from bondage was sought for along the lines suggested by astral mythology. It was assumed that the soul was held captive by the planetary powers; and in order to win freedom it had to pass through the sphere over which they ruled, subduing or deceiving the guardian demons by means of charms and spells. To this purpose of circumventing the hostile rulers the secret discipline of Gnosticism was mainly directed. The adept was prepared for his future journey by sacraments and illuminations, and by instruction in the hidden names of angels and the words and signs by which they could be recognized. All the resources of magical γραμματα were called into play to effect the deliverance of the soul from the material prison which had brought it under the bondage of necessity.

These were the two aspects in which the idea of redemption presented itself, and they merged into one another at every point. The escape into freedom is conceived at the same time as a rising out of the material into the spiritual world. As the goal of the Redemptive process the Gnostic looked for a return of the soul to its original place in the heavenly light. A doctrine of the resurrection of the body, or even of personal immortality, was proclaimed by the fundamental conception of matter as evil. The soul, freed from its limitations, is simply to be reunited with the 'Pleroma'—the fullness of the Divine being.

It is characteristic of all Gnostic systems that redemption is anticipated for only a limited number of chosen spirits. This has sometimes been set down as an exaggeration of the Christian doctrine of election; but it belongs rather to the aristocratic tendency of all mystery-religions, heightened, in the case of Gnosticism, by the underlying dualism. There were two worlds, so there were two classes of men, absolutely separate from one another. For the greater type of man was responsible; only the spiritual natures had sprung from Him and were destined for the higher realm of light. These spiritual natures alone were capable of the redeeming γινομαι, and to impart it to others was a profanation. The earlier Gnosticism recognizes only two classes—the υπογείως, and the inferior class which is variously described as μησοῖς, χορǐοις, or υπάρχουσα. Later schools allow for three—μησοῖς, υπάρχουσα, and υπογείως, the Gnostic redeemer consecrating the ordinary Christians, who possess videntes instead of γινομαι. The Coptic writings divide humanity into a large number of different classes. These, however, are merely attempts to confound the Church by obscuring the distinction between the Gnostic and the orthodox believer. The distinction is really an absolute one: body, who share in the heavenly light have nothing in common with those who are denied it.

5. Praxis and mythus.—In its essential purpose Gnosticism was a method of redemption, and consisted not so much in the profession of certain opinions as in the practice of given rites, which were supposed to lead the soul in its effort to shake off its fetters. Although the extant documents are concerned chiefly with the Gnostic theology, we have one detailed account of the praxis in the so-called Books of Jed, and further light is thrown upon it by Irenaeus' description of the Marcionites and the liturgical portions of the Acts of Thomas. As in the Christian Church, the act of initiation took the form of a baptism; and in the Gnostic rite was more elaborate, and the ordinary baptism by water was supplemented by 'fire' and 'spirit' baptisms. The worshipper was to have been accompanied by a highly complicated ritual intended, as in Mithraism (cf. Dieterich, Eine Mithratisierung), to typify and anticipate the ascent of the soul towards its own peculiar rites—illuminations, anointings, sacramental meals, repetition of magical phrases and formulae. Symbols with a mystical import were frequently marked on the body, and were engraved on rings and gems, which were worn as amulets. Above all, the secret names of angels and demons were carefully committed to memory, and with the spells and invocations wherever the different powers of the invisible world could be controlled.

How was this praxis, consisting, as it did, of the usual apparatus of contemporary magic, related to the speculative side of Gnosticism? The relation appears to have been twofold. (1) The speculative systems were the interpretation of the praxis. In the Pseudepigrapha we can almost follow the process by which a mythical history was woven together out of the details of the ritual, which had already been realized on a higher stage. (2) The mythus was developed as a supplement to the praxis. Speculative minds were unable to rest in the bare assurance that by partaking in a certain ritual they would secure redemption. They could not but ask themselves why a redemption was necessary, what was its scope and nature, and what means it had become possible? The answer to these questions was given in the Gnostic systems. Originally they were something added to the γινομαι proper, which was concerned entirely with the occult rites and formulae. But in course of time they became an integral part of the γινομαι. It was taken for granted that redemption was in some measure conditioned by a knowledge of the higher speculations on the ultimate problems of being.

6. General features of the mythus.—In the details of their construction the systems are widely different, and cannot be fitted into any one general scheme. Yet there are certain elements which in one form or another belong to all of them, a view of the dualistic hypothesis that underlay the whole
Gnostic theory of redemption. It followed from that hypothesis (1) that matter was intrinsically evil—a lower world standing over against that higher one into which the soul sought to escape; (2) that the soul was native to Baraboth (the deep), and had fallen from it, previously to its conscious existence, as the result of some cosmical disaster; (3) that this baraboth was restored only by a Divine intervention, since its progress was hopelessly barred by its imprisonment in matter. The ideas which thus presented themselves to Gnostic speculation were first elaborated and elaborated in terms of mythus. It was assumed that man's spiritual nature was derived from a Divine being, who had fallen out of the world of light into the world of darkness. The process of deliverance involved, in the first place, the restoration of this fallen being, and the restoration could not be effected except by the voluntary descent of another Divine being, equal or superior in rank. Around these two beings—the fallen Divinity and the Redeemer—the Gnostic mythus in all its variations may be said to turn.

Allowing, then, for an endless diversity of detail in the manifold systems, the characteristic features of Gnosticism may be briefly indicated. At the heart of the systems is a Supreme God, who is not so much a personal Deity as the abstract ground of all existence. Sometimes (as in the Acts of Simon) He is conceived as pure Light. Elsewhere He bears names which serve to emphasize His absolute transcendence—Father of All, Unbegotten, Ineffable, the Unapproachable God, the Spirit of God, the Unseized. The Barbelo system describes Him as 'the Man' or 'the Primal Man,' and traces of this conception meet us even in Valentinianism. In view of the many analogies with other religions (e.g., Parseism, the Hermetic writings of Egypt), we cannot assign it to Jewish or Christian speculation. It runs back rather to some primitive myth, the meaning of which can now only be conjectured, and which possibly underlies the imagery of Daniel and the Book of Enoch. From the Father of All (or Supreme God) there proceeds a number of beings, in a descending scale of dignity, who are arranged in pairs of male and female ('syzygies'), and in their totality make up the Pleroma— the fullness of all being and perfection. Behind this concentric decoration of the Pleroma we can discern the purely mythological idea of a Pantheon, or family of gods, but in Gnosticism it assumes a mystical character. The Divine existences, while distinguished from one another, are the manifestations of the one God, who is Himself impersonal and unknowable.

In later Gnosticism—more especially in the teaching of Valentinus and his school—the members of the Pleroma bear the name of Archons (g.e.), and are created in successive pairs by a process of emanation. This doctrine of Archons, in which we can trace Mithraic and Egyptian ideas modified by Platonic, has often been singled out as one of the typical features of Gnostic speculation; but it is characteristic only of certain systems, and seems to represent an attempt on the part of later thinkers to overcome the dualism inherent in the movement. In a manner which partly anticipates the Neo-Platonic theory, the Primal Being is conceived as going forth from itself in a series of existences, each at a further distance from the centre, so that the interval between God and the world is partly bridged over.

The process of emanation becomes necessary through the fall from the Pleroma of the member that stands lowest in rank. To this Archon or Power is usually assigned the name of Sophia, a name suggested by the OT conception of the Wisdom by which the world came into being. In Simonian Gnosis the fallen Divinity is called Helena (a reminiscence of Μηλή, the moon-goddess), while in one important group of systems she appears as Barbara (perhaps, in the four is God'). The conception of Sophia is related in many of its features to that of the Mother (Ishtar, Is, Atargatis), the soul which is restored only by a myth descends into the abyss, where she is held prisoner. But, whatever may have been its origin, the figure of Sophia underwent a complete transformation at the hands of the Gnostic thinkers, who sought by means of it to solve their crucial problem of how the Divine principle of light could enter into contact with darkness. According to one theory, Sophia fell by leaving her appointed place in her desire to attain to the supreme light. According to another, she was lured into the outer depth by a false reflection of the light. In Valentinianism, as in the Barbelo system represented by the Pseudo Sophia and the Books of Enoch, the figure of Sophia is doubled. The higher Sophia remains in the Pleroma, or in a sphere just outside of it, while the lower Sophia sinks into the darkness. The purpose of this duplication is apparently to account more easily for the fall, which was unintelligible on the strict dualistic hypothesis; but it also reflects a conception of Sophia of which we have traces in all the systems. A twofold function is assigned to her: to have been the fallen Divinity through whom the light becomes immersed in darkness; and she is also the intermediary between the higher world and the spiritual nature which has fallen. The fall of Sophia is regarded not only as the object of redemption, but as herself assisting in the redemptive process—watching over the light until the deliverance comes.

The fall of Sophia has for its consequence the work of creation. Hitherto the world of light had stood over against an utterly formless world of darkness; but the comingling of the higher principle with the lower evolves a cosmos out of the chaos. As the agent of creation, Gnosticism assumes a Demiourgos, who is usually represented as the son of Sophia. He is himself ignorant of the Pleroma above him, and governs the world created by him in the belief that he is himself the Supreme God; behind this conception of the Pleroma we can discern the purely mythological idea of a Pantheon, or family of gods, but in Gnosticism it assumes a mystical character. The Divine existences, while distinguished from one another, are the manifestations of the one God, who is Himself impersonal and unknowable.

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The process of emanation becomes necessary
claim to a Divine origin and sanction was still acknowledged. In Gnosticism, the riddle which had perplexed St. Paul and the writer to the Hebrews was solved in the most drastic fashion. The God of the OT was regarded as different from the God revealed by Jesus, and in some sense hostile to Him. He was not, as the Fathers were wont to assert, identified with Satan, but he cloaked in inferior attributes and limited to the one task of blind creation.

The fall of Sophia breaks up the perfect harmony of the Pieroma, and this cannot be restored until the lost light is recovered from the darkness. An ΑἰΩΝ of supreme rank—the Soter or Christus—undertakes the work of deliverance. According to the Neoplatonists (and indeed the teaching of the Church) Sophia, through his own initiative, but elsewhere (e.g. Pseudo Sophocles, Orphics of Irenaeus) he is moved by the urgent prayer of Sophia. He comes down through the spheres of the Archons, taking on himself the forms of the spirits of each world as he descends. Arriving in the world of darkness, he gathers to himself the scattered seeds of Divine light, and finally re-ascends along with the rescued Sophia into the Pieroma. The figure of the Soter is itself anterior to Christianity and has many counterparts in popular mythology. It may possibly be found in the Babylonian light-God Marduk, who descends unrecognized to do battle with Tiamat, the monster of Chaos. Further elements are drawn from the ideas of Isis and Osiris, and Mithra, although all the definite features are blended together and resolved into one abstract conception. The grand characteristic of Christian Gnosticism is the identification of the mythical Redeemer with Christ, with whose history the pagan traditions are interwoven. But the Soter always remains distinct from the historical Jesus, who appears simply as a man of pre-eminent spiritual nature, united for a given time with the heavenly Redeemer. The union takes place either at the baptism of Jesus, when he is twelve years old (justianian sect), or, according to the usual view, on the occasion of his baptism. The crucifixion of the divine being, who is incapable of suffering, separates himself from Jesus (cf. art. DOCTRINE). This distinction of the Soter and the historical Jesus is partly necessitated by dualistic theory; but it must be explained, in still greater measure, by the radically un-Christian character of the whole movement. The Gnostic Redeemer had originally no connexion with Jesus. He was simply an abstraction of features common to the mythological Saviours, and this abstract figure was combined artificially with the Jesus of history. It was on this account that Gnosticism was unable, in spite of all efforts, to establish any real identity between the Redeemer and Jesus. Before it could adapt itself to the Gnostic construction the Gospel history had to be revised throughout, with a loss of practically all the elements which gave it significance to Christian thought.

The task of the Soter is twofold—to deliver the fallen Sophia, and to rescue the seeds of light which have become mingled with the darkness, owing to her fall. This double activity is emphasized in some texts by identification of the figure of the Soter, while in others the work of redemption is separated into two acts—the first of them in the period before creation, and the second at the advent of Jesus. The redemption accomplished by Jesus is not connected with His death, which is transformed into a mere outburst of hostility on the part of the Demiurge against the Son of God, or rather of the Soter who used Him as his instrument, to communicate the hidden γνωρία. By means of this knowledge, imparted by Jesus and preserved in the Gnostic tradition, the higher natures were freed from their earthly bondage and restored to the kingdom of light.

The ethical system of Gnosticism, like its speculative construction, was founded on the dualist hypothesis. By this hypothesis the idea of morality, in the ordinary sense, was excluded. All material conditions were regarded as necessarily evil, and the aim of the Gnostic was to rise through the purely spiritual life. To this struggle for deliverance from the bondage of matter all moral endeavour was subordinated. As a consequence, the Gnostic rule of conduct was liable to take either of two directions. (1) In most of the systems it is strongly ascetic in character. The soul is required to free itself from the conditions by holding aloof from all sensual pleasures and reducing the needs of the body to the barest minimum. A strict ascetic discipline is conjoined with the possession of γνωρία as its necessary support and complement. (2) But the same motives that dictate this ascetic morality lead as easily to the opposite extreme of libertinism. Spiritual natures are called on to assert their independence of the material world by indulging in its pleasures without restraint. The libertine tendency is reinforced by the identification of the Soter or Demiurge—the inferior and tyrannical God. It is assumed that the moral law, as laid down in the Decalogue, is founded on his arbitrary will, and aims at the subjection of man to his free spirit, under the yoke of necessity. To defy the ordinances of the law, and thereby throw off allegiance to the inferior God, is a duty obligatory on the true Gnostic. Carpeores and his son Iadvisus sought to establish the libertine theory of conduct on a regular philosophical basis. It was represented likewise by the Nicolaites, and in a still more marked degree by the Cainites, who applied their inverted standards of moral values to the characters of Scripture. Cain, Esau, Korah, and Judas were honoured within this school as the champions of spiritual freedom. How readily the one extreme could pass into the other is illustrated by the opposite attitude of kindred sects, such as the Peristates and Sethians.

7. The Gnostic sects.—The diversity of the Gnostic systems, as portrayed in the writings of the Fathers, may in some measure be explained by controversial motives. One of the strongest arguments against the heretical beliefs was their tendency to conflict with one another, and the Patristic writers take every means to emphasize the confusion. Local and superficial differences are made prominent; alternative forms of the same doctrine are set forth under specific names, as if they were held by separate schools. But, when we have allowed for this artificial sub-division, the variety of the sects is still bewildering. Gnosticism drew from so many sources and was so irresponsible in its methods of speculation that no uniformity of belief was possible.

The difficulty of tracing the affinities and ramifications of the systems is all the greater because of our ignorance of their historical development. For the leading Gnostic teachers we can roughly assign dates between 180 and 180—the age of the Antonines; but a large number of the figures of the Soter, while in others the work of redemption is separated into two acts—the first of them in the period before creation, and the second at the advent of Jesus. The redemption accomplished by Jesus is not connected with His death, which is transformed into a mere outburst of hostility on the part of the Demiurge against the Son of God, or rather of the Soter who used Him as his instrument, to communicate the hidden γνωρία. By means of this knowledge, imparted by Jesus and preserved in the Gnostic tradition, the higher natures were freed from their earthly bondage and restored to the kingdom of light.
history of Gnosticism there seems to have been a central process of borrowing and reworking. An arrangement of the sects in historical order would be largely deceptive, for the movement in its most developed stages was constantly reverting to ideas of a primitive stage.

Attempts to classify the systems were begun even in Patristic times. They were grouped by Clement of Alexandria according to their material status—simple like that of the Gnostics—according to their speculative character, as monistic and dualistic. It is evident that no true classification can be arrived at by either of these standards. Among the many modern scholars who have tried to group the systems, the following may be mentioned: (a) Naumann drew on the relation of Gnosticism to Judaism, and distinguished between the friendly and hostile schools. (b) Bauer applied this test in a more scientific fashion and divided the sects according to their prevailing Jewish, pagan, or Christian character. (c) Gieseler sought to determine the countries in which they originated—Egypt, Byzas, or Asia Minor. (d) Lippold also adopted the geographical division, but was content to make it more general and to regard the two great Gnostic schools—the Syriac and the Alexandrian.

These groupings are all unsatisfactory, since they fail to take account of that intermingling of diverse types of religion which belongs to the essence of Gnosticism as a syncretistic creed. Perhaps the most convenient classification is that which is now usually adopted, and which distinguishes the apocalypse of religion into its two aspects of a definite founder or teacher. The distinction is at best a rough one, and is open to at least two serious objections. Since the evolution of a system to a given founder is often accidental, and is due to nothing else than the existence of some well-known work in which its doctrine was expounded. (3) The books of the Apocalypse of a given sect may be divided into two classes, one of which is substantial and authoritative, while the other is more or less apocryphal, and serves only to bring out a real and important distinction. The anonymous systems may fairly be held to represent the more primitive Gnosticism, which grew up more or less spontaneously out of the pagan cults and had only a superficial relation to Christianity. When a system bears the name of a definite teacher, we can regard it as a comparatively late product, based on philosophical reflection and more closely allied to Christian thought.

(a) The anonymous systems are brought together, in all cases, under test-case writings, under the general head of Ophiticism. They comprise, besides the Ophites proper, the Naassenes, Peratae, Sethians, Christians, Sarco-Christians, Monte-Hierno-Gnostics, Justinians, Nicolaitans, Docetes, and other more obscure sects. The figure of the serpent, to which the name refers, seems originally to have had a cosmic significance, but in various Hellenistic cults it had come to symbolize the worldsoul, or eternity, or the Divine redeeming power. Its import for religious thought was enhanced by the apocalyptic stories of the serpent in Eden and the brazen serpent in the wilderness. Among the Ophites the serpent was a favourite symbol, typifying sometimes a beneficent, sometimes a hostile, power. But the term 'Ophiticism,' although convenient, carries with it no definition of the system. From some of them the serpent-symbolism is entirely absent, and in none can it be regarded as central and characteristic.

The Ophite or anonymous group of sects is marked by certain broad fundamental features. All the systems included in the group are relatively simple in structure, and have affinities with mythology rather than with Christian or philosophical speculation. The Apocalyptic scheme, as we find it in later Gnosticism, is undeveloped or altogether wanting. The idea of Godhead is seen in the character of the Trinity, when the form of a Trinity—the Supreme unknown Father, whose essence in light, and, associated with him, the Mother and the Son. Other Divine beings have their place, and the doctrine of the Pleroma, but the Trinity appears so constantly that we cannot but feel that originally it was complete in itself. Beneath the higher world are the seven planetary powers—half gods, half demons—and at their hour stand Ialdabaoth, who is identified with the God of the OT. He and the other six are thrown above the lower world, which they have created out of the darkness, and in which the fallen particles of heavenly light have become imprisoned. The aim of the Gnostic is to enable these spiritual natures to free themselves and re-ascent to their native world.

As a typical example of Ophiticism, the 'Gnostic' system described by Ireneus (adv. Haer. I. 80) may be reproduced in outline. It starts from the conception of a Supreme Being, 'the First Man,' from whom proceeds his son, 'Son of Man' or 'Second Man.' Along with these two there exist a male and female principle—'the Holy Ghost.' Illuminated by the First and the Second Man, she produces another male principle, 'Christ.' But the one associated with a definite founder is her child also to produce the male-female Sophia or Prunikus, who sinks into the depths and assumes a body. But her children are formed out of her body as she struggles to rise, and, finally, she rises herself to her seat in the east between the sun and the moon, to a birth to a son, Ialdabaoth, who begets sons in his turn, and thus there arises the Hebdomous, or group of seven planetary powers. Ialdabaoth, opposed by his sons, begets from the same source another son, Nocia, who is formed like a serpent; and by him he is led to believe himself the Supreme God. But his Mother reveals to him the existence of the true God, and, in order to discover the attention of the other six powers, Ialdabaoth with them in creating man. The man thus formed is at first heat and shapeless, but Ialdabaoth breaks into him the breath of life, and thereby empowers himself of his power, while man is inspired with the knowledge of the Supreme God. The wrath of Ialdabaoth is kindled, and he endeavors to destroy his ignorance and subject him to his own ordinances; but man, on the impulse of Prunikus, transgresses the will of the tyrant, and is driven by him out of Paradise. Henceforward the malign influence of Ialdabaoth moves through human beings, who have the power of being born to man, and the prophets who sends in a constant succession keep alive in him the knowledge of the light. Finally, at her prayer, her Mother requests of the Supreme God that Christ should come to the help of man. Descending through the seven planetary spheres, he unites himself at the Baptism with Jesus, the Son of Mary, and through him procures the unknown Father. Ialdabaoth and his sons bring about the crucifixion of Jesus, but Christ and Sophia ascend to the higher world. The crucified Jesus is raised in a spiritual body, and for eighteen months reveals the mysteries of Gnosticism his disciple. Then he is exalted to heaven, where Christ sits at the right hand of the Father. Ialdabaoth becomes the enemy of all souls which possess the spiritual nature. The consummation is effected when all the lost light is gathered together and restored to the higher world.

This example will illustrate the character of the Ophite systems, and a few brief notes will suffice for the others. The Justinian is a marked resemblance to that which has been outlined, except that it reverses the part assigned to two of the chief figures. The male principle Edem (corresponding to Prunikus or Sophia) is the hostile agency who seeks to thwart the beneficent influence of the creator Elohim. The rôle of Saviour is enacted by the angel Baruch. He enlightens a series of elect spirits (pagan as well as Hebrew) before he brings the final revelation to Jesus.

The Naassene sect appears to represent a highly primitive type of Gnosticism, the pagan features of which are thinly veiled by transferring to Jesus the attributes of the Soter. So far as we can gather from the confused account of Justinus (Refut. v. 2-6), the Naassenes assumed a Primal Being (First Man), in whom the whole universe (including the person of Sophia and the Pleroma) originated. His nature is threefold—material, psychic, and pneumatic—and the world-process consists of the segregation of these three principles. By the work...
of creation the Divine Being purifies Himself of the material and psychical natures, in order to attain to His true life as absolute Spirit. In man, as in the First Man, the three natures are united, and remain united, in process of development, whereby the spirit in man may be set free from the alien elements adhering to it. It is revealed by the Saviour Jesus. (In the Naasene hymn pre

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ocess of his efforts to ally Christianity with the symcretistic movement. Tradition makes him a disciple of Dotheos, and from this we may infer that he was a leader in the Dotheian sect, which it seems to have existed from about the time of the Macabees. According to Justin (Apol. i. 26, 58, Tryp. 120), he was honoured as the highest God, and his companion Hermaeus as the Divine creative architect. If this view can be accepted, he must himself have come to occupy the centre of the system which is known by his name. The treatise entitled the "Antithesis Mardiva," which is quoted by Hippolytus and attributed by him to Simon (vi. 6), was more likely an anonymous document of the Simonian sect. In the Simonian doctrine, which concerns the deliverance of the falen Helen—there is little trace of Christian influence; and this is likewise true of the teaching of Menander, who, according to Irenæus and Justin, was Simon's fellow-countryman and disciple. A livelier interest in Christianity begins to manifest itself in Corinthian (i.e.), towards the end of the 1st century. He appears to have been the first to promulgate the Gnostic conception of Jesus as a man of pure spiritual nature, temporally united with the heavenly Saviour. Simon, the disciple of Menander, taught that the Supreme God created the world of angels, by seven of whom, with the God of the Jews at their head, the world was formed. They made man according to an image reflected from the Supreme God, who afterwards, in pity, bestowed on their creature a spark of Divine life. The Saviour descended for the sake of rescuing man from the oppression of the inferior powers, and was Himself a man only in appearance. Satanlorius is important as the link between a more primitive Gnosticism and that of Basiliades and Valentinus; but prior to these speculations, and in the same country of Egypt, there appeared the remarkable system of Cropricotta. In this system, the unity of God is reflected by Plato, the antinomian ideas of Gnosticism are most fully developed. Good and evil are resolved into merely arbitrary commandments, imposed on man by the tyranny of the world-rulers. Freedom from these oppressors is given through Jesus. A man like others, but of exceptional purity of soul. He received in the New Testament that which he had seen in the higher world, and received power from above to escape from the world-rulers. All souls that follow the path marked out by Him are endowed with the same power, and may even rise superior to Jesus. In order that they may pass through every phase of experience in their ascent to God, departed souls must undergo a series of re-incarnations; but the stronger souls are able in their lifetime to traverse all experiences, and so free themselves at once from the bondage of the lower law.

The teaching of the two great masters of Gnostic

ism is formed into a large and complex subject by itself, and is discussed in special articles (see Basiliades and Valentinus). In the case of both of them the doctrine of the founder has to be carefully distinguished from that of his school. The nature of the original systems has been much debated; but, so far as we can gather from the scattered doctrines, they had many points of affinity with the more primitive Gnosis—Basiliades connecting himself with Satanlorius, and Valentinus with the Ophite sects. Irenæus' account of Basiliades is probably much nearer to the original than that of Hippolytus, but itself represents a later doctrine, in which an attempt is made to accommodate the compromising dualism of the earlier teaching. The theory that the Basiliadean doctrine as set forth by Hippolytus is based on a 'mystification' has now
been generally abandoned. Not only is the system too profound and original to be the work of a casual forger, but it agrees in not a few important details with the teaching described by Irenaeus, and may we refer to a distinct teaching of that character in its progress towards pure monism. From the account in Hippolytus, too, we are enabled to understand why the basilidean influence ceased to play a part in the later history of Gnosticism. The cardinal Gnostic positions had been gradually abandoned by the disciples of Basilides, and his Gnosis merged itself at last in the ordinary philosophical speculations of the age.

The Valentinian movement, on the other hand, while it freely assimilated philosophical elements, never ceased to be faithful to the distinctive Gnostic ideas, and drew into itself practically the whole stream of later Gnosticism. Hippolytus recognizes two separate Valentinian schools—the Ionic or Western, and the Anatolic. To the Eastern school he assigns Theodotus and Bardesanes; to the Western, Ptolemaeus, Heracleon, and Marcion. But the points of difference on which he insists appear somewhat arbitrary and superficial; and perhaps we arrive at a truer division when we conclude that Gnosticism, as in the Valentinian influence, proceeded in three main directions. (1) The mythological and ritual elements were exaggerated—as in the Marcionian system, with its intricate machinery of personages and the fourth letter and numbers. Gnosticism in this phase of its development was ultimately absorbed in the magical and cabalistic lore of the later centuries. (2) The speculative tendency became predominant. Although the mythological scheme was retained and even amplified, it was subjected to a process of allegory. The history of the Aions was construed as a theory of the unfolding of the Divine consciousness. Ideas borrowed from Plato were interwoven with the mythical data, and served, in great measure, to dignify their real character. (3) The Gnostic beliefs were assimilated more closely with those of the orthodox Church. By so adapting itself, Gnosticism vastly enhanced the success of its propaganda, and continued to survive, even when the day was finished, in heretical Christian sects. Of this phase of the movement the outstanding example is Marcion (q.v.). That he is legitimately reckoned among the Gnostics must be admitted, not only in view of his undoubted dependence on the Gnostic teacher Cerdos, but because of the distinction which he drew between the divine God (Tylos) and the creator, and his consequent rejection of the OT. But the ground-work of his theology was Pauline; and it was mainly in the interest of an exaggerated Paulinism that he accepted the gnostic positions. It is probable that a similar judgment must be passed on Bardesanes, the last of the great Gnostic teachers (A.D. 164-240). The true character of his system is hard to recover from the contradictory records; but the judgment of Eusebius may be accepted that he was at first a disciple of Valentinus, and then turned to Christianity without completely abandoning his former errors (cf. the discussion by Haase, Zur bardesanesischen Gnosis). Unlike Marcion, he seems to have held fast to the construction of one all-creating God; but he combined the Christian position with ideas of an astrological nature taken over from Gnosticism. Whether the hymns preserved in the Acts of Thomas can be ascribed to Bardesanes is doubtful. It has been clearly proved, by the investigations of Frensel and Reitzeinstein, that they are adapted through ideas from pre-Christian sources; and the work of Bardesanes, if he had a part in them at all, can have been little more than editorial.

2. Results of the movement.—From a very early time the danger that threatened Christianity from the side of Gnosticism became apparent, and in the NT itself we meet with a polemic which was almost certainly directed against incipient phases of the movement. The missionaries who are condemned in Colossians 2:8 are said to belong to a variety of Jewish Gnosticism. The heresies contemplated in the Pastoral Epistles and in the messages to the Churches of Revelation are described as false Christianity of the gnostic type. The Fourth Gospel rests upon the thesis that the Word was made flesh; and, in view of the close relation between the Gospel and the 1st Epistle of John, there can be little doubt that the writer is opposing some form of Gnostic docetism. It is the peculiarity of the Fourth Gospel that its underlying polemic against the Gnostic teaching is combined with a certain sympathy. We are enabled to understand how, in spite of misgivings, the Church was led to compromise with the heretical movement, and so to encourage the attempt at an alliance. In the opening decades of the 2nd cent., the alliance had become imminent, and the Church was fully awakened to its danger. The letters of Ignatius are marked by the sharpest antagonism to the new doctrines; and all through the century this conflict with Gnosticism is the dominant influence in the theology of the Church. The objections most frequently urged against the heresy are (1) its hostile attitude to the OT; (2) its doctrine of a higher God who is other than the Creator; (3) its denial of the person of Christ; (4) its ethical teaching, ascetic or libertinism; and (5) its denial of the Resurrection. These, however, were only the particular errors on which the ecclesiastical writers laid hold for the purpose of controversy; and beneath all else was the sense that the very existence of the Church was imperilled. Unless it closed the door on the heretical teaching, Christianity would be dragged into the vortex of contemporary syncretism, and would disappear as a separate religion.

The struggle against Gnosticism was fraught with momentous consequences. (a) It led to a strengthening of the Catholic idea. As against the alien sects, which were always breaking up into new subdivisions, the Church took its stand on its universality; and by the strict enforcement of uniformity in creed and worship it sought to make its Catholic character more fully manifest. (6) It hastened the development of the episcopal form of government. The letters of Ignatius illustrate in the clearest manner how the rise of the heretical sects enhanced the position and importance of the bishop. He was at once the representative of the true Catholic tradition, and the centre around which the Church could rally, in the face of disruptive influences. (c) It made necessary a regulus fidei—an authoritative standard of belief whereby all innovations could be tested. Out of this rule of faith, with its brief summary of the cardinal doctrines, arose the great creeds of succeeding times. (d) It contributed, more than any other cause, to the formation of the canon of the NT. The Gnostic sects were prolific in forged literature, which presented their own teachings under the sanction of consecrated names. To guard against this evil, and at the same time to define its own position more clearly, the Church was compelled to sift and collect the genuine documents of the primitive age. (e) It secured for the OT its permanent place as a source of the Christian Church; and the Gnostic thinkers led to reject the Jewish Scriptures were operative within the Church itself; and in course of time would have brought about the same result. The Gnostic impulse which prepared the way for a truer appreciation of the OT. The Scriptures of the old religion were adopted by the new, to the enrichment of its spiritual heritage.
The chief results of Gnosticism were thus consequent on the reaction against it; but it made its influence felt, in a more positive manner, on the development of the Christian religion. It would not have diffused itself so widely over the world of the first two centuries unless it had answered to some real need of the time, and Christianity was able to control it only by the partial adoption of many of its aims and interests. In the following directions, more especially, we can discern a Gnostic influence modifying the life and thought of the Church. (a) The tendency to asceticism was strengthened. It is true that the Christian monks of the 3rd and subsequent centuries no longer appealed to Gnosticism them; but their contempt of the world was nothing, in the last resort, but a survival of the earlier dualism. (b) The sacramental idea of religion was more firmly established. Gnosticism had laid hold of the popular imagination by its claim to a secret praxis, which was itself sufficient to ensure all spiritual blessings. In place of the sacramental ritual the church now offered its own. The efficacy of the Christian faith was more and more identified with the value of the sacraments. (c) A mystical strain, originally foreign to Christianity, appeared in due course in the form of Gnosticism. Already in the Fourth Gospel we have the example of a Christian writer otherwise opposed to Gnosticism, who was powerfully attracted by the mystic element in Gnosticism. The influence was exalted by the Fourth Gospel was reinforced, in the course of the following century, by further contamination of the Gnostic form of religion, until mysticism had worn itself into the substance of Christianity. Here, perhaps, we can discern the most enduring of all the effects that are traceable to Gnosticism. Many scholars have assigned to the Valentian sect, but its affinities seem to be rather with the Barbelo-Gnosticism described by Irenæus (i. 29). This is true likewise of the Books of John, which bear a close relation to the Gnostic literature, but are concerned with the practical sects.

Apart from the Gnostic writings, a large number of fragments, preserved by the Fathers, are to be ranked as original source materials. Of special value are (1) the letter of Polycarpus to Flora; (2) the Ephesians 3 and 4, consisting of extracts, contained in the writings of one of the leading disciples of Valentinus; (3) the Pastoral Epistles, and; (4) the hymns in the Acts of Thomas. Probably the controversial writings contain a great many direct citations, but these are so entangled with summarised statements that they cannot be detached with any certainty.

For our main knowledge of the Gnostic teaching we have still to rely on the Christian polemical treatises. In the employment of these we have to make allowance not only for a controversial bias, but for a frequent lack of real understanding and adequate information. The earliest work written with the express purpose of countering Gnosticism was the Synagoge of Justin, now lost. On this writing the subsequent controversialists seem to have been largely dependent, although they supplemented its data by a further research (not always, perhaps, of a first-hand nature) into the Gnostic teachings. The great work of Irenæus, adv. Haereses (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7), is preserved in its present form, until recent times was the chief store-house of knowledge on all subjects connected with Gnosticism. In 1645 a work was discovered which was at first ascribed to Origen, but has now been clearly the work of Hippolytus. This work contributed an immense amount of fresh material, and is especially rich in data concerning the Ophite sects. For many years Hippolytus was
accepted without question as the basis of all study of Gnosticism; the estimate of him then passed to the other extreme, and his information was attributed to secondary or even to forged and garbled sources. He did little more than repeat their evidence, with occasional additions. Ephiphanus, Philaster, and the pseudo-Tertullian seem to have drawn for the most part on the lost Syntagma of Hippolytus—a shorter work which preceded the longer one, and which was dependent mainly on Irenaeus. Clement of Alexandria and Origen deal incidentally with the subject of Gnosticism. Of all the Fathers, they were the best fitted to treat it intelligently and sympathetically; and their notes are always of value. But no systematic account has come to us from their hands.

Literature.—Of the older works may be mentioned: A. Neander, Gnost. Entwicklung der vorchristlichen gnost. Systeme, Berlin, 1818; F. C. Baur, Die christl. Gnosis in ihrer geschichtl. Entwicklung, Tübingen, 1838; R. A. Lipps, Die Gnosticismen, Leipzig, 1860; H. L. Manneh, The Gnostic Heretics, London, 1876; A. Hilgenfeld, Ketzerschae, des (Protestantismus (following on a long series of previous writings), Leipzig, 1854; C. W. King, The Gnostics and their Remains, London, 1857; E. Kaulbach, Zeus auf der Gnostizismuip., Paris, 1867. The sources. Later investigation, however, has tended to re-establish his authority. As far as may be judged, he brought little critical discernment to bear on his material; but much of it is of the highest value, and must have been derived from first-hand documents. Irenæus and Hippolytus are the two chief Patristic witnesses; the others do little more than repeat their evidence, with occasional additions. Ephiphanus, Philaster, and the pseudo-Tertullian seem to have drawn for the most part on the lost Syntagma of Hippolytus—a shorter work which preceded the longer one, and which was dependent mainly on Irenæus. Clement of Alexandria and Origen deal incidentally with the subject of Gnosticism. Of all the Fathers, they were the best fitted to treat it intelligently and sympathetically; and their notes are always of value. But no systematic account has come to us from their hands.

The most important temples at Gobardhan are, (1) that dedicated to Kṛṣṇa as Gokulnāth, 'lord of Gokul' (g.e.), the image being brought over from that place on the occasion of the festival; (2) the temple of Harideva, Hari being one of the titles of Viṣṇu. This temple was erected during the tolerant reign of Akbar, about A.D. 1560, by a prince of Amber, on the site previously occupied by a succession of humber fanes.

"It consists," says Growse (p. 304), "of a nave 68 ft. in length and 33 ft. broad, having a choir 20 ft. square, with a narthex of about the same dimensions beyond. The nave has four openings on either side, of which three have arched heads, while the fourth, nearest the door, is covered by a square architrave supported by Hindu brackets. There are clerestory windows above, and in the west front is a large doorway, which is decorated at intervals with large projecting heads of elephants and sea-monsters. . . . The construction is extremely massive, and even the exterior is still solemn and imposing, though the two towers which originally crowned the choir and sanctum were long ago levelled with the roof of the nave."

Close to this temple is the sacred tank known as Māna Ganga, the 'Ganges' supposed to have been called into existence by the mere ascension of the Divine deity (mānasa). On one side of it are two stately cenotaphs (chastrī) dedicated to the memory of Rāja Randhir Singh and Baldeva Singh of the Jat dynasty of Bharatpur, who died in 1823 and 1825 respectively. A mile or so from the town is a third cenotaph in honour of Sīrāj Mal, founder of the family, who died in 1764. Close to the hill stands the village of Anyor, where are annually celebrated the Girīrdgūḍh, or adoration of the sacred hill, and the Annakūṭ, or commemoration of Κρήσ αρχάς. Later more sacred places are in N. India, Gobardhan seems to have been the scene of Buddhist worship. Outside the village stands a large stupa of Buddha, with an inscription of the Indo-Scythian period.

GOD

Philosophical.—See THIT.


Hebrew.—See 'Biblical and Christian.'


Iranian (E. EDWARDS), p. 280.


Mithraic.—See MITHRAISM.

Muslim (E. BELL), p. 286.

Roman.—See ROMAN RELIGION.

Slavic (L. LEGE), p. 302.

Teutonic (E. MOIR), p. 303.

Greek (L. CAMPBELL), p. 279.

GOD (Primitive and Savage).—Whether or not we may speak of the supreme, or at least superior, beings of savage and low barbarian religions as 'gods,' is a matter of the definition of 'gods' and of 'religion.' To such superior beings in the beliefs of Australian tribes, Howitt, in his Native Tribes of S.E. Australia (London, 1904), gave the name 'All-Father,' and they are usually spoken of as 'Father ours.' He adds that (as the present writer had already pointed out in The Making of Religions, London, 1898, pp. 202-204) the terms 'spirit,' 'Great Spirit,' or 'All-Spirt' are not applicable to such beings in Australia; and this holds good in almost all savage and lower barbarian religions. It would be absurd to try to find a 'spirit' in the Hebrew Scriptures, and there is nothing spiritual in Homer's conception of his Olympians. The term 'spirit' or 'Great Spirit,' in application to savage All-Fathers, or highly superior beings, is an error of European introduction. It is important to remember these facts, for current anthropological theories usually explain the superior or supreme being of savage and other beliefs as merely the idea of ghost, or spirit, carried to the highest power. From the notion of ghosts, writes Im Thurn, 'a belief has arisen, very gradually, in higher spirits, and eventually in a Highest Spirit.'1 This is the current theory, held, with a variety of details, by Herbert Spencer, E. B. Tylor, and their popular exponents.

The idea of a supreme being is not of late appearance in culture, and is not a reflexion from human kings. It is found among the democratic tribes of Australia, as the All-Father is often a 'head-man' of the community, the while the council of the men makes his position more or less constitutive.2 The All-Father is not the glorified ghost of such an one, for he was before Death, in the myths, entered the world; and he still exists, usually in a world of his own, above the sky. Again, he is not a man, or a spirit, or a god, without existence. He is simply a being, a magnified undying man, who lived long on earth, and then went to his own place, whereas he watches men and their conduct, but seldom indeed takes any active part in their affairs. A good example of such a being is Atmna, recorded by Spencer-Gillen as believed in by the Kaiti tribe, in the precise centre of Australia.

Atmna was prior to the 'Aborigines' (p. 23), or say of beginnings of things. 'He sprang up in the sky in the very far back of time. He is himself his name. His sons he called Atmna.' He expelled from heaven a number of his sons who neglected his sacred services; and they came down to earth, to which Atmna sent 'everything which the black-fellow has.' He has wives, himself working sacred services, and a son, or at least a spirit-fellow (p. 24), and punishes mortals if they do not sound the bull-roarer at initiation ceremonies. It is said that he can teach a man to prophecy to heaven and see him, but find him unpeppable. He is 'a very great man, black,' and his name is said to mean, without sense.

1 J.A.F. (1862) 272.
2 Spencer-Gillen 486.

He is a great man of this sort, the father and benefactor of men, who are disobedient to his father and who are without the saving knowledge of his beneficent guidance.
mysteries, deny this article of native belief are negligible witnesses.

The other side is taken by Fraser and Spencer (see Fraser, Totemism and Reconciliation, London, 1891, 1882). After all, they do not demand the acceptance of their conclusions, Fraser quotes Spencer, the explorer of the Central and North Central tribes:

"In the highest development of the animal religion among the lowest savages, there is not, I am convinced, any such thing in Australia. The greatest difficulty is that we have had statements made on the authority of men like Gason.

Gason was a police officer among the Dieri tribe on Lake Eyre. He knew their language, which scientific visitors to a tribe hardly ever do. He appears to have confused a set of mythical beings, the Mura Mura, with a single great being, Mura Mura. Howitt gives Katchi as the Dieri equivalent of the S.E. All-Father. Spencer, after describing Gason as 'perfectly incapable of dealing with matters such as these,' goes on:

"In the days when the evidence of (talking) Balaime and Daramun was collected, the importance of securing minute and detailed information was not realised, nor was it imagined that there were men without any so-called religious ideas, while it was many years before the desire to be deceived, or, rather, to deceive themselves."

Spencer must have forgotten that the chief authority, Daramun is Howitt. Howitt also gave for other All-Fathers the information which he acquired after being initiated in the secret rites and doctrines of the Naidi tribe. He was perfectly aware of the importance of securing minute and detailed information, and was, of course, the most eminent of Australian anthropologists.

Spencer overlooks these circumstances.

As to Balaime, the All-Father of the Kamilaroi, Euahlayi, and other tribes, the first author who is at all definite is James Manning, who, you will remember, was visited by the sister of Gason, the first white man to reach the Dieri tribe in New South Wales. He settled among the Euahlayi, when the nearest missionary was a hundred miles distant. He took their information, all the oldest men of the tribe, comparing carefully the versions of various informants. To her, as was said, he communicated the hymn to Balaime, in a language no longer intelligible to her teachers. The result was that, whereas she came to the Euahlayi as a believer in Herbert Spencer's theory, she was obliged to yield to the evidence of facts. At first, as we shall see, as she was informed, at a certain point in the rites of initiation, the Euahlayi prayed to Balaime. She herself, of course, never learned to pray to Balaime.

In another region east of the Grey and Barrier Ranges, A. L. F. Cameron is our chief informant as to the totemic institutions of his remote and little known tribe. He cannot be dismissed as 'perfectly incapable of dealing with matters such as these.'

As to 'the discovery of a high ethical religion' in Australia, a religion whose chief being sanctions with a degree of solemnity is not very low, Spencer's speculation, the current writer can add, is mere hypothesis. The word is to some extent false, the superstitious being a sort of Hermes to the historian, from which it derives its name by which he might bring the Kamilaroi to a knowledge of God. Ridley, in fact, only made an etymological guess at the derivation of Balaime, who, on all the evidence, did make or create things in general.

Manning's account, setting his phraseology aside, is corroborated by Mrs. Langloh Parker (The Euahlay Tribe, London, 1900) in many particulars. Manning's informant, who was much alarmed at his own temerity in revealing things hidden, refused to repeat the hymn to Balaime which, so many years later, Mrs. Langloh Parker produced.

This lady, it is right to say, had read, and she drew the attention of the present writer to Manning's notes of 1844, which were published in 1892;

1. Indeed, as the present writer can find,
2. From these, to be so designed.
3. This is more a conjectural form, for Manning, whose Notes on the Aborigines of New Holland are in Journ. and Proc. of the Royal Society of New South Wales, xvi. (1892)
writes that 'it was not imagined that there were men without any so-called religious ideas,' seems unaware that this was perhaps the prevalent opinion of anthropologists when Lord Avebury wrote The Origins of Civilization (London, 1870) and E. B. Tylor criticized that popular view in *Primitive Customs* (do. 1871).

It is possible to examine this instance of the great anthropologist's mode of treating evidence in this matter—a mode sanctioned by Fraser, who then proceeds to quote E. M. Curr, in *The Australian Races* (1889-7, i. 45), and his belief that the Blacks dress up what they have learned from missionaries 'with a view to please and surprise the Whites.' Fraser neglects to inform his readers that Howard (op. cit. 503-508) replied to and crushed Curr. First, Curr's original book contained evidence of the beliefs which that author rejected. Secondly, Howard's own friends, the Kurnals, who have the best of his knowledge, taught by missionaries. Next, where missionaries have long been settled, as among the Dieri and the Southern Arunta, not the least ray of Gospel light was discovered by Spencer-Gillen among the Arunta, or by Howitt or his informants among the Dieri. Howitt found only a demon narrative of the Arunta. The appeal (see Howitt, in *The Australian and Kurnals*, Melbourne, 1881) till he was initiated into their ecstatic rites and doctrines. His reply to Curr appears to have wholly escaped the notice of Fraser. 'Curious book' but does not notice Howitt's defence. Fraser concludes as regards the All-Father: 'If the abstract idea of a powerful headman, kind to his own people and terrible to their foes, had blended with a belief in the immortality of the dead, it might easily have culminated in the worship of a tribal or national god.'

But no evidence is quoted, and none is known to us, which suggests that the All-Father is terrible to the foes of any Australian tribe; indeed, inter-tribal war is almost unknown. Belief in a future life, on the evidence of Howitt, Mrs. Langholt Pedersen, and others, is somewhat based on belief in the All-Father. It is unfortunate that an analysis of anthropological objections, by the most distinguished anthropologists, to the idea of the All-Father, must be off the value of the objections is easily estimated when we remark on points not alluded to by the critics.

Howitt was by no means the first to bring the All-Father into full play, but the great German ethnologist Waetz (1866) had accepted the idea as unborrowed and genuine. In 1881, in his and Fison's *Kurnals and the East*, Howitt, still uninitiated, knew nothing of the belief. In 1884-88 he wrote copiously and with some enthusiasm about it in the *J.A.* He then spoke of the being as 'the Supreme Spirit, who appears to me to represent the defunct headman.' In 1904 Howitt* re-echoed the idea that the All-Father is a spirit, but still regarded him as an Idealization of a tribal head-man, who had created the world or most of it, among other wonderful works, and whose very name was tabbed among men on earth except on the most sacred occasions. He 'can go anywhere and do anything.' In the same work Howitt rather watered down his expressions of 1884-88. He gave an account of all All-Fathers as he had heard of them in native books, and from correspondents; and he endeavoured to prove that the belief was a concomitant of social advance on the coast and in western countries. But, in fact, he had recorded the belief among tribes with the simplest and most archaic social organization, without kin locally associated (a result of living in a male necessity to descend in the female line—and among tribes

as far from the sea and in conditions as unfavourable as the peoples of the Darling River and its hinterland. Moreover, we have seen, on Spencer's evidence, Atsato flourishing in a tribe of the arid and infertile centre. The All-Father belief was discovered by Spencer-Gillen in the Arunta, in the northern tribes of the most advanced social organization, or on the coasts of the North. Thus it is impossible to make out that the All-Father was a concomitant of social organization, or a belief propagated by sea-winds and plentiful rain.

Howitt (loc. cit.) admitted that the All-Father 'is evidently everlasting, for he existed from the beginning of all things and he still lives. But being so (i.e. being from the beginning and still living,) he is merely in that state in which, those aborigines have, every one would be if not prematurely killed by evil magic.'

Men can be killed; not so the All-Father, who is thus no ordinary man, and who was before Death entered the world. There are no strong arguments of Howitt. 'In this being, although supernatural, there is no trace of a divine nature'—in a benevolent and everlasting creature, in several cases the dispenser of reward and penalty in the future life! Howitt was exiguous in his ideas of what 'a divine nature' ought to be. Again, the All-Father is clearly neither an imitator of those qualities which are, according to their [their] standard, virtues worthy of being imitated.' But no moral conception of the All-Father can possibly reach the ideal of moral excellence; and the gods of Homer and Herod and Pindar fell very far and frequently below their ideal of moral excellence. But there can exist no being in human faith who has 'a trace of a divine nature.'

Howitt, observing that sacrifice is not offered nor (except in very rare cases not recorded by him) prayer addressed to the All-Father, wrote: 'It cannot be alleged that these aborigines have conceivably any form of religion.' It is, perhaps, no form of religion to believe that an everlasting, benevolent, and creative Being watches over and approves of human virtues. Howitt appears to have held that, where there is no worship, there is no religion. Yet he had described the worship of Daramunim, if 'dances round the [his] figure of clay and the invoking of his name by the medicine-men' are worship. What are the attributes of this not worship? Howitt ended by saying that 'such a change as a recognised religion' would have been brought about, if ever, by these medicine-men. By 'a recognised religion,' he appears to have meant what he recognised as religion—belief plus prayer and sacrifice. Meanwhile, whoever thinks that belief in the kind of Being described, plus moral obedience, and dances and invocations of the sacred Name of the Being, does constitute religion has Howitt's high authority for holding that in Australia there was a religion, unborrowed and spontaneous—and highly unwelcome to anthropologists in general.

Not all anthropologists are so hard of belief. Van Genep (whose name we may call a cliche) accepts the evidence for Balmaine as more than a tribal deity. Unscientific, of course, is the opinion of Ridley that the belief in Balmaine, for example, was a lingering gleam of 'the true light,' namely, of some supernatural revelation to mankind. We have to do with facts and evidence, and Ridley's remark is no part of his evidence, nor of the foundation of his theory. The current anthropological theory is that if, after all, we must accept the evidence as to the 'powerful headman' of a people above the sky, that belief is that of the relatively advanced culture in favoured regions, where the relative easiness of obtaining food gives leisure for
religion and speculation. Yet few regions are less
favored than the place where the Kaitish, with
their self-existent benevolent Atanata, hunt very
small deer. Their neighbors, the Arunta, have
no belief of an Atanata, but, in Fraser's words,
they have "a theory of reincarnation . . . obviously
incompatible with a description of the ancestral
spirits . . ."! They also have a theory of evolu-
tion of species, human and other, in a marine
environment, so that they cannot conceive of a
creator or maker. The theory, granting the
promises, is elaborate and ingenious, and excludes
the ideas of a God and a future life not territory.
To work out this theory, men, we might think,
need all possible advantages, but the region of the
Arunta is arid, except during the season of rain,
as that of the Kaitish.

Meanwhile, it may as easily be argued that the
Arunta once held the All-Father belief, and lost it,
under the advance of their animistic and
evolutionary speculations, as that they never had
it. The usual All-Father has his subordinate,
sometimes his son, who manages the initiatory
rites, and is the patron or first maker of the bull-
roarer. This subordinate is a bogey, known, unlike
the All-Father, to the women and children. The
spirits have a high and divine name: Atanata; he
is also known to the Unmatjara. 2 The Kaitish
have their counterpart. The Arunta may have
retained, as a bogey to scare the women, the deity
or subordinate of their All-Father, while dropping
that personage. Among the Arunta, Gillen,
Spencer's collaborator, discovered 3 a great sky-
dwelling Being, "the great Ulthana of the heavens."
We hear from Gillen nothing of his functions,
except that the spirits of the dead ascend to him
and by him are cast into the sea, whence they are
rescued by two minor Ulthana and thenceforth
live 'with the lesser Ulthana in an abode.

This being was discovered in a southern branch
of the Arunta not visited by Spencer and Gillen while
collecting material for their great book. Again,
in a southern portion of the Arunta, C. Strehlow,
intimately familiar with the Arunta language,
finds a great sky-dwelling Being named Altjira
Mara (Altjira the Good), 4 who is said not to have
made anything or to take an interest in mankind.
The neighboring tribe, the Luritja, have a similar
being, Tukura, indifferent except as to rites. 5

Thus we see all have some form of the general
Arunta theory of evolution and migratory spirit-
gulls born as men and women. It is more probable
than under stress of this philosophy, they have let
their great sky-dwelling Being slip into the back-
ground, though 'good,' than that they have in-
vented him for no reason, as he does not explain
the world, and is not the creator or cause of any-
thing. Spencer's section of the Arunta have entirely
lost the idea of this Being; their neighbors, the
Kaitish, retain Atanata, who is benevolent but

1 Pottomi and Ezappuy, 1. 182.
2 The Arunta, 183.
3 C. Strehlow, Myths and Legends of the Arunta,
4 K. Strehlow, Myths and Legends of the Arunta,
5 K. Strehlow, Myths and Legends of the Arunta,
familiar. He was a great maker, Garuboi, and had regulated human society as Baime did; ‘he separated mankind into exiguous ‘clans and named them,’ giving the marriage rules. He ‘made us,’ said the native informants, ‘the beasts, earth, and we know not what other things.’ 1

In Fiji (q.v.) we find, among a crowd of polytheistic gods, the same conception. The creative being is Ndengi (Williams) or Degel (Flouz). He is conceived of as a serpent or as a body of stone with a serpent’s head. In a hymn 2 Ndengi is represented as saying, ‘W did men, prayed them on earth, and yet they share to us only the under shell.’ Ndengi has scarcely a temple, but prayers used to be made to him through the mediation of two of his sons, and there was a tradition that old he received much sacrifices.

He sends rain on earth. Here the gradual neglect of the creative Being is historically proved, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that Garuboi was honoured by the ancestors of the Massai.

Among the numerous worshipped gods and ghosts of the Baganda, an agricultural and monarchical people of Uganda, Mulaka held the highest rank, as a benign god of plenty, who refused human sacrifices. It seems to be almost certain that he was the same as Manam the Creator of the Kinyarwanda. On the other hand, ‘the Creator,’ Katomba, ‘received little honour or attention.’ He ‘was spoken of as “the father of the gods,” because he had created all things, but not much was known about him.’ Cattle were occasionally sacrificed to him, but usually they were allowed to roam about his temples. The same gods were ‘the human beings’ gods’ were more sympathetic and easily entreated, like Saints in popular Roman Catholicism. A man or woman may pray for the intercession of the being’s of whom the person is related by blood or sympathetic, who is so near to our idea of the tender and true.

The processes of creation from the All-Father are not entirely intelligible and naturally human. The more Animism in religion, the more appeal to kindly spirits of men, the less theism—such is the obvious tendency: Israel, so incursions (as far as our evidence goes) concerning the dead and their propitiation, was the more free to concentrate effort on the worship of the Eternal. On this side of the Atlantic, if not so far (which, of course, cannot be proved), had the opportunity of elevating their religion from such a faith as that in Baime towards monothelitism.

‘But their foolish heart was darkened’ (Ro 1:21); and animal-worship may be, in some places, a result of totemism. Under the All-Father belief, in Australia, human sacrifices and other abominations of the higher barbarism, and even of Greek and Roman religion, if many legends speak true, are, of course, impossible, as nothing is given to the All-Father. He is not localized, and has neither temples nor favoured seats, for his people have no houses. There is no ‘priestcraft,’ for the medicine-men have not developed into priests.

The present writer’s Making of Religion (London, 1888) gives an account of the superior beings of the religion of low races, and of the survival of All-Fathers and creators, usually neglected, in the polytheistic and animistic religions of peoples more advanced. Thus Qing, a Bushman who ‘had never before seen a white except fighting,’ greatly revere him:

1. ‘He made all things and we pray to him;’ ‘more was known by the initiated.’

For the Anadamanese

2. JL 284.
4. JL 313.
7. JL 280.
8. JL 284.

GOD (Arabian, pre-Islamic).—I. SOURCES.—Although numerous treaties were composed by Muslim authors bearing on the early religion of their country, it was not in their power to furnish much information on the subject; for no written manuals had survived from pre-Islamic times, and during the first century of Islam the very memory of the earlier condition was detected. Only enough was retained to explain certain allusions in the Qur’ân or the Prophet’s biography; and even this is vague and contradictory. These authors, moreover, naturally regarded the Qur’ânic treatment of the matter as authoritative; but, since the accounts of Judaism and Christianity given in that work are well known to be gross travesties of those systems, we have no guarantee that its treatment of Arabian paganism is any fairer or more intelligent. At most we may assume that

1. JAI xlii. (1892) 156. 2. Man, x. (1919) 52.
3. Lejaan, A.M., April, 1859, citing Belzoni’s MS. Dist. of the Dinka Language.
4. Weitzgerland, Antropologi, i. (Zaljopf, 1880) 187.
the religious terms employed by the Qur'ān in connexion with paganism were understood by the later compiler, and that the latter were familiar with the concepts for which they stand. But the concept cannot be extended to the statement of his case by a better and passionate enemy. The sources whence the meager information contained in the Qur'ān can be supplemented are, in the first place, inscriptions discovered in N. and S. Arabia, which from the nature of the case mainly add to our store of names; in the second place, occasional statements by Greek authors; one of these, Uranus, actually compiled a treatise on Arabian affairs, several fragments of which are preserved by Stephanus Byzantinus.

2. Names for 'God.'—The word ʿādah (identical with the ʿādah of Job) is found in inscriptions belonging to various Arabian communities, and is used by the Qur'ān as a common noun—e.g., 'the ʿādah of Moses' (xi. 39); 'I know of no ʿādah of yours save me' (xxviii. 38). A form ʿādah is quoted from an early poet (Pāhi, ed. Fleischer, Leipzig, 1846-48, 1. 4, lxx. 20), but this may be evolved from ʿātāh, 'the god,' where the elision of the ʿā is in accordance with Arabic morphology. ʿĀdah appears from its form to be originally a plural, and, indeed, of the earlier Semitic ʿil (Heb. ʿil), on the analogy of ʿabqar from ʿabqat, 'lip' (where the ʿā is a femaline affix). Of ʿādah itself the Biblical ʿādah is a further plural, of which, curiously, there appears to be a trace in the Arabic vocative of ʿādah, viz. ʿāḏāʾ, which the native grammarians find to be of Semitic origin. The employment of a foreign word as vocative in such a case could be paralleled. The verb derived from ʿādah, 'to serve,' means 'to take refuge with,' 'cf. 'I took refuge with it (nāṭaḥa ʿāḏāh), whereas had I fled from it' (Qū āl-Quṭāb of Abī Taʿlīb al-Makki, A. R. 1319, l. 107). On the other hand, some think that ʿādah means 'to serve.' The feminine of ʿādah, viz. ʿāḏāhah, is said to mean 'the sun,' just as Herodotus speaks of the sun as 'this god.'

A Qur'ānic equivalent of ʿādah appears to be ʿābīb, 'dear,' 'beloved,' 'lord'; in this sense it is always annexed (my ʿābīb, your ʿābīb, etc.), but it is used absolutely in the plural: 'they have taken their doctors and their monks as ʿābīb instead of Allah, whereas they were comforted to worship one ʿādah, than whom there is no other ʿādah' (ix. 31). Probably this word is taken over from Jews or Christians, as its name ʿābīb has the Biblically ʿābīb, 'lord of the worlds,' which corresponds to ʿābīb ʿabām in the Jewish tradition. The adjective ʿābīb meaning 'great' is not used in Arabic.

The use of the form Allāh for 'God,' imitated in Christian Arabic by ʿābīb, 'lord,' may be pre-Islamic, and the title may have been applied in various communities to their chief object of worship, but the matter is not free from difficulty. The identification of the Allāh of the Meccans with the Allāh of the Syrian Christians may have been opportunist, like St. Paul's interpretation of the Athenian 'unknown God' (Acts 17); i.e., there may have been a deity worshipped at Mecca called Allah, as is attested by the uniform interpretation of the name itself by the idolaters or the like. This deity was generally known by a family of Allāhs and of such a deity there are epigraphic traces. On the other hand, the polemic of the Qur'ān assures us that the Meccans regarded Allāh as the Creator, and theo logical mistakes and the deity so subsequently to him, though in practice they gave the others greater honour. If this could be accepted, it would strongly favour the Prophet's theory of an original Meccan monotheism, which seems to be historically excluded. Further, there is evidence showing that at one period in his career he wished to abandon the name Allāh for another. On the whole, some modification of the first suggestion seems the most plausible theory. It is a point which Islam shares with Christianity, that the Deity is regularly called only by a generic name with the Allāh appended. The all probability is, then, that the identification of the object of monothestic worship with the Meccan god Allāh was at first avoided by the Prophets, but afterwards welcomed. It may be observed that the retention of the article in the vocative (pl. Allāh) indicates that this form was used as a proper name at an early period. And the same seems to be evinced by the employment of a particular preposition in the sense of 'by' before this word only in oaths. It would also seem that the verb Allāh, 'to swear,' (Heb. ʿāḏāh), was an early derivative; and the same may be the case with the old word ʿādah, said to mean 'covenant.'

The epigraphic traces of the name are to be found in the Sassanian inscriptions, whereas a form which, it seems, should be identified with the Allāh of the Qur'ān is found five times, but regularly preceded by the article. The employment of a foreign word as vocative in such a case could be paralleled. The verb derived from ʿādah, 'to serve,' means 'to take refuge with,' 'cf. 'I took refuge with it (nāṭaḥa ʿāḏāh), whereas had I fled from it' (Qū āl-Quṭāb of Abī Taʿlīb al-Makki, A. R. 1319, l. 107). On the other hand, some think that ʿādah means 'to serve.' The feminine of ʿādah, viz. ʿāḏāhah, is said to mean 'the sun,' just as Herodotus speaks of the sun as 'this god.'

The use of ʿādah is an element in the name ʿābīn, 'patron,' often appears. With this we may compare the use of ʿaḥān, 'trustee,' which is often applied in the Qur'ān to God.

A name which is in use in parts of the Qur'ān, al-Rahmān, 'the Merciful,' where the word attached to the article is Hebr. or Arab., is said to have been abandoned because certain impostors adopted it in the sense of Meccan ʿābīn. It is found as an epithet of deities in pagan Arabic inscriptions. In the common Islamic formula called the ʿaḥān (q.v.), we find the name ʿābīn al-Rahim, 'lord of the worlds,' which corresponds to ʿābīb ʿabām in the Jewish tradition. The adjective ʿābīb meaning 'great' is not used in Arabic.

3. Nature.—Herodotus, the earliest authority on this subject, says the Arabs believe only in Dionysus and the Queen of Heaven, calling the former Orotal, the latter Allāh (i. 9) or Allāh (i. 91). Allāh is clearly identical with Al-Lat, a goddess mentioned in the Qur'ān (iii. 19; see, further, Ezr. i. 601). Orotal is a puzzle, hitherto unsolved. What Herodotus implied is that the Arabs assigned to these beings functions corresponding to those of the Greek god and goddess—those of Dionysus being well known. Now, it seems certain that even with the Greeks such assigning of functions was a late development, ascribed by Herodotus himself to Homer and Hesiod; the Arabian gods were all tribal or local, and gave the tribe what ever it wanted to give. On the other hand, the polemic of the Qur'ān assures us that the Meccans regarded Allāh as the Creator, and theological mistakes and the deity subsequent to him, though in practice they gave the others greater honour. If this could be accepted, it would strongly favour the Prophet's theory of an original Meccan monotheism, which seems to be historically excluded. Further,
and Manak the third, the other; and many more such names have been collected. Al-Uzza, according to Ibn Ishaq (t.A.H. 150 (A.D. 767)), was a House (dais) honoured by certain tribes of Quraysh, which Wadd improved upon (sees), out of which, when it was destroyed, a naked Abyssinian woman (the goddess herself) departed to her hostor, her father, I. 1469; see further, ERE (1919)).

The life of its believers, their narratives illustrate the difficulty which even the first Islamic historians had in accommodating their new faith in the minds of the pre-Islamic community. The god of the Meccans seems similar to that of a 'house'; their festival was the Feast of the House (ka'bah al-ḥāṣib; cf. ḥag ib'ah, Lv 29)). In the Qur'an the word 'house' is used in some special theological sense where this phrase occurs, and we are told that the first 'house' established for mankind is that of Abraham, for the guidance of the holy book (xii. 90); possibly this last phrase means 'a model for all others'; it contains the text continues, 'manifest signs,' Abraham's station; and whoever enters it is secure. The house here seems to mean 'consecrated ground,' though elsewhere the building called Kabe is clearly meant. Apparently, then, in the case of a house, there was the consecration between the soil, the god who dwelt there, and something that marked it which is found in river-worships. The pollution of a house is not directed against the sacred, but against certain objects called somehs, apparently meaning 'images,' such as were worshipped by Abraham and his family, and the last of whom Abraham had knocked down, mockingly scaring the act to the greatest of them (xxxi. 71, xxi. 64). Clearly these were thought of as bearing some resemblance to him. Muhammad, a tall man, was to appear and bid him stand aside (Dala'il al-mubawweq, Haldhah, 1324, p. 59); probably (if this story be old) the apparition was an angel rather than the god. Other old names for idols are mer Sup and wādhe(m) (plur. wādhe(ūs). The former were perhaps flat stones rather than images, since we read of animals being slaughtered upon them (ib.). The latter is perhaps to be identified with the Heb. word for 'old' (gēshāq), and may, from this bring us in which case, e.g. Qur'un (R 31, 'avoid the abomination of the gēshah'), be a term of abuse. Similar appellations occurring in the Qur'an and elsewhere, evidently to the Jewish (e.g., 'error' used in the Raggum for 'idol,' and 'idol,' possibly the Gharb of the LXX).

The proper names of these deities tell us little of their character. Al-Uzza means merely 'the mightiest' (feminine), and resembles al-Asūs, 'the mighty,' a name or epithet of Allah. Al-Lat appears to be the feminine of Allah, meaning 'the goddess.' Manak seems to be identical with manigah, 'fata.' A list given in Qur'an lixi. 22), 23 has the same sound of humanly; Wadd ('liver'), Sass ('liver'), Yodhah ('helper'), Yaqub ('aid'), Yās ('helper'), Nasr ('helper'). This last name is suggestive of soteri, of which otherwise Arabian paganism shows a few traces; some other names appear to be abstract, e.g., 'unanimity' or indicative of a quality, e.g., Ndah, 'a giver' (fem.). Certain others (collected in the Madkucass, Cairo, A.H. 1320, x. 104) are obscure. A Sahasin dictionary, the Qaro, dictionaries, Maghah, means probably 'answering god.' The Qaro'ic description of these deities as 'names coined by your fathers' appear to be near the truth; they were mainly predicates without subjects.

4. Theology.—It is probable that, whatever the symbol, or whatever the origin of the cult, the worshippers really thought of the deity as some one like themselves; and the Qur'ānic itself, though denying their objective existence, cannot avoid treating the Arabian idols as human beings. On the Day of Judgment (meaning 'the saints'), out of which they were destined to save them, will deny that they ever received any eulogy, and even call God to witness that they knew nothing about such honour being paid them (x. 28, 30); and they are charged with having instigated infanticide (v. 138). The former scene is exactly analogous to a later passage, in which Jesus and His mother similarly repudiate the charge of having told mankind to worship them (v. 118); and the word wakhir, 'associator,' is applied to Jews and Christians as well as pagans, all being supposed to give some person or persons besides Allah a share in Divine honours. The polemic of the Qur'ān assumes that the place of the pagans gives those he is secondary; they acknowledge that Allah, and not the Idols, created the world; and, indeed, they profess to worship these idols not as deities but as intercessors with Allah (x. 19); as His daughters, treating them perhaps as the ordinary fugitive treat the females of the family to which he refers, as more tenderhearted and less regardful of consequences than its male head. The Qur'ānic polemic, in reply, the indignity of ascribing deities to Allah, when any Arab was ashamed of beinggetting one. The assumptions involved in this are insidious, viz. that the deities of the Meccans were all females, with the exception of Allah, whom they regarded as father of the others, are confirmed by nothing that we know of the cults of the processions, nor can we find the deities of the same character as the Qur'ānic assertion that the Jews say 'Usair (Era) is the son of God.'

So far as the meagre evidence at hand can be used, we should infer that the Arabian deities were treated like other tribal and local gods by peoples in the anthropomorphic stage of religion. The word 'iṭdad, 'worship,' implies proper the relation of slave to master; and another word, 'ādāfah, apparently means 'wait upon,' 'attend,' in the style of a domestic servant, and this the idolaters are represented as doing all day on their deities (Qur'an, passim). Another word which represents a slave's attendance is šābāh. Besides this they brought gifts of various sorts, e.g. the 'house of Allah' is still clothed, and sacrifices are still offered in Meccah. Al-Uzza was smeared with blood (Makūk, loo. A. 15); and the one speaks of more precious offerings still—e.g., objects of gold, such as were offered by the Greeks to their gods. They were naturally witnesses to oaths, being doubtless thought of as immortal; and in certain cases they probably had priests (Adōn, a word which appears to be connected with the Gr. aor, a sheaf on fine linen) and treasurer. In S. Arabia they liked public acknowledgment of their services in the shape of eulogistic tablets. When they appeared to their worshippers, they probably did so in human shape, just as, according to the Prophet's biographers, the angel Gabriel and Satan, like Homeric deities, when they appear, take the form of some well-known man. But beyond this it is probable that Arabian theory varied as elsewhere with the intellectual capacity of the worshippers and the character of the deities. Thus there is evidence that the heavenly bodies were worshipped in some places, whether identified with deities or not; and, even where the deity was thought of as permanently fixed in some spot, a fiction could be exegeted to enable him to accompany an expedition. The specifications, however, whereby contradictions were reconciled or blunted have not been preserved.

The almost entire absence of allusions to the
GOD (Assyro-Babylonian).—A careful study of the Assyro-Babylonian religion, by Ramman, who sits on the throne of heaven, under the name of the god Anu; the earth, represented by Bel, who was also the divine type of everything on the earth; and the waters and everything under them and under the earth, whose patron was Ea. The second Babylonian triad consisted of the sun Shamash; the moon Sin; and the planet Venus represented by the goddess Ishtar. These six deities formed the basis of the Babylonian religious system, but a host of lesser personifications of natural phenomena was also recognized. Perhaps the most important of these was the god Shamash, who was the moon of the wind and rain and of the thunder and lightning. The planets also had deities sacred to them; for example, Niban and Marutuk probably represented Saturn and Jupiter, while Nergal and Nebo were gods of Mars and Mercury respectively. On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that the last four gods possessed attributes which had no connexion with these planets at all, but which overlapped the characteristics of certain other male deities.

At this point, the most important peculiarity of the Babylonian religion becomes apparent. Every god or goddess could be regarded from many sides, some of which were not always in harmony with the others. Thus, for example, Nergal represented both the rising and setting sun, and by the southern and noonday sun, while Ishtar as Venus was worshipped differently as Ishtar, the Essen goddess of sexual love, and as Ishtar of the Morning Star, the goddess of war. In the same manner, Ramman was distinctly the Thunder-god as separate from the light of the Babylonian religions deities were thoroughly anthropomorphic in conception, as was naturally to be expected. They all had wives, sons, and daughters, and even attendant spirits, perhaps, i.e., lower beings whose chief duty was to execute the functions commanded by the greater gods. An examination of the Babylonian pantheon shows a most varied system of pantheism so far as the multiplicity of god-names is concerned, but a great sameness of conception with regard to the functions of the different deities. This is the first step towards a narrowing down of the divine functions.

In this connexion it should be remarked that every one of the more important Babylonian towns had its own tutelary deity, who was regarded by the inhabitants of that district as the highest of all the hosts of the pantheon. Consequently, a distinct priesthood of every such tutelary god arose in each of the cities in question; and this priesthood guarded the cult of its own particular god with the greatest reverence, often exalting him as practically the only deity whom it was worth while to worship at all. The most significant point in all this strange system is the fact that toleration was practically unknown, particularly in the earlier days of Babylonian history, when the hegemony of the land was still an unknown quantity. As one city after the other got the upper hand, the god of the temporarily ruling city came to be regarded throughout the entire country as more powerful than all the others. Still, the worship of these other gods never ceased in their own peculiar shrines. On the contrary, the chiefs of the ruling city constantly made offerings to the gods of the conquered cities, in order to gain the confidence of the various inhabitants. In this manner the tributary peoples came to consider the king of the ruling city as a patron of the cult of the conquered gods, and were consequently the
more disposed to regard the rule of the suzerain with favour. For example, when Babylon-Borsippa held the hegemony of Babylonia, they saw no inconsistency in ascribing the very highest attributes to Marduk, the god of wisdom, who were the city-gods of the capital. In the same manner, when Ur had the upper hand, its own moon-god Sin was looked upon as the chief deity of the entire land, and the other deities literally sank into nothingness. Yet these temporarily lesser gods were never seriously affected by this state of affairs, because it was generally recognized that at any time another city might get the suzerainty, and then its god could and should acquire the rank of chief deity in the pantheon. The city was worshipped in its own peculiar place as the chief deity of the universe, without interfering at all with the claims of any other god. This system is called homineism, as distinct from the cruder polytheism.

Such flexibility of religious conception did not jar in the least on the ancient Babylonians, because their gods were, in reality, at no time in the later period more than mere names personifying Nature. Any name of a great god was as full of meaning to them as was the name of a great god in Nature as was any other great god's name; and this fact is still further demonstrated by the indefiniteness of the divine genealogy which prevailed until the latest period of Babylonian history.

The same deity is said, for example, to be the daughter of two gods, or the son of two gods, the divine father of various deities, in the famous hymn to Belus, who was the feminine counterpart of Bel, and who was also regarded as being identical with Sin, the following lines: "The exiled daughter of the judgment of Bel I am. The noble heroine of my father Sin I am. I am the supreme one." Here the goddess states that she is sin offspring of two widely differing deities. The main point is that she is exalted as the supreme one.

Probably no better example than this could be cited to show the indifference with which the Babylonian priesthood looked upon the genealogy of their deities, and the necessity for following the lines of descent. In this passage do we see the great underlying principle of the universality of deity as such, irrespective of mere name.

It remained for the Assyrians, however, those Semitic colonists from primitive Babylonia, who established in the north that empire which was to absorb all Western Asia, to crystallize in the personality of their tutelary deity Assur the principle of one central Divine figure in such a manner as had never occurred to the Babylonians. Under the worship of this god Assur was perhaps the nearest approach to an all-embracing monotheism which can be found in the Assyro-Babylonian religion. Unlike all other deities of the pantheon of this region, Assur did not represent any great force in Nature, but was essentially a national god—indeed, practically the only god of Assyria, because in him, owing to the unprecedented success of the Assyrian arms, were incorporated all the qualities which the Babylonians assigned to various deities. It is really no exaggeration to state that Assur became almost identical in character with the warlike Jehwah of earliest Israel. Assur's aid alone was all-sufficient in war and peace, and it is significant to observe that his devotees never attached to his train a host of minor deities, but always a number of the greater god-names. These greater gods, it will be noticed, invariably lost their identity alongside of the magnificence of the all-absorbing Assur. Comparatively few other deities are invoked by the Assyrian kings, and even those few were really merged into the worship of Assur. For example, when they simplification became Assur under other names. There was, however, one great point of difference between the Assyrian worship and that of the Israelitish Jehwah.

Whereas in the Israelitish system there existed a special high-priestly class, distinct from the monarch, it was always the monarch who was the sole high priest of Assur.

The symbol of this god was a standard, consisting of a double-winged disk, over which stood a figure of the god shooting with an arrow. This emblem seems to point to a solar origin for Assur, as the disk always represented the sun.

In the Assyrian worship, then, we see exemplified the most striking tendency of the Assyro-Babylonian age towards a real monolatry, the first step towards pure monotheism.

At the same time, in spite of this obvious unifying tendency, a certain range for the gods was duly observed by both Babylonians and Assyrians, which is portrayed in the peculiar system of assigning to each deity a specified number.

Thus Assu, the head of the great Triad, had as his numeral 60, which was the fundamental number of the ancient Babylonian sexagesimal system of counting. Bil and his son Nun had 60; Sin, the moon-god, had 80, the number of days in the lunar month. To Shamas, the sun-god, was given 30, while to Tuktar, the god of love and war, was given 10, the half of the lunar month; and to Marduk, the great tutelary deity of Babylon, also a manifestation of the sun-god, was assigned 11. Ramses, the storm-god, had 5; and Naisu, the god of death, had 10. It is probable that some of the lesser numbers were assigned purely arbitrarily, because even this enumeration of the gods is not always constant.

It must not be forgotten, moreover, that the lower side of the Babylonian religion was full of all sorts of base superstitions, and unless the relics of the earlier shamanism. The people believed in a host of evil demons and lesser divinities, against whose malevolent influence they could invoke an equally great host of conjurers of every kind.

Thus we find observers of birds' flight, soothsayers, interpreters of the dead, dream-readers, etc. The incantations, of which a large number have come down to us, usually mention every kind of possible evil influence, because the conjurer never could be certain which particular influence was present in a given case. For example, 'Whatever hast afflicted the system of the man—evil face, evil eye, evil mouth, evil tongue, in the name of Heaven be it conjured; in the name of Earth be it conjured.' Spirits played a large part in the life of the Assyrians, and conjurers, who applied it freely to the person of the patient (cf. the story of our Lord described in Jn 6). It seems that they also possessed the knowledge of the symptoms of many recognizably diseases, which, however, were always treated by driving out the evil spirits which were the cause of all diseases. Parallelism from the New Testament will readily suggest themselves.

It is not, of course, the purpose of this article to give a detailed account of the religion of Babylonia and Assyria. For the special characteristics of the many deities who are as members of the Babylonian pantheon, the reader should consult the art. BABYLONIANS AND ASSYRIANS, ii. 309 ff., and the works cited in the literature at the close of this article, the chief aim of which is rather to illustrate the real religion of the Assyrians rather than the form of the art. Assyrians. Perhaps no better method, of bringing out this important point can be followed than to quote an extract from the religious literature, much of which shows a spirit of true devotion equally only by the Hebrew Psalms. Here attention may be called to only two points.

1. Like all Nature, all creatures were considered as being absolutely dependent on the Divine will for everything in life. Nothing could happen without the god, and everything in existence was the result of the all-powerful creative Word, which is here undoubtedly the prototype of the Logos in the Gospel of John. This creative Word is admirably portrayed in a hymn to Sin, the moon-god, as follows:

1. In heaven, who is exalted? Thou alone art exalted, In earth, who is exalted? Thou alone art exalted.
When thy word echoed in heaven, all the angels of heaven met themselves before thee.
When thy word echoed on earth, all the angels of the earth kiss the ground.
When thy word roareth above like a storm-wind, it causeth food and drink to flourish.
GOD (Biblical and Christian).

The Christian conception of God, as it is held to-day, is the product of a long history, which is the object of this article to trace in broad outline. It is the result of a gradual, but continuous, revelation on the part of God, and is the outcome of the蜱
certain response on the part of man. The centre and pivot of the whole history is the body of writings known as the NT, or rather the order into which they are set in the NT and the interpretation there given to them. But the God of whom Jesus spoke, who is worshipped and believed in the Gospel, is a Being who is to some extent a mystery, a God whose existence is known, and who had been the object of faith for generations in Israel. Some knowledge of the previous revelation is necessary in order to under-
stand the meaning of the phrase 'the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ,' while it is
matter of frequent comment that the doctrine of
God implied in the Sermon on the Mount seems to
be restricted by a wide interval from that of the
Triune Deity worshipped and defined at Nicaea and
Chalcedon. For a thousand years after the Fourth
Council the Church doctrine concerning
God was practically a fixed quantity, though
it was from time to time developed by the elaborate
analyses, or overlaid by the ingenious syntheses, of
scholastic philosophers. The scriptures, however, has
left upon the Christian idea of God a mark of its
own. The almost incredible enlargement of knowl-
dedge concerning the universe which has charac-
terised modern thought, especially in the 19th
century, has profoundly influenced men's conceptions of
the Divine, so that the traditional form of
Christian doctrine has been enriched by a new and
various content, as yet but partially assimilated
and imperfectly incorporated with the old.

It has been denied that true and legitimate con-
tinuity has been preserved amidst all these
changes. But, if the Christian view of God and
the world is true, then, under the actual condi-
tions of human life, revelation must be progressive
on the Divine side; and the apprehension of (God
on the part of man will be gradual, various, and un-
certain, according to the capacity and fidelity of
those who seek to understand it. Is is the standpoint of this article that unity and con-
 tinuity of conception have been sufficiently pre-
served, whilst growth and progress are throughout
discernible. Elements in that conception may be
traced back to Israel, ideas and forms of expres-
sion are due to the influence of Greek thought,
the experience of the Church throughout the ages
has made it necessary to expand and a rethinking of
Christian doctrine, the 'light of the knowledge of
the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ' has
alone supreme. Christology—a spiritual and
ethical monothelism at first highest type, a religion
of redemption of which Christ is both the centre
and the sum—presents a consistent and ever de-
veloping doctrine of God, one that at the same
time modifies the imagination, the 'Judaising' and
and has proved itself to be the most potent and
influential factor in the history of religion in the
world.

I. THE OLD TESTAMENT.—The existence of a
God is always pre-supposed by writers in the OT,
ever explained, still less argued out. But what
was meant by the word, what connotation was given
to the name, what attributes were implied by it,
are quite other questions. The writings which re-
cord the earliest traditions on the subject range
from the 9th to the 5th cent. B.C., and it is not
easy to summarise the various ideas of the Divine
Being which find a place in them. The documen-
tary strata recognised by criticism do not em-
body much of earlier material, and may furnish
evidence of the existence of primitive beliefs, not
sanctioned by the religion of Israel, but influencing
to a considerable extent the thought and practice
of successive generations. It may not lightly be
taken for granted that the God of Noah, of Abra-
ham, of Moses, was identical in all respects with
the God of the Law and the writers from 8th to 5th
century B.C. The term Elohim, beginning with the
Priestly Code after the Exile. Yet the utterance
of Dt 6, 'Jahweh our God, Jahweh is one,' is
the watchword of the God of Israel in no artificial
or perfunctory sense throughout the national
history; and the Deity worshipped and proclaimed by Israel for centuries is the God of
whom Jesus said that the first great command-
ment in the Law was to love Him with heart and
mind and soul and strength.

For the present purpose all traces of primitive
beliefs in pre-Mosaic religion may be disregarded.
The Semitic tribes at the time of the
Trinity Deity worshipped and defined at Nicaea and
and similar steps forward in the knowledge of God
were made in the time of Moses. The God who
spoke to Moses from the burning bush was
Abraham marked a clear stage in advance, and
Deity; He was the 'God of thy father' and 'the
God of your fathers'; even His name was pre-
viously known—Jahweh the God of the Hebrews
(Ex 3:14). In exactly what sense, and to what
extent, this God was recognised by the people
at large before the time of Samuel is a moot
question. Materials for an answer are scanty, and
some points are still in debate. Many super-
stitions and some idolatrous practices were re-
tained amongst the people, while a long, steady
warfare was maintained against them, with
the utmost assertion of the supremacy of Jahweh
and His claim to sole allegiance and undivided
service. The beliefs and practices thus indi-
cated may be classified in two categories: (1) those which were
arguably polytheistic; (2) those which accoun-
ted the existence of demons, or inferior divin-
lities; and (3) those which have to do with the
worship of Jahweh, observed on the veneration of places, sacred stones, and sacred trees, consistent
with the worship of Jahweh, though often indulged
in a spirit of disobedience and revolt.

What is, however, beyond question is the rise of a distinctive
religious of Israel from amongst tribes in
which polytheism, often of a cruel and licentious
type, prevailed; and the attainment, by whatever
stage of the process, of a pure ethico- logos, the
uniquely lofty kind. The distinction between
monolatry and monotheism is often a narrow one.
A nation which whole-heartedly worships one God
alone may change in its mode of regarding
the gods worshipped by other nations. These may be
viewed as inferior deities, whom it was sometimes
tempting to acknowledge and try to propitiate;
or as spirits, more or less evil, that were not really
'gods'; or as 'abominations,' banned and de-
nounced by true religion; or as empty figments of
the imagination, the 'Judaising' and 'Judaizing' nature
in which some Hebrew names for idols brand them as
being. Indications of what are now called 'totem-
ism' and 'tabu' may be found in the Law and
the national law; the divination and ancestor-worship for-
bidden in successive codes of legislation may have
been relics of dying cults. The precise character and
religious value of 'division,' 'south,' 'south-east,' and
and the religious history before the Exile do not
belong to the present inquiry.

The lesson of the OT is the establishment of the
worship of one God, unique, incomparable—the one
God that matters. The main light shines clear,
whatever vague forms fit and glimmer in the
twilight around it. The history of revelation in
the OT is a history of the way in which this light
was seen to shine more purely and more power-
fully till all the shadows of lesser deities fled
away.

1. Names.—The names used for God were sig-
nificant. Elohim was the generic term for Deity,
Jahveh the personal name of the God of Israel.
The term Ely was commonly the title of the
Priestly code after the Exile. Yet the utterance
of Dt 6, 'Jahweh our God, Jahweh is one,' is
the watchword of the God of Israel in no artificial
or perfunctory sense throughout the national
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away.
plural number indicates either eminence or supremacy, or fullness and abundance of powers and resources. The origin of the sacred and characteristic name Jehovah (p. 301) is still obscure. The attempt to show that it was a West Semitic name for the storm-god rests on conjecture only. The idea that it was gained from the Kenites is more than dubious. It should be understood as distinctly a personal name, going back to pre-historic times, but made the vehicle, or the channel, of special revelations, till it acquired a sacred character and significance, incomprehensible otherwise. The interpretations of it given in Ex 3:14 (EV 'I am that I am,' RVm 'I will be that I will be') are not strictly etymological, in the modern sense, but descriptive of the nature of God as then making Himself known—the one, true God, self-existent and self-sufficient, the cause and ground of all being, faithful to His promise, and constant in all His relations with His people. It would be an anachronism to draw out into a list of 'attributes' in modern fashion what none the less lies implicit in the simple sublime appellation—'I AM.' The content of the name was filled up in the course of history, as successive acts and manifestations showed Israel what kind of a Supreme Being it was whom they were hidden alone to worship. Jehovah remained the name for the covenant God of Israel, where the term 'covenant' indicates a special relation between God and His people, one on which the whole national history is a running commentary.

Stages of progress in the idea of God are more or less clearly traceable. But from the outset the conception was simple and concrete, not metaphysical, not an abstraction from the powers of Nature. The God of Israel was essentially (1) personal, (2) spiritual, (3) sole and supreme, (4) of an unapproachable lofty ethical character. The personality of God was pressed to the verge of extreme and open form, is not described, but described being popular, not scholastic; but it is not easy to determine how far the ascription to Jehovah of human limbs and organs—face, finger, arm, heart, and voice—was understood literally or symbolically. Dt 4:31-32 shows at once the error into which the multitude were in danger of falling, and the corrective which, in the 7th cent., was supplied. Personality, implying a living Being, who thought, felt, and willed, and who possessed all the characteristics of personal life, is a distinctive feature of the God of the OT throughout. But this Being was spiritual, in the sense of being invisible to mortal eye and beyond all sensuous apprehension; while His power and operations were such as only a spirit could manifest, the living Will behind all being specially emphasized. Jehovah is proclaimed from the outset as sole and supreme; the ground of all other commandments is, 'Thou shalt have none other gods before me.' Other gods had but a relative existence, if they were thought of as existing at all; they possessed neither might nor right in comparison with Him who was the Creator and Sustainer of all that is.

The distinctive feature, however, of the OT doctrine of God is the emphasis that is laid on the moral character of Jehovah, who is unique, not in power only, but in wisdom, righteousness, goodness, and truth. An influential school of critics hold that the 'ethical monotheism' of the OT originated in the prophetic period which formed the golden age of Israel, from the 8th to the 6th cent. B.C. It would be never, probably be correct to say that the work of the prophets from Amos onwards was to define more clearly, and to enforce more strenuously, a doctrine concerning God which was not then entirely new, though the current coin needed to be minted afresh, and distinct advances in conception were made in the prophetic period. The work of the prophets consisted mainly in two things: (1) they taught the unity and supremacy of Jehovah in relation to the whole world as well as to Israel; and (2) claimed and home the doctrine of His 'holiness,' in its full meaning and implications, as this had never been done before. Two names of God may be mentioned as more or less representative of these ideas—Jehovah Shaddai and 'the Holy One of Israel.' The first of these (= 'Lord of hosts') was not new, and is taken for granted in all its original meaning. But, whether earthly battalions or heavenly auxiliaries were intended, whether Jehovah was Lord of stars, or of angels, or of cosmic forces generally, the title of the time of the prophets certainly connotes world-wide supremacy. The name 'Holy One of Israel' emphasized the fact that the Lord of all power and might was Himself incomparably pure, and was prepared to sanctify from all evil His people who trusted and obeyed Him. 'This new name,' says Ewald, 'was the first kindling of a new age of the God who was the aged of the Hagocery was beginning in Israel, in a sense altogether unexceptionable.' (Die Lehre der Bibel vom Gott, Leipzig, 1871-75, Eng. tr., Old and New Testament Theology, Edinburgh, 1888, p. 94).

2. Holiness.—It is not possible to consider in detail the moral qualities of which the word 'holiness' (q.v.) came to constitute the sum. No formal list of Divine 'attributes' is anywhere given; the qualities enumerated are not always the same, and the emphasis laid on each varied at different epochs. But substantially the same moral excellencies distinguish Jehovah from the first; compare Ex 34:6 with the latest Psalms. Almightiness is taken for granted, but stated in its literal or mere power, as was largely the case with the b' dotyczą (see BAAK). Wisdom, foresight, and purpose are distinctive features of the God of Israel throughout, though importance in the more complete sense of the term is not dwelling on earlier times, as it is, e.g., in Ps 139. The righteousness of Jehovah is a favourite theme with Amos and Micah and Isaiah, the attribute being explained throughout by its concrete bearing upon national life (cf. Is 5). In Deuteronomy, Jehovah is characterized by b'/gifat ('mercy') for Israel, and for His people, and the psalmists echo the description in verse. Mercy and tenderness are predominant Divine qualities in Hosea, as in Ps 103; lovingkindness and pity are not understood as contrasted with righteousness and justice, as the promise in Hos 2:4.1 shows. 'Jealousy' is a word used by writers of different periods to describe, not cruelty or harshness, but the uncompromising claims upon the allegiance of God's people made by His holy love. 'Faithfulness' and 'truth' are companion names, which indicate that God's words correspond with His nature, and His deeds with His words; that His present action is one with His past, and that He may be trusted as constant and unchanging in all that is to come. Finally, the word 'holy'—which in the first instance probably meant only 'divine,' that which belongs to God as such—is taken in the whole sum of ethical excellency characteristic of Jehovah; righteousness, flawless purity, and utter antipathy to all evil being in the forefront of its significances.

3. Self-manifestation.—There is in the OT no indication of interior distinctions in the Godhead; it is an anachronism to find either the doctrine of incarnation or that of the Trinity in its pages.
But the God of the OT is emphatically a selfcommunicating God, as opposed to a metaphysical abstraction, or a solitary, remote Deity. The forms of manifestation, the various modes of self-revelation which mark off the God of Israel from the gods of the nations around, prepare the way for a clearer and more intimate relationship. The term, 'angel of God,' spoken of in Gn 28, Ex 3, and many other passages, is not a mere messenger from God, a created being, neither is he strictly Jahweh, but Jahweh in a particular form of selfmanifestation, a special revelation of the Divine presence. The 'Spirit of God,' whose name is found, with variations, and whose operations are the various and so vital in the religion of Israel, is not distinct from God, nor does the phrase imply a distinction in the Godhead. The Spirit of God is God Himself, breathing, living, active, energizing in the world.—'God at work.' The Spirit is personal because God is personal; personal distinctions within the Deity find no place in the Old Covenant. As breath is the principle of human life and the source of human energy, so God possesses life in Himself, and is the spring of all life in men; and in the fulness of His vital power as in any way communicating itself is dwelt upon, the Spirit of God is expressly named. There are a few passages in the later books—of which 1 Esdr 7:29 is the best example—where the Spirit of God may serve as an example—which might seem to imply that the Spirit of God was thought of as a distinct person. But these are best understood in the light of prevailing usage, whilst they undoubtedly prepare the way for a doctrine which does not clearly appear within OT limits. See, further, art. Holy Spirit.

4. Word and Wisdom.—A history attaches to the two phrases, 'Word of God' and 'Wisdom of God,' which cannot here be traced out (see art. Word), and whose operations are the instrument of His working. 'He spake and it was done, he commanded and it stood fast' (Ps 33; cf. Gn 1, Ps 33:167). Also, the thought of God is mighty; His word creates, and controls all. But, by a natural transition, in later Jewish literature a tendency appears to personify both Word and Wisdom—notably the latter in Job 28 and Pr 8. Whether the grammatical figure of bold prosopopoeia, viewing Wisdom as God's masterworkman, had here passed in the mind of the writer as a hypothesis in the full sense of the term is doubtful; probably not. A distinction is discernible between the use in Job and in Proverbs, and further development is perceptible in Sirach and Wisdom of Solomon; but the poetical picture called up by the imagination had probably not given place to the idea of independent personal existence. Undoubtedly, however, in the use of these phrases a foundation was laid for the idea that the Thought or Will or Speech of God, going forth from God, might be conceived as an activity distinguished from God Himself, a manifestation of God in the world, distinct, though not separate, from His own proper Being.

5. Creation and Providence.—The relation of Jahweh to Israel is the main theme of teaching in the earlier periods; for, though He is thought of as supreme, only gradually did the idea of His relation to the world as a whole emerge. The notion of God as origin of all that exists is implicit from the first; but a doctrine of creation such as is developed in Gn 1 and embodied in many passages of Psalms is only late. The problems of Providence dawned but slowly on the minds even of the teachers of Israel. In Job and in the later Psalms a few writers wrestle with these difficulties rather than overcome them. The underlying postulate of religion was that Jahweh ruled and did all things well, punishing the wicked and rewarding His faithful servants. The prevalence of evil were acknowledged as permitted or overruled by God, but no theology was constructed to account for its existence. The language employed is popular, the moral laws and stories of Divine hatred of evil are strenuously asserted, but the facts of life were accepted in a matter-of-fact, almost child-like fashion for centuries before the 'maddening riddle of the root' and a demand for an answer to it pressed upon the minds of an essentially practical people. Even in Is 45 the prophet is content with stating both good and evil as forces so completely controlled by the Supreme Ruler that it may be said, 'I form the light and create evil: I am Jahweh that doeth all these things.'

6. The Exile.—The exile in Babylon was a fruitful epoch in many ways in the religion of Israel; it brought with it especially a widened horizon in the conception of God and the right way of worshipping and serving Him. Amongst the most notable changes may be mentioned the increased spiritualization of faith, the purification of the ritual from doubtful elements, and a growing superiority to local and material considerations. Jahweh could manifest Himself to His people and be found in Is 45:5, even in the midst of trouble, independently of a sacred land and a consecrated temple. From this time onwards a certain universalism takes the place of earlier particularism. Jahweh is the God of the whole earth in a new sense; He has sworn that every knee shall bow to Him (Is 45:23). The destinies of the nations are in His hands, and He cares for all that His hands have made. Israel shall be the means of bringing the nations to a knowledge of Him. The captivity in Babylon, instead of weakening the attachment to Jahweh and leading to anything both good and evil, sounded in reality its death-knell. Under the guidance of the prophets the people learned to see that the overthrow of the monarchy and the destruction of the Temple did not imply foolishness or apathy on the part of the God in whom they trusted, but were intended to be the means of leading them to loftier and more adequate views of Him. Their heart, while it trembled, would be enlarged (Is 60; and they acknowledged, in the midst of their worst fears, that God's ways were higher than their ways, His thoughts than their thoughts (55k).}

7. The Greek age.—In the Greek age and the following periods no change took place theoretically in the idea of God, but modifications passed imperceptibly over the spirit of Jewish religion and over the customary modes of acknowledging God, which reacted upon the very conception of Deity. There was no more any prophet in Israel (Ps 74); the priest and the scribe took his place. The living God ceased to be realized as a present and active power, and the record in the Scriptures of His dealings in the past acquired a peculiar sacredness. In proportion as the Deity was conceived as transcendental, high above man, He became farther off from man, and the 'pale cause of thought sickled over' the simple, healthy realization of a present, gracious Friend and Protector, who was ever thinking of His people's good, and willing and working on their behalf. Greek culture partly roused Jewish national feeling to greater intensity and deepened devotion to the national God. But it also enforced a stricter train of thought, especially among Jews of the Dispersion. The Hellenic philosophy of the period regarded God as pure Being, transcendental, impulsive, inactive, existing out of relation to time and earthly
changes. The Jews were not philosophers and never precisely adopted these views, but Greek influence aided in promoting a change which had begun the earlier. This is witnessed to some extent in the later canonical books, and is still more fully illustrated in extra-canonical literature. Greater reverence is shown to God, His name, and His words; anthropomorphism is all but abandoned, and a sharper contrast comes to be drawn between the natural and the supernatural. 'God is in heaven and thou upon earth; therefore let thy words be few' (Ec 5:1) is a significant maxim of the 2nd cent. B.C. The LXX in its paraphrases smooths away stumbling-blocks from the language used concerning God in the Hebrew Scriptures, but at the same time rob it of much force and significance. The hollowing of the ineffable Name by never pronouncing it was at the same time a mark of superficial reverence and of diminution of religious earnestness.

The Targums bear witness to the same general tendency. Names indicating the loftiness of God—'Lord of the world,' 'the Mighty One,' 'the Glory,' and especially 'the Most High'—multiplied on the one hand, and on the other it was found necessary to introduce intercalary phrases that pass the point where God intervenes in human history, lest due reverence for the Highest should be impaired. Hence the 'Messiah, the Word of God,' and later 'Shabath, the glorious Personified by the Glory.' In such passages as Gn 3:2 the Targum of Onkelos reads, 'Adam heard the voice of the word of the Lord.' In Dt 6:4 'I and you.' Later extra-canonical writings abound in illustrations. Such a passage as Wis 18:16, 'Thine Almighty Word leaped down from heaven out of the clouds, without Him is a void,' is explained as a grammatical personification, but the literature of the period indicates a decided tendency to hypostatize the Word of God. The Philionian doctrine of the Logos (q.v.) is more explicitly stated in this article, but it bears its part in a similar development of thought. Cf. art. God (Jewish).

The worship of God during this period underwent a corresponding change, which was partly effect and partly cause in relation to the altered conceptions of the Divine. The Temple still stood, and its ceremonial became more stately and elaborate, but comparatively few could join in it. The synagogal worship—without priest or sacrifice or formal ritual, its essence consisting in the reading of God's word, and in an earnestness of devotion that was more ardent than the teachings of the Synagogue's free and heartfelt prayers—affected a virtual revolution, and helped to perpetuate the prevailing conception of God as a spiritual Being who must be spiritually worshipped. Side by side with this the development of scribalism, and an exaggerated and fanciful devotion to 'the Law' which almost defies definition and put it in the place of God. Himself, the marks of a religion grown old and stiff, a formalism fanatical in its intense devotion to the letter, but important as a spiritual energy, because it had lost touch with the living God. The heart of the generations in the 1st cent. B.C. cried aloud for a regenerate Church and rejuvenating religious power with which it was itself incompetent.

II. THE NEW TESTAMENT. An epoch was created by the appearance of Jesus of Nazareth. Himself an Israelite indeed, He had no entirely new conception to make. But the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, the chosen people. But His conception concerning God and the manifestation of His life were such that the religious conception, which as a plant had already taken root and put out green branches, burst into unexpected flower and brought forth new, unexpected, and abundant fruit. Jesus assumes the fundamental conceptions of God already described. He is personal, spiritual (Jn 4:26) but impressively (John declares what is not unknown in the long acknowledged, transcendent, yet draws very near to men in revelation and communion, unique in holiness, goodness, and His fatherly bounties. Thus the doctrine of God set forth in the discourses of Jesus exhibits the ethical monotheism of the prophets raised to its highest power.

With this doctrine far He travelled beyond it remains to be seen. The implications of His words and deeds were felt at the time to carry His hearers much farther in what direction God's ways to what goal could not be immediately discerned.

1. Christ's own teaching.—The unity of God is taken for granted throughout Christ's discourse, and is explicitly dwelt on in Mk 12:30 as the basis of the first great commandment. The spirituality of God, emphasized in memorable words in Jn 4:24, also pervades the whole teaching of Jesus. The moral attributes which characterize the God of the OT all appear and reappear in the Gospels, though the emphasis is seen to lie differently, in view of the mission that Jesus came to fulfill. Holiness and righteousness are fundamental characteristics of the Divine will; the subjects of the Kingdom are to seek righteousness above all (Mt 5:20; Lk 1:26). In the Gospel of John, the Evangelist, God is described as the holy and righteous Father (Jn 17:24). The majesty of God is implied in the words 'the Holy One of Israel' used in the Lord's Prayer and often in the Sermon on the Mount. Yet He cares for the lowliest (Mt 5:9); not even a sparrow falls to the ground without Him. The sun is a light given by God, and the light of the world is the Sheep of God (Jn 8:12). The sunshine and the rain, the lily in its beauty, and the common grass of the field, all have their message to deliver concerning Him. He is as 'good' with a within the highest standards of the earth; it is such as even the teachers of Israel had not fully understood; in comparison with it no other goodness deserves the name (Mt 5:10). Especially is God good as being merciful and ready to forgive. Man must be like God, if he has learned the lesson of mercy (Mt 5:48); but the unforgiving cannot be forgiven (9), but must suffer severest punishment (18). God is gracious and long-suffering, but the judgment that is to come will prove that He is not 'father' to the sinless, but to those who are to learn reverently to fear Him in whose hands their destinies lie (Lk 12:13).

These characteristic utterances, however, some of which might have come from the lips of a prophet of the Old Covenant, cannot be rightly understood without placing the emphasis where Jesus Himself placed it, and interpreting all in the light of the Divine Fatherhood. This doctrine appears in the OT, but it describes a relation which exists between God and Israel, not with mankind at large, or with individuals who are children of God in virtue of their personal character (see Ex 4:10, Dt 5:3, Hos 11:1). If the king is regarded as a son of God (2 S 7:14), is in virtue of his position as the head and representative of the nation. Christ's teaching on this subject differs fundamentally from that of the OT. It described three concentric circles. (1) The Father occupies a peculiarly intimate relation to Jesus Himself, who, as a Son, is the Father's only Son, and has been specially revealed to Him (Jn 14:12-17:26). Amongst the first recorded words of Jesus (Lk 2:1), the last (22), the name 'Father' is on His lips. He used no language to describe God such as was familiar to oracles on
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the one hand, or to philosophers on the other, but He often offended His hearers by the familiarity with which He claimed God as His own Father, in a sense shared by the uniqueness (Jn 14:9). (3) The sense of sonship was to be enjoyed by all true disciples in their measure. 'Your heavenly Father' was the designation given to them that His own might be trusted to supply all their needs (Mt 7:11, Lk 11:13). But this conception widens out into (3) a universal Fatherhood, as of One who cares for the unthankful and the evil and is ready to receive not only the lost sheep of the house of Israel, but all wanderers from the Father's house. It is true that the message of Jesus for Gentiles is not explicit as was His mission to the Jews, but the three parables in Lk 15 are evidently intended to illustrate a deep-seated compassion of God for the lost as such (Lk 15)— announcement of the Father's heart that go swiftly forth to meet all penitent children of men who arise and go to Him (Lk 15:18).

The characteristics that have been described have been drawn chiefly from the Synoptic Gospels. John does but emphasize the notes so clearly struck. The name 'Father' occurs far more frequently by far in the Gospels than in the Old Testament, and both in the Synoptic Gospels together, but all four Evangelists indicate that the word came always from the lips of Christ, who standardized it. Prophecies of the future ran the risk of being misunderstood unless Himself and them together as sons. In the one passage that seems to do so He deliberately marks a distinction, saying, 'My Father and your Father, my God and your God.' The singularity of the Divine Fatherhood is made much more plain in the Fourth Gospel, and the word 'love' is seen to be the climactic word that describes the innermost nature of the Father in relation to the Son and to the world. The book of Revelation is the universal expression of the Divine Fatherhood, and yet it speaks of Jesus as 'the true and the living God' (Rev 1:8). The Son is also much more fully brought out in this Gospel (Jn 3:16). It must be added in a word that no quotation of the words of Christ, apart from a study of Himself, His person, and whole work in the world, can ever suffice to set forth the full meaning of His teaching concerning the Fatherhood of God.

The Son and the Spirit. The special mission of Jesus was to announce the coming of the Kingdom of God, and Himself to lay its foundations in a Gospel message (Mt 3:17). He did not at first formally claim Messiahship, though from His baptism onwards His unique Sonship was recognized (Mt 3:17). But the time came when His work as the Christ, who must through suffering and death accomplish the Father's will and establish His Kingdom on earth, was made clear, and His disciples began dimly to understand that He was not only the Christ, the King of Israel, but the Son of the living God in a deeper sense than the words had usually conveyed (Mt 16:16). Further, Jesus had much to say, not only concerning Himself as 'only-begotten' Son, to use John's characteristic word—but concerning the Spirit of God (see Mk 9:32, Mt 10:19, Lk 11:13) several other passages in the Synoptists, and especially the discourse recorded in Jn 14:16. The question, therefore, arises whether the manifestation of God in Christ was such that in His own lifetime the fundamental conception of God was modified by it, and whether a distinction of persons within the Godhead is to be discovered in any form as the doctrine of the Trinity was taught by the Master and accepted by His disciples.

The question cannot here be discussed in detail (see Trinitarian Theology, p. 297). The Synoptic Gospels contains the exact words of the Saviour, He did before His ascension virtually lay down this doctrine. But, quite apart from the special phraseology of this passage, it is safe to say that Christ's teaching contained the material elements out of which a doctrine of the

Trinity was formulated later. His claims for Himself, His authority, His power to forgive sins, His demand for absolute personal allegiance to Himself, and His assertion of having His own knowledge and power and His coming to judge the world—not to speak of His miracles—were enough to show even before His ascension that the phraseology which the doctrine of the Saviour Christ could not but affect the old doctrine of the Ruler God.

'A Who is this Son of Man?' was a question in the answer to which lay many more questions and answers, still latent. The main question, however, was not fully answered till Christ's work on earth was fully accomplished; and the full light shed on the doctrine of God by a clear doctrine of Christ was not revealed until some generations had passed away.

2. The Apostolic doctrine of God. The position of the Apostles was wholly changed after the day of Pentecost. The death of their Master had greatly disconcerted them, and His resurrection formed the basis of their new message. Their early sermons and addresses were naturally not occupied with the mystery of His person. Preaching to Jews with Calvary full in view, Peter urged that the crucified One, which God had overruled in raising Him from the dead, and that the meaning of both death and resurrection was to be found in the Gospel. It promised remission of sins through faith in the Saviour; it heralded the establishment of the Kingdom of God with the Prince-Saviour at its head. The watchword of the whole was, 'Jesus is Lord; repent and believe in Him.' Salvation can come only through Him (Ac 4:12); His work, now fully accomplished, forms the central theme of the new Gospel doctrines of the day. 'First of all' (1 Co 15:3). The Acts faithfully reflects the gradual stages through which this position was gained, with far-reaching effects on religion as a whole.

A Christology was needed; the question, Who is this Jesus? must be answered. The theology, or doctrine of the Godhead, that followed turned upon the answer to this question. The teaching concerning the Holy Spirit did not raise the same difficulties, because the OT had so frequently used language which described the gift of the Spirit of God. But the experience of the new life in Christ, and the way in which the blessings of salvation were realized, pointed to a threefoldness in God's relation to man. Side by side with the belief in the God of the New as well as of the Old Covenant, and blending with it as a part of the same faith, was trust in a Divine Saviour and the consciousness of a Divine Spirit, Himself at work in the hearts of all believers. This experience found expression in the triple benediction of Co 1:3-7, and the baptismal formula of Mt 28:19. Jesus the Christ was a manifestation of God to men, such as had never been known before; the Holy Spirit, after the Day of Pentecost, was a manifestation of God to men, such as had never before been possible. The Apostles realized that here was a richer revelation, an ampler Divine presence and blessing, which demanded fuller expression in their very definition of God, as the whole NT bears witness. The Synoptic Gospels in their measure (remembering the scope of their narrative) contains the exact words of the Saviour, He did before His ascension virtually lay down this doctrine. But, quite apart from the special phraseology of this passage, it is safe to say that Christ's teaching contained the material elements out of which a doctrine of the
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of God, which, before the NT closes, has taken the place of the simpler 'ethical monotheism' of the prophets.

There is no 'doctrine' of the Trinity in the NT. But there are in all the materials out of which such a doctrine came inevitably to be built up, together with evidence of the way in which that teaching arose out of certain central facts of history and experience, proclaimed by the Apostles and accepted by all believers, an integral part of the gospel. The intense monotheism of those who had been educated as Jews was never relinquished, but new modes of conceiving of God, of worshipping Him, and of realizing His relations to men as in some sense threefold, form an essential part of the doctrine of God in the NT. These were not so much theoretically adopted as felt to be indissolubly bound up with what believers had from the beginning held concerning Christ, and with what they themselves had enjoyed of His grace and salvation.

(1) The Trinity.—The testimony of Paul in 1 Co 8:6 and elsewhere shows the process of advance. There may be, he says, those that are called gods—gods many and lords many, but 'to us there is one God, the Father, of whom are all things and we unto him.' Yet, without prejudices to the unity of this one God, He adds, and 'one Lord, Jesus Christ, by whom are all things and we through him.' He also is creator and of cosmic significance; the doctrine of God henceforth is mediated through Christ. Lordship is the essential word. Kepha renders the OT Jehovah, and in Ro 10:12 the word is used of Christ in such a way as to show His essential Divinity. His standing name and title is the Lord Jesus Christ; He is preached as Lord (2 Co 4:5), and the characteristic watchwords of unbelievers and believers respectively are 'Anathema be Jesus!' and 'Jesus is Lord' (1 Co 129). Nor is this Lordship marred or blotted by men. His pre-existence is implied in 2 Co 8:6, Ph 2:5, and Col 1:15. All interpreters are not agreed that in Ro 9:5 Christ is styled 'God over all, blessed for ever,' though this is the natural interpretation of the words; but few can doubt that in Tit 3:3 the appearing in glory is expected of Jesus Christ, 'our great God and Saviour.' Paul's language concerning the Holy Spirit does not bear so immediately upon his doctrine of God, because the word 'Spirit' sometimes indicates a gift of God to men, sometimes something God himself working in men, as it did in the OT. A closer examination shows that the Holy Spirit is not a mere gift or influence; yet, while Divine, He is not the whole Godhead. The intensely personal language employed in such passages as 1 Co 2:11, Ro 8:34, and elsewhere, combined with the distinction maintained between the Spirit and Christ, the Spirit and the Father, makes the interpretation of the Holy Spirit in an OT or 'Unitarian' sense impossible. Again, apart from the phraseology of benediction in 2 Co 13:14, the general tenor of description in such passages as 1 Co 12:3-6 and Eph 2:18 shows that St. Paul thinks easily and naturally in terms of a 'Trinity' in the Godhead, when speaking of Divine operations in the salvation of men and in the worship of the Church.

The author of the Fourth Gospel declares that his object was 'that men may believe that Jesus is the Son of God, and that believing they may have life in his name' (Jn 20:31). The whole Gospel proves that the Sonship thus indicated was understood by men as not merely that of office, or mission, or ethical likeness, but of eternal and essential nature. He who shared the Father's glories before all worlds was 'the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of every creature.' The whole of the NT believes that the Sonship of Jesus was an essential part of his divine nature, just as Manhood was an essential part of his humanity. Nevertheless, the Sonship of Jesus has never been so defined that the use of the old words embodies a new gospel. One word, moreover, not entirely new, acquires so predominant, so consummate a place in the concept of Christ, as to surpasses and encompasses all the rest—God is LOVE. Not that love eclipses righteousness, still less is it opposed to it; Paul identifies the idea of righteousness seems to predominate, it is love who writes in 1 Co 13 the immortal hymn of love. If
it was left for John to expound the love of God in its most bountiful and abounding manifestations all through history; it is he who makes the strongest and most uncompromising declarations of His righteousness that are to be found in the Bible. Neither of the Apostles nor of any other religious leader whom the two attributes are not eternally and indissolubly blended; but only in Jesus Christ, Son of God and Son of Man, is to be found the abiding proof that God is both righteous and merciful in the deepest sense of the words; and only through Christ can man reach and maintain his true relation with a God of infinite holiness.

Granted the promises that the Son of God has come to earth, suffered, died, and risen again for man's salvation, then all previous Divine manifestations pale before this stupendous Light of the world. Paul's theme in his greatest Epistle, the one whose contents exhaust the full account of his central preaching, is παντελῶς γὰρ διεσκέψασθαι τὸν θρόνον τῆς εὐγενείας, God's righteousness is revealed from faith unto faith (Ro 1:17). Whether the righteousness of God means an attribute of His own nature, or a state or condition of man that is derived from and acceptable to Him, in either case much light is shed by the phrase upon the character of the God whom Paul preached. These two meanings are just as true to Jesus himself, where it is said that the object of the work and sacrifice of Christ was that God might be shown to be righteous Himself, whilst at the same time free to be exalted by His own righteousness (Ro 2:16). So far, therefore, as an exposition of the Divine nature is summed up in the light of "I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me" (Jn 12:32), and "He that spared not his own Son but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not with him also freely give us all things" (Ro 8:32), Christ bears the Oneness of human nature and the goal of human life if He is Himself accepted as the interpretation of the Divine human history. Christology is but a Christianization of the heart of all theology. The Eternal Word has relation to all the worlds, but for this world and for man's comprehension of the mind and heart and will of God, the Word of God is Christ. Such at least is the teaching of the NT at its highest point, and it claims to shine by its own light as the purest and lovest revelation of the Divine known in the history of the world.

III. THE FORMATION OF THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE OF GOD.—The Apostolic writings attempt no metaphysical explanation of the new conceptions of God which unquestionably dominated the whole experience and life of the earliest Christians. The doctrine of Father, Son, and Spirit, as embodied in the baptismal formula of Trinitarianism. The threesomeness of the Divine manifestation and operations, as well as the underlying unity of the Divine essence, is recognized throughout the Epistles. That Jesus is Son of God as well as Son of Man, and that the Spirit is Divine and personal, closely related with Father and Son, is assumed, but no attempt is made to show this is reconcilable with the monothelitism which was an unquestioned and unquestionable axiom in the thought of the Apostles and their converts.

The next three centuries witnessed the unfolding of what lay implicit in this teaching. The relation between the earlier and later stages is usually described as "development," but that word does not necessarily indicate a process in which literally nothing is added but what was actually present in the germ. The more correct, though pedantic, biological term, "ontogenesis"—a progressive differentiation and integration—connotes more than the bare explication of the implicit: it is rather the gradual organizing in one whole of elements which the separate constitutions before were not and did not possess. Unquestionably the changing environments of the Church through the centuries contributed largely to the shaping both of faith and of theology. Christianity was able to give a certain "creative evolution" in which the energy of a new spiritual life adapts, assimilates, and utilizes, as
well as unfolds. From the standpoint of Christianity a believer in a living God can never resolve 'development' into a mechanistic process governed by natural laws. For him the God who has revealed Himself in Christ is still the ever-to-be-known God who illuminates His work in all generations by His Spirit. The change from the heavenly Father of the Sermon on the Mount to the Son of the Gospel in the creeds of Nicea and Chalcedon has been described by Harnack and Harnack as a degeneration rather than a development, a corrupting of truth from its earliest simplicity, not an enrichment due to healthy and necessary growth. Such a conclusion is not lightly to be accepted. The formulation of partially realized faith is one thing; a tendency to desert the manifestation of the Triune God in experience and in history for abstract speculations concerning the interior relations of the Deity is quite another. Before the end of the 5th cent. illustrations of both processes appear in the Church, and it is necessary to keep in mind the distinction between them.

It is possible to test the legitimacy of developments in the orthodox creed by means of a comparison. There were Christians in the primitive Church who took their stand on the OT and maintained its type of monotheism intact, except that Jesus of Nazareth—whether technically the Messiah or not—was esteemed a prophet of exceptionally high and pure character, whose mission it was to conserve the revelation of the Torah under a new covenant called the Gospel. Ebionites and Adoptionists (see EBIONISM, ADOPTIONISM) of various types preserved the OT concept of God, and the acceptance of Jesus as a specially commissioned messenger from Him, one in kind with Moses and Isaiah, though far higher in spiritual degree. History has written its comment on the outcome of the process by which it was a specimen of arrested growth. Not along this line was it possible to carry on and carry out the teaching of Jesus Himself, of His interpreters Paul and John, and of the multitude of evangelists who in His name were beginning to regenerate the world. The Church of the 2nd and 3rd centuries, with the sacred traditions of the 1st held in trust, was called to fashion, under the guidance of the Divine Spirit, a conception of God such as would at the same time interpret Christian experience—experience in human thought and life. That the Fathers of the Church were influenced by pre-Christian, especially Greek, thought, no one would strive to deny. Probably pure Platonism exercised far less influence upon them than Alexandrian Hellenism, and some would rank the influence of Stoicism as still more potent. But it is in the use of philosophical terms, in forms of reasoning, and in general views of the relations between God and the world, not in essential views of God, that these influences are traceable. The vital germ of Christianity, implying a new conception of the relation between God and man in Christ—a conception not abstractly conceived in the intellect, but embodied in the experiences of thousands of devoted lives—was not lost or destroyed amidst the enveloping pressure of pagan ideas. On the contrary, the new religion assimilated the power of the Divine wares that were not polytheistic, and made use of them for its own ends. Aristides, the first Christian apologist, illustrates this in the opening sentences of his De claris muli.

'Let us begin from the Lord, and from His two names that are His names, and from the figure of His two persons, and from the two natures that are two natures. For from the beginning the Father is the Son, and the Son is the Father. As far as the figure of the Father is concerned, He is the Son of God, in the same manner as the Father is the Son of God, and the Son of God is the Son of God. As far as the figure of the Son is concerned, the Father is the Son of God, in the same manner as the Son of God is the Son of God, and the Son of God is the Son of God. For He is the Father of the Son, and the Son of the Father, and the Father of the Father, and the Son of the Son. As far as the figure of the Father is concerned, the Father is the Son of God, in the same manner as the Son of God is the Son of God, and the Son of God is the Son of God. As far as the figure of the Son is concerned, the Father is the Son of God, in the same manner as the Son of God is the Son of God, and the Son of God is the Son of God. For He is the Father of the Son, and the Son of the Father, and the Father of the Father, and the Son of the Son.

Justus Martyr, philosopher as well as Christian, appealed to the idea of God innate in man (ὑποτελείται

Gnostic (q.v.), 'the first comprehensive attempt to construct a philosophy of Christianity' (see Harnack, Hist. of Doxology, Eng. tr., i. 238 f.), teaches chiefly by its failures. Gnostics of various schools furnished what were for the most part honest attempts to interpret Christ; but they did so in the light of preconceived ideas, some of which were incompatible with essential Christianity, and others inconsistent with its characteristic spirit. At this stage evolution took place by antagonism. The representatives of the Church learned some of their most valuable lessons by resistance to ideas of God thrust on their attention by the most active thinkers of the time. Monarchism (q.v.), a reaction against the Gnostic tendency to interpose numerous overlapping orders of being between God and the creation, taught the unity of God in a modalistic, i.e. really unitary, way. The Son and Spirit have no distinct, personal existence, but are only modes in which the one God reveals Himself. Some of the Fathers, especially in the East, whilst they recognized the subordination of the Son and the Spirit to the Father; and a tendency in this direction was for a considerable time present within, as well as outside, the pale of recognized orthodoxy.

1. Church doctrine of the Logos. Amidst these diverging tendencies the Church built up a constructive doctrine, first of the Logos, then of the Trinity. Justin, Irenaeus, Clement, and Tertullian are representative names amongst those who contributed to the earlier structure. The prologue of the Fourth Gospel formed the foundation. The Logos was eternal, not created, not emanating, but begotten, the Sonship of the Word seldom being lost sight of. The Logos was not a mere instrument in the plan of God, impersonally conceived. Rather was He the organ of Divine revelation and operation in creation and history, and pre-existed the world. The eternal priniple of God was realized in the Word Incarnate; the personal Logos took upon Him human nature that men might be partakers of the Divine. For Clement the Logos is 'the highest principle in the religious explanation of the world,' as well as the centre of the work of redemption. In nature, as in grace, He is the interpreter of the Father's attributes, being first the educator, then the Redeemer, of the human race. The work of the Holy Spirit was not at this stage ignored, though it was not elucidated and dwelt upon to the same extent.

The ideas concerning God which the Church had drawn from history and experience were not easy to express in the language of the Divine name that was created, and East and West were apt to misunderstand each other. Thus, if we find that by Tertullian and Origen, for example, whilst Christian thought was slowly crystallizing, others used inconsistent with one another, or with the exact forms ultimately adopted, it will occasion no surprise. Technical phrases, drawn from Roman law or from Greek metaphysics, were inevitable; but a true instinct was at work, now accepting and now rejecting the same
phrase, as certain associations seemed to render it serviceable, or undesirable, for the expression of underlying faith. The Godhead is 'one substance in three persons,' said Tertullian, 'by employing God, by establishing not only the homogeneity of the Son but also that of the Spirit as a necessary inference. The Holy Spirit is the Spirit of the Son; he is a creature; He is the Giver of life and of celestial gifts—Himself God. Athanasius, like other leading Fathers, protests against being compelled to define relations within the Deity which are beyond human comprehension; but, finding in Scripture the word 'proceeding' used to denote the relation of the Spirit to the Father, he says that he will retain it as the best. The Arian controversy (see ARIANISM), which practically ended at Constantinople in 361, affirmed the faith of Nicaea on the basis that, while in the Godhead there is one essence or substance (σόφια), in that unity there are three eternal modes of existence, now called  

3. The Trinity.—It is impossible here to trace the detailed stages by which the doctrine of the Trinity was finally established by the Cappadocian Fathers, Basil and the two Gregorys (see CAPPADOCEAN THEOLOGY), contributed to a clearer discrimination of ideas and a more accurate use of words. It is to them that the theological use of ἀρχή as above defined was due. Neither Origen nor Athanasius had made it sufficiently clear that in relation to the person of the word and of the Son, which mean more than mere aspect or manifestation, and less than the exclusive individual existence which the word implies among men. The subject of personality, the Divine and human, was not discussed until the 3rd cent. as it has been during the last hundred years; and even now a clear and definite vocabulary remains a desideratum. But there was no doubt in the mind of the Greek Fathers that the three ἐσώτερα (ισότερα, or modes of subsistence, of the undivided Godhead were not three ἐσώτερα, or aspects of a bare unity, neither did they think that the three  

2. Nicaean doctrine.—The rise of Ariusian enabled the Church to distinguish between what it really held and what it might seem to hold. This heresy, which waged so long a war against orthodoxy, and at times appeared likely to gain the upper hand, was never strong in doctrine. It taught a Trinity consisting of one uncreated and two created beings—hence it was both illogical and irrational, if creatures were to be worshipped. It represented Christ as a demi-god, and its whole doctrine implied retrogression and schism. The strength of Ariusian lay in the fact that a large portion of Christendom was not yet Christianised, and the believers had not learned to understand the real nature and implications of their own faith. The Nicaean formulary, in insisting on homogeneity to establish the Divinity of Christ, laid the foundation of the orthodox doctrine of God and His essential Tri-unity. The statement that in the one Godhead there are three Persons was never intended to mean three individuals, i.e. three self-subsisting subjects and centres of personality as 'persons' are understood among men; nor merely three aspects (ἐσώτερα) of one unitary Deity. As time went on, it was clearly laid down that there were three eternal subsistences (ὑπόστασες), personal, distinct, but not separate, organic one to another and to the unity of the Triune God. Athanasius (q.v.) in his long and strenuous controversy was contending for real contact between God and men in a real redemption wrought out by a real Divine Saviour in the midst of the world, and hence he insisted that on the one hand, that God operates continually in the world, could not preserve His personality distinct from the world, whilst, on the other hand, those who insisted on Divine personality tended to separate God from creation in transcendental isolation. If a historic Incarnation was to be preserved, the fullness of its actuality and redeeming power, it must be based on interior.
Modalism. The Father is conditioned by the Son and the Spirit, as the Son is by the Father. If the unity is conceived of as one undivided Deity, then the three appear merely as relations in the one Godhead. It is true that this differs from the older Modalism, which rested upon the idea of successive manifestations; from the very first, God is to be conceived as Trinita. But this is possible only through a refining of the idea of personal existence, till it becomes a 'mode' only in the simplicity of the Godhead. Doubts the Neo-Platonic element in Augustine's thought was responsible for some of the language he employed. But the anaximenes he used to illustrate the subject—especially his favourite one of intelligence, memory, and will in human self-consciousness—show in what direction his mind constantly moved. He presented theoretically the tradition of three persons in one substance; but himself emphasized, not the personality of each person, but the personality of the One God, and he never overcame the contradictions more or less implied in his attempt to combine the philosophic and the religious standpoint. Harnack describes Augustine's speculations as an attempt to 'construe the most immanent of immanent triadities and to sublimate the Trinity into a unity; and, just because it does this, to dissolve everything in the way of a basis in historical religion and lose itself in paradoxical distinctions and speculation.' Whether the speculations do this or give the impression to its new and valuable thought' (Hist. of Dogma, Eng. tr., iv. 590).

It is so very hard to say, as Harnack here does, that the 'idea de Trinitate' can scarcely be said to have possessed any where or at any time, but the speculative tendencies of Augustinian did unquestionably trench upon the living realities of historical Christianity. Augustine, more than any other teacher, prepared the way for the barren refinements of scholasticism; he elaborated his standpoint and anticipated some of its methods. The idea, however, which underlay Augustine's lofty meditations on the subject of the Trinity was not so very far fetched. It came to the tradition of the οὐσία, the intercommunion, or mutual interpenetration, of the Three Persons in the Trinity. John of Damascus, last of the Fathers and first of the Schoolmen (c. A.D. 700), gave currency to the word, and the thought which it expressed prevailed in East and West alike, though with a different emphasis. The Latin equivalent of the Greek were circumincessio, which implies the activity of mutual permutation, and circumincisio, which denotes a mutual rest or abiding of each Person in the other. 'Co-inherence' is perhaps the nearest English equivalent; but, whatever word be used, it represents the thought that the whole Trinity is present in each Person, that each is so complete that it includes the others—a mode of speech which destroys the very conception of 'personality.' The idea first appears in Gregory of Nyssa, it was most fully developed by Augustine, and came to be the basis of orthodoxy in Scholasticism; but it has never been fairly interwoven with religious thought and experience in the actual life of Christendom.

The Creed.—There is any danger of losing sight of the main theme in the midst of discussion concerning the views of individual thinkers, however eminent. Controversies in the Church did not arise over the fundamental belief in one God, which was never questioned by any; nor, strictly speaking, were they concerned with the nature or condition of each Person in the Holy Spirit, which were the common heritage of believers. Questions did arise—and they were but slowly and with difficulty settled—as to the mode in which the Christian conception of God could be most appropriately expressed amidst the environ-

ments of the Greco-Roman world of the 2nd to the 4th centuries. Faith in God the Father of all, in His Son Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Spirit through whom Father and Son were revealed, formed the basis of all Christian creeds, and such trust was the animating principle of all Christian experience; it was never debated by authorities or adopted at a Council; slowly it grew as the expression of the working faith of the Western Church. It contains the statements, 'I believe in God the Father... and in Jesus Christ His only Son our Lord... I believe in the Holy Ghost,' but the inter-relation of these is not defined, and no doctrine of the Trinity, properly speaking, is attempted. (1) The Apostles' Creed, an expansion of the baptismal symbolum, may be described as the creed of the catechumens. From the time when it consisted only of three or four clauses in the 2nd cent., down to its full development in its present shape in the 8th, this venerable Confession of Faith always retained its original character. It was never debated by authorities or adopted at a Council; slowly it grew as the expression of the working faith of the Western Church. It contains the statements, 'I believe in God the Father... and in Jesus Christ His only Son our Lord... I believe in the Holy Ghost;' but the inter-relation of these is not defined, and no doctrine of the Trinity, properly speaking, is attempted. (2) The Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, ratified at Chalcedon (461), is a theological document, shaped and revised by a Council, its phraseology keenly debated and sharply defined. It was prepared for the purpose of excluding heresies, and its earliest form concludes with an anathema upon some of them. But it is not a Creed; it consists of three parts that are not concatenated together. Its Christology forms its characteristic feature, and a doctrine of Christ undoubtedly implies a doctrine of God of a very significant kind; but here again no attempt at a definition of the mystery of the Trinity is attempted. It is otherwise with the Athanasian Creed.

The Athanasian Creed—to use the modern misnomer for the anonymous sermo or exposition of Christian doctrine known as the Quinisexta, as transmitted from the Western Church in the 8th century. It was a creed for the clergy, with accompanying condemnatory clauses; and in its two parts it minutely defines the doctrine of the Trinity, and that of the two natures in Christ as intimately related to it. The teaching of Augustine and the phraseology of creeds in the 4th and 5th centuries are presupposed, and the Church, as a whole, was never accepted by any Council, nor can it be described as an Ecumenical symbol.

(4) The Te Deum, on the other hand, was prepared for the purposes of worship, not to express nice metaphysical distinctions. Yet it embodies more adequately than any technical creed the faith of the Church, and the Christian conception of the God whom it adores—te orandi, te credendi. This lyric paraphrase of the Apostles' Creed, by whomsoever composed, is, as Luther said, a fine confession of the true faith of a Christian, as also a hymn in which to praise God. The religious faith of the community, uttered by Paul in his solemn benediction, echoed by Clement of Rome and Ignatius, and repeated by every believer at his baptism, remained the same throughout, though only after the lapse of centuries were acceptable forms devised to express the deep Christian conception of God which was imperfect, silence was impossible. Scientific and speculative discussions have had their place, and metaphysical formulations their value, in shaping in which the Christian conception of God; but it has been forgotten that religious conceptions, when ex-
pressed at all, can only be uttered in the language of religious faith.

V. RELIGION AND REFORMATION PERIODS.

For more than a thousand years the doctrine of God in the Christian Church preserved its character, substantially unchanged and unassailed. Proceeding from the Creed of the Arians (principium et foedus) to the conception of all knowledge; all things are viewed in relation to Him; He is at the same time cause and end of all things, governing all things, controlling all things, of all subjects, of all thoughts. Sacred science, i.e. theology, is pre-eminent in the teaching of the schoolmen; but close observation shows that, partly as regards their conception of God, partly through the methods adopted of reasoning about Him and His relations with men, and partly through the resultant views taken of human life, vanquished philosophy had at this time transformed, if not actually conquered, its conqueror. It is not possible, however, to generalize concerning scholasticism as a whole; for, during progress, and decay, from the 11th to the 16th cent., changes of various kinds are discernible. It is difficult for us now to estimate the influence upon the doctrine of God exercised first by Neo-Platonist and afterwards by Aristotelian principles, and by the prolonged philosophical discussion concerning universals and the Realist v. Nominalist controversy. But the names of Anselm (q.v.) and Abelard (q.v.) in the 11th cent. mark the rise of a movement of which Thomas Aquinas (q.v.) in the 13th constitutes the climax and crowning which teaches the nameless supra-essential Deity in the form of symbols, historical manifestations, and ecclesiastical dogmas—and abstracting theology, by no means as the device of later modern times, which may rise from these temporal forms to the direct contemplation of the transcendent inconceivable Infinite and Absolute Being. Dionysius appears to identify this highest principle of Deity with God the Father; and, while he believes in the Trinity, to him Jesus and the Holy Spirit are but branches, or elements, which enter into relation with human life. A system of 'heavenly hierarchy' was constructed, of which the earthly hierarchy is the reflection and continuation. But all this new speculation in making clear the steps of ascent and descent in his speculative scale of being; and his name is preserved in history chiefly because of the lasting impression he produced upon mediaeval theology. Scotus Erigena, who in the 9th cent. heralded the approach of scholasticism, interpreted Christian doctrine in the light of Greek teaching. His system was essentially pantheistic, and pleased to lead from God, through the ideal and the real worlds, back to God. He attempts in his own way to solve the philosophical problem of the One and the Many by means of Scriptural doctrines and phrases to which he gives a meaning of his own. God is the supreme unknowable Deity, who yet manifests Himself in the manifold of creation. This process of unfolding is to be followed by the return of all orders of being back to the primæ Unity, so that God may be all in all. The fundamental difficulty found in the presence of sin is met by resolving evil into a necessary factor of development which in due course will be overcome. Christ is the centre in this stupendous cycle of movement from God and to God, and Trinitarian phraseology is from time to time employed; but Erigena's scheme of existence is essentially philosophical rather than Christian, and was never accepted by the Church, though it exercised considerable influence on mediaeval thought.

V. REFORMATION PERIODS.

The general factors of development which prepared the way for Thomas's Summa, the standard theological monument of mediaevalism, were such as follow. The pantheistic tendencies which have been described as characterizing the Neo-Platonism of Dionysius and Erigena produced a marked reaction. In time the genuine Platonism which had been handed on from Augustine to the earlier Schoolmen gave way before a revived Aristotelianism, the doctrines and methods of which were being used by Aquinas to establish and expand the truths of natural theology. God is defined as primum mouens immobile, 'Mover of all, Himself unmoved,' and as actus potentiae per se without potentiality. The modes of proving the existence of God are chiefly deductive, being drawn from the nature of causality, the necessity of absolute being, and the need of an absolute Designer. The metaphysical attributes

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of the Deity—unity, infinity, self-existence, and the rest—are deduced in similar fashion. The proof furnished by Aquinas in Thomas' is the fundamental relation of God to the world which He has brought into being, stands in marked contrast to the idea and exposition of Divine love given in Jn 3:16 and 1 Jn 4:16. Thomas insisted on the distinction between the teachings of reason concerning the existence and nature of God and the teachings of revelation. These latter must be received by faith on authority, since they could neither be discovered nor proved by reasoning. The dualism thus introduced has influenced Calvinism and to a large extent Protestant theology ever since. Thomas rejected the pantheistic teaching which represented God as the essence of all things; he viewed Him as creator of all things from nothing, i.e., without pre-existing material— not from all eternity, but at a definite moment, when time began. This relation of God to the world is dispositive and perishable by the posteriori arguments. Man has the knowledge of God natural, if he does not by evil-doing stifle and destroy it. The doctrine of the Incarnation, however, must be received on the authority of revelation. It implies a union between the Divine and human natures in the One Person of the Logos, the human nature of Christ being impersonal. God's nature, including the combined attributes of justice and mercy, made necessary the 'satisfaction' rendered by the death of Christ on the cross, and from this moment spring all the streams of salvation made by God's grace to the unfallen world. Thomas was essentially a Realist; for him the ideal was the real in a truly Platonic sense. But, from the standpoint of philosophy, the data of revelation which he professed to assent to made Christian interpretation. Theology is for six centuries past has been largely moulded—for better, but to some extent decided for worse—by the speculative reasonings of this Doctor Angelicus. Long after the ancient fetters of scholasticism had been broken, the movements of Christian thought continued to live too largely confined within the limits which the Schoolman had laid down.

2. Mysticism. The relation between Scholasticism and Mysticism (g.e.)—those twin forces in shaping medieval thought concerning God—cannot be defined in a word. The view that Mysticism represented a reaction against the extreme subtleties and logical analyses of the Scholastic method represents but a fraction of the truth, characteristic only of a few teachers at one particular epoch. Harnack's view (Dogmengesch. p. 215. I. ii. ch. viii.) that Scholasticism is 'nothing but scientific thought,' though the science is in fetters. Mysticism is the presupposition of Scholasticism, because medieval science based itself on piety. Piety prompts to thought, and thought in turn promotes piety. Where the knowledge of God is pursued for its own sake there is a more termed mystical theology; but, where the knowledge of the world in relation to God possesses an independent objective interest, the term 'Scholastic theology' is applied. Landmarks in scholasticism and neo-scholasticism, either new or parallel to one another nor are in conflict with each other, but Mystical theology and Scholastic theology are one and the same phenomenon, which only present themselves in marked gradations of piety in the intellectual life. The teaching of Divine knowledge being the Father, the object

prevails' (Harnack, Eng. tr., vi. 27). 'Mysticism' is a word employed in various senses that ambiguities, that love necessarily constitutes the fundamental relation of God to the world which He has brought into being, stands in marked contrast to the idea and exposition of Divine love given in Jn 3:16 and 1 Jn 4:16. Thomas insisted on the distinction between the teachings of reason concerning the existence and nature of God and the teachings of revelation. These latter must be received by faith on authority, since they could neither be discovered nor proved by reasoning. The dualism thus introduced has influenced Calvinism and to a large extent Protestant theology ever since. Thomas rejected the pantheistic teaching which represented God as the essence of all things; he viewed Him as creator of all things from nothing, i.e., without pre-existing material—not from all eternity, but at a definite moment, when time began. This relation of God to the world is dispositive and perishable by the posteriori arguments. Man has the knowledge of God natural, if he does not by evil-doing stifle and destroy it. The doctrine of the Incarnation, however, must be received on the authority of revelation. It implies a union between the Divine and human natures in the One Person of the Logos, the human nature of Christ being impersonal. God's nature, including the combined attributes of justice and mercy, made necessary the 'satisfaction' rendered by the death of Christ on the cross, and from this moment spring all the streams of salvation made by God's grace to the unfallen world. Thomas was essentially a Realist; for him the ideal was the real in a truly Platonic sense. But, from the standpoint of philosophy, the data of revelation which he professed to assent to made Christian interpretation. Theology is for six centuries past has been largely moulded—for better, but to some extent decided for worse—by the speculative reasonings of this Doctor Angelicus. Long after the ancient fetters of scholasticism had been broken, the movements of Christian thought continued to live too largely confined within the limits which the Schoolman had laid down.

3. Schools of Mystics. Mysticism is neither Catholic nor Protestant, though it took differing and characteristic forms in Latin and in Tentrodonic minds. The connection between the idea of God and man's mode of a state communion with Him is very close. Hugo of St. Victor in the 12th century united two modes too often disjoined, of conceiving and approaching God, when he says: 'In two ways God dwells in the human heart, to wit, through knowledge and through love; yet the dwelling is one, since every one who knows Him loves, and no one can love without knowing. Knowledge, through cognition of the Faith, erects its structure; love, through the offices of colour' (De Adam Noe moralis. i. 1. P.L. dievi. 681).

The contemplation of God on which St. Victorine school, with its Platonic tendencies, laid special stress stood midway between the logical analysis of Abelard and the emotional fervours of Bernard of Clairvaux (g.e.). Bonaventure laid down an excellent example of clear thinking concerning the Trinity and the Divine attributes on the lines accepted by the Church, combined with deep devotional feeling and an insistence on the necessity of religious experience for the attainment of any true knowledge of God.

'The whole of Christ dwells in our hearts. This is the knowledge of Jesus Christ, from which, as from a source, cause the method and understanding of the whole Scripture. Wherefore it is impossible that any one should advance in its knowledge, unless he first has Christ infused in him' (In Respons., Prologus. Quaer. ed., p. 203. For last two texts, see Osborn Taylor, The Medieval Mind, ii. 587 and 600). The church thought was represented mainly by Eckhart, also by Tauler, Riesbrook, and others, exhibits the tendency—always more or less inherent in mysticism—to lose theological form and become too much a speculation. Eckhart was not a Pantheist, but he often writes like one. For him the Godhead is impersonal, for ever hidden and unknowable. God, however, reveals Himself in a gradual personal aspect of Divine knowledge being the Father, the object
being the Son, while the Spirit is the mutual bond of love whereby they are united. The world is in God, not God in the world. Time, space, creaturely life are nothing in themselves. It is the duty of man by an act of intuition, which includes intellect, feeling, and will, to realize direct union with the Divine. In Origen's phrase, the end will be like the beginning, all will return to God, and the Many will be lost in the One, from whom (or from which) all have originally proceeded.

4. The Reformation.—At the time of the Reformation no controversy arose concerning the doctrine of God, so far as creeds and formularies were concerned. The Decrees of Trent reaffirm the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed with Western additions; it is noteworthy that no attempt at reconstruction was made on the lines of Aquinas. The Confession of Faith then passes to the subjects of Original Sin, Justification, and the other points of immediate controversy, with which also the Reformed Confessions were mainly occupied. The first article of the Augsburg Confession, however, after reaffirming the decrees of the Nicene Synod concerning the Divinity of Christ as true and without doubt to be believed, proceeds thus:

"To wit, that there is one Divine essence which is called and is manifested, invisible, God, infinite, eternal, almighty, immovable, immortal, incomprehensible, inconceivable, incomprehensible, infinite power, wisdom, and goodness . . . and that yet there are not two Divine essences, of which one is limited and the other infinite, the former earthly, the latter spiritual; one eternal, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. And they use the name of 'persons' in that signification in which the communication of the essence is in the persons, because they have not used a part or quality in another, but that which properly subsists."

The corresponding Anglican article runs:

"There is but one living and true God, everlasting, without body, parts, or passions, (impassible, impassable); of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness; the Maker and Preserver of all things, both visible and invisible. And in unity of this Godhead there be three Persons, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, (Art. 1)."

None the less, the Reformers exhibited a change of tone and of emphasis, though not of definition, in their teaching concerning God. Luther in his Small Catechism lays the stress where Scripture lays it, and he was wont from time to time to criticize the use of the term 'Trinity' as a 'mathematical' word, saying: 'Since it is not in the Scriptures and sounds cold, we shall do much better to speak of God and not of the Trinity.' Luther dwells often upon God as a loving Father, ready to forgive and providing for men a free salvation. But he is careful to say that this means 'God in Christ'; all knowledge of God outside Christ reveals Him as a righteous Judge, wrath with sin and stern in punishing the guilty. It is the word Christ which makes it possible, and opens up communion with the Father for His rebellious children. It is Christ as Saviour, not as Eternal Word, that Luther preaches, though his doctrine of salvation loses its meaning if the Eternal Word did not become flesh and dwell among us as Jesus Christ our Lord. A distinction between Luther and Calvin is discernible—still more marked between Lutherans and Calvinists—in the conception of God which appealed to them respectively. Calvinism is a 'theology' indeed, a doctrine of God throughout the length and breadth of its teaching. The glory of God is exalted, all else is banished or absorbed. God is infinite and incomprehensible, in His sovereign and incorruptible will, in the grandeur of His eternal, unalterable decrees, God in His sciences and absolutes, in the accomplishment of His will rather than in the manifestation of His character, a will that instantly silences opposition and irresistibly effectuates its own decisions. Luther, on the other hand, admitted a closer approximation of God to man than orthodoxy had always allowed. It emphasized the love of God manwards, the self-emptying on the part of the Eternal Son, the quasi-delocation of His humanity in the uncreated Person of the Logos. The contrast between Lutheranism and Calvinism furnishes a striking example of the fact that theoretical identity of creed is consistent with almost incredible divergency of spirit and temper.

5. Protestant theology.—The 16th and 17th centuries are marked by the establishment of a kind of Protestant Scholasticism. The post-Reformation theologians in their doctrine of God fell back on Scholastic categories, and laid down laws in their definitions of Deity which have been observed by their followers ever since. The second chapter in the Westminster Confession of Faith, 'Of God and of the Holy Trinity,' is a standing illustration of this in its definition of the One Being who

'is all life, glory, goodness, blessedness, in and of himself; and is alone in and unto himself all-sufficient, not needing any good from any creature which he hath made, nor deriving any glory from them, but only manifesting his own glory in, by, unto, and upon them; he hath most sovereign dominion over them, to do by them, for them, or upon them, whatsoever himself pleaseth.'

God in His essence is defined as an infinite and eternal Spirit, His metaphysical and moral attributes are carefully mapped out, and an exposition of the doctrine of the Trinity on orthodox lines follows. But in the systematized doctrines of God of the 16th and 17th centuries, there are indications of constituting elements which were not yet adequately harmonised. The ideas of the philosophical Absolute, God as the ultimate reality in the universe, the self-sufficing Deity of abstract thought, appears in them. There is present also a metaphysical conception of the Trinity as it had been developed through centuries of Catholic teaching. But at the heart of the whole is the living God of the Bible, the revelation of the Father in the Son of His love, the ever present Friend and Saviour of mankind; and in the whole, thus presented there are unresolved antinomies. The question how the philosophical and speculative elements in these definitions were to be harmonised with the purely religious teaching of the OT and NT had hardly emerged. In the passionate conflicts which shook Christendom to its foundations in the 16th cent., it was taken for granted that Catholics and Protestants alike had grasped the same God and accepted the same fundamental conceptions of Him.

V. THE MODERN PERIOD.—The date from which a 'modern' movement in theology is reckoned depends upon the subject handled and the standpoint occupied. For some purposes, in the study of theology the 16th cent. forms the watershed between medieval and modern ideas; but the critical investigation into the foundations of Christian Theism begins with Kant and the 'Enlightenment' of the 18th cent., whilst the scientific and philosophic movements which have affected the Christian doctrine of God belong chiefly to the 19th century. The progressive of Christian Theism within its own lines is a marked feature of the period, and there can be little question that the ideas of God entertained by representative Christian thinkers during the last half century have been none the less profoundly, because silently, modified, without necessarily losing their essential Christian character.

1. Delitzsch.—The Delitzsch movement in England, which may be associated the revival of Arius in the early years of the 18th cent., affected orthodox thought only indirectly. Delitzsch (q.v.) was a philosophy rather than a religion; it taught the existence of a God, but, as Kant said, not of a living God. Essentially
rationalistic in their methods, the Deists recognized the Deity as a transcendental cause of the universe. They criticized revelation if they did not entirely deny its reality, they rejected the supernatural and all claims of authority in religion, with which they associated the doctrines of Providence, moral government, and Divine rewards and punishments. Bishop Butler answered them by showing the unreasonableness of accepting a bald natural theology with an absentee Deity, whilst refusing to recognize the analogous and superior claims of revelation; and Paley contended that the cosmological argument on which the Deists relied to prove the existence of the Deity in whom they believed necessitated an advance to teleological and moral arguments in proof of a living God who had not left the mechanism of nature to run on the mere operation of its own laws. But the full reply to Deism was not possible in the 18th century. That came later, with a deeper and more adequate understanding of the two terms, Nature and God.

2. German theology.—Kant promoted the critical examination of the currently accepted "propositions" of the Divine existence, carried out on the lines of a critical philosophy which denied all direct knowledge of the divine realities. For him God was but one of the "ideas" of pure reason, or postulates of the practical reason, whilst his strenuous assertion of the claims of the practical reason led to a permanent strengthening of the moral argument for the existence of a righteous Ruler of all. Kant's criticism of time-honoured traditional arguments was undoubtedly serviceable to Theists by leading them to test the soundness of their foundations, but the critical philosophy could not, any more than Deism, bring men into the presence of the living God. Kant's religion found no place for prayer, and resolved itself into a Divinely sanctioned morality. Hegel's epoch-making work in philosophy profoundly affected theology, especially his development of the absolute idea and the world, and his claim to have rationalized the Christian religion and its doctrine of the Trinity. The Hegelian logical process of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis, as applied to religion, meant that the Absolute externalizes itself in Nature and comes to itself again in Spirit; that through his "dialectic" historical development becomes self-conscious in finite spirits, and especially in Him whom Christians believe to be God manifest in the flesh. Hegelianism dissolves religion in metaphysics, and the terms used undergo a philosophical metamorphosis. Hegel's followers differed in their interpretation of his religious teaching, the right wing maintaining the personality of God in Himself apart from creation, and the doctrine of the Incarnation practically as taught by the Christian Church; the left wing—on the whole with more logical consistency—adopting a kind of evolutionary Pantheism. Schleiermacher's teaching blended philosophical and religious views of God without really reconciling them. He vindicated the place of religion as a fundamental and universal element in human experience, making its essence to consist in "feeling"—in a wider and deeper sense of the word. He helped to renew religion in Germany by the renovation of the claims of devout consciousness as immediate, self-vindicating, and independent of the processes of consciousness on the one hand, and the forms of morality on the other. But in the philosophy which underlay all his teaching, the explanation of religion is found in the infinite universe coming to pass in the connection of the personal and the personal God was conspicuous by its absence; personality appeared to him a limitation; and his glowing and attractive exposition of Christian teaching, while he seeks to free from absurdity and bizarre extravagances, does not conceal the fact that in his view we have no objective knowledge of God as He is in Himself. He is in Himself one; and in Christ implies only that in Him human God-consciousness found historically complete realization. The fundamental idea of Schleiermacher's theology is that in 'con, not necessarily viewed as personal, is found the identity of the ideal and real, which in the world exist as opposites. He is Sabellian, if not Pantheistic, and mysticism is of the essence of his religion. The redemption which he proclaims as characteristic of Christianity does not imply God in self-sacrifice for the salvation of men, but a gradual perfection of human nature through communion with the Christ in whom human God-consciousness has been attained in perfect and consummate measure.

Lotze as a philosopher largely influenced the theology of the later 19th century. He asserted the knowledge of reality in and through phenomena, and followed Leibniz in his affirmation of the personalism of God. The reality leaving God is 'not matter and is still less idea', but the living personal spirit which he has created. They only are the place in which Good and good things exist. (Metaphysics, Eng. tr., I, 788). Ritschl, on the other hand, who was in some respects a disciple of Lotze, based his theology upon a practical attempt to reconcile the rational structure of metaphysics, hated mysticism, rejected natural theology, and based his teaching on the NT, as inculcating a practical knowledge of God and a religion of redemption sufficed for man's needs. God in Himself is unknowable; but an objective knowledge of Him sufficient for salvation is revealed in Christ, who has for us the value of God. Accordingly, the Fatherhood of God, His love manifested in Christ, is determinative of His nature and of all His attributes. Love is, however, not set forth as a special characteristic of God, but characteristic of God in His own essential being, for this is unknown, but it describes His relation to man as seen in Christ and so operative in the upbuilding of the Divine kingdom in the world. A religious agnosticism of a kindred type was inculcated in England by Mansel, following Sir W. Hamilton in his philosophical principle that 'to think is to condition.' Hence God cannot be known as He is by human thought, though specific doctrines of revelation, such as the Trinity and the Incarnation, have been granted for the guidance of men and may be defended as knowledge regulative but not real. A direct knowledge of God being impossible, the truths of revelation must be accepted as authoritative, in spite of the contradictions which they necessarily imply. But religion based on scepticism has never been far-reaching or long-lived.

3. Christology.—Every doctrine of Christ implies a corresponding doctrine of God. The chief feature of the Christologies of the 19th cent. has been theirKenotic character. A growing tendency has been discernible to adopt a humanitarian doctrine of Christ, with its correlative Unitarian doctrine of God. But, apart from this, many teachers within the broad limits of the orthodox dogma of the claims of devout consciousness as immediate, self-vindicating, and independent of the processes of consciousness, have sought to combine with it a doctrine of His true Divinity by asserting such an exsimilation, or self-emptying, on the part of the Eternal Word as made it possible. In Schleiermacher's view, the earlier teaching of the doctrine of the personality of God was conspicuous by its absence; personality
upon the one Divine-human life of the Incarnate Word, the human not being raised to the level of the Godhead, but the Godhead not being lowered to the level of the human. But this limitation is essential and necessary to the Incarnation.

The doctrine of the Incarnation is sometimes misunderstood as implying the entire abnegation of some divine attributes, such as omnipotence or omniscience; sometimes it implies a virtual transformation of the Logos into a human soul. The doctrine as taught by Martensen is based upon two postulates: the Logos in the bosom of God as Eternal Reason, and in the form of man as the holy Redemptive Seed. In Dorner's exposition, Kenosis takes the form of a progressive Incarnation to express the self-communication of the Logos gradually increased during the life of Jesus from His conception to His ascension. In any case the mystery of the Incarnation is not solved, though some types of Kenotic doctrine have helped to remove difficulties which had long hampered thoughtful believers. It is to be borne in mind that the 'emptying' of Ph 2 in the laying aside of status, dignity, and glory, not of the essential nature of Deity implied in οὐκ οὐκ ὄντος, which is retained throughout. Kenotists have impressed on the minds of those who teach the fundamental Christian truth, such as that it is the glory of God to limit Himself in love for such a purpose as the salvation of the human race; also that the reality of the divine nature must not be lost sight of, or overlaid, through a desire to honour the Divine in Him; and that it is safer and more truly Christian to rise from the historical Jesus to the Word Incarnate than to reason a priori from man's conceptions of what the Divine is likely to be, or must be. Every form of Kenotic doctrine is scientific in its study of humanity, its genesis and history on the earth—these are but a few examples of the workings of the modern mind which have led to a wider and truer appreciation of the being and nature of God, as understood by the Christian Theist. Conflict between the conceptions of God as seen in Nature and in the history, in law and in grace, in tradition and in fact, has inevitably arisen, and there have been periods when it appeared as if the two diverse points of view would be pronounced incompatible. But so it has always been during a period of assimilation of new knowledge, especially when it has been rapidly acquired.

The process of separating between the abiding and the transitory in traditional ideas, between the sound and the speculatory in new theories, cannot be readily carried out; and, whilst it lasts, a strife arises not between religion and science, but between mere time-honoured traditions of the past and mere hasty speculations in the present. The result thus far has been to lay the foundations of a truer and fuller belief in God, as the ultimate postulate of all thought, the ultimate ground of all existence, and the ultimate presupposition of all that makes our actual experience possible. Steering between the rocks of crude mechanical explanations of Nature on the one hand and the whirlpool of a Pantheism which would merge the very idea of God in the natural self-evolution of Absolute Being on the other, modern Theism has learned to set forth the living God as an ever-present Energy in a universe which is an outgrowth of the living, unfolding Energy from which it originated, and the divine is always dependent on Him for existence. Herbert Spencer declared that amidst the many mysteries of our inescapable existence there remains the one absolute certainty that we are in the presence of an Infinite and Eternal Energy, from which all things proceed, but that it is unknowable (Evol. Inst., p. 463; cf. First Principles, p. 1. ch. 2) (1ed). The Christian Theist, accepting his premises, has interpreted the unknowable 'actuality lying behind all appearances' as the living personal God, a fullness and richness never possible before. This very considerable literature that has appeared under the auspices of the Gifford Lectureship has borne witness to the activity of very various minds in this direction.

4. Modern Theism.—The Christian doctrine of God is Thessian raised to its highest power. Consequently it is affected by all current thought which bears on Theism, as well as by Biblical criticism and investigations concerning the historical Christ. The two great phases of the traditional Christian theology during the later 19th cent. were the remarkable development of physical science and the spread of Idealistic philosophy. The Materialism, Naturalism, and Agnosticism which dominated Western civilization for some decades were simply foes to be resisted by all who believed in a living personal God. But in process of time it was seen that a mechanical explanation of the universe was incredible and impossible; whilst from an Idealistic view of Nature, as well as from the wealth of knowledge concerning its phenomena and laws that has been amassed by science, Theists have naturally learned much, and Christian conceptions of Deity have been imperceptibly deepened and enriched, without losing their essential character. It is impossible in a paragraph even to enumerate the gains that have resulted from this lifting of veil after veil from the face of God. The dawn of the conception of the vast reign of law, with the new enlargement and comprehensive knowledge, the establishment of evolution as the mode by which Nature works, the relations between mind and matter as exhibited by modern psychology, the play of spirit in the operations of natural and material forces, the
completely comprehended in this life have been brought home as never before. The result has been that many have come to the conviction that to represent now an ‘over- come standpoint’; and the idea of God has been in- definitively widened and deepened by an inclusion of some of the standing antinomies of life in the order of His eternal purposes.

5. Divine immensus.—It does not lie within the scope of this article to dwell upon these modifi- cations in detail. But no account of the doctrine of God in the modern period would be complete without a comment upon its most marked feature—the Divine immensus in the world. The phrase has many meanings; it is here used as not to refer to the newly emphasized belief that God is the ever-present, ever-active ground of all finite existence, that He is not only the cause and origin of all creatures and their powers and activities, but that always and everywhere He sustains and imparts universe, the whole world of things and of spirits being continually dependent on Him ‘in whom they live and move and are.’

The quotation of well-known words shows that the thought is old, but its application in the 19th cent. indicates that the theology of the 20th may not improbably be transformed by it. Instead of insisting upon a sharpposition against God and Nature, God and the world, God and man, God and the history of the universe, the theology of the last half-century has tended to trace the operation of God in the history of the world, in the very substance of the man, and in the develop- ments of nations and of the human race in its long and complex history. Dualism in all these depart- ments is preparing the way for Monism, of one form or another.

It is clear that for the Theist this process is accompanied by dangers. If Theism is maintained in its purity, the transcendency of God as of One over all Being and all Being, the conditions are not what haunts by, or identical with, the universe will never be lost sight of. The fundamental distinctions between the Infinite Spirit and all and each of the finite spirits dependent upon Him, and the eternal contradistinction between good and evil, moral light and moral darkness, must never be effaced or slighted. The philosophy which refuses to set the One over against the Many, and seeks to find the One only in the Many, is inconsistent with true Theism. Reality would thus be resolved into the opposite of God and of being, and the universe would become not only elements, or factors, in one indivisible whole. Deism banishes God from the universe, but the sense of God is not removed from it. If the Eternal Spirit only ‘realizes Himself’ in finite spirits, and the Absolute only ‘comes to consciousness’ in the facts of history, the essential meaning of the word ‘God,’ the significance of evil, and the nature of religion are alike completely altered. Neither pure Theism nor real Christianity can be erected upon this basis. But short of this, there is abundant room in the Theistic and Chris- tian conception of God for a fuller stress to be laid upon the abiding, informing presence of God in the universe than was possible in the 18th century. The chief contribution of the 19th to the doctrine of God is the development of thought in this direction. Elements of crude anthropomorphism, in the sense of attributing to God a moral and intellectual personality, have lingered in Theistic teaching, are now rapidly disappearing. Influences of various kinds lead the modern mind to find its way to a conception of a Deity who is not the universe from within, as well as ordering and controlling it from without. Creation, preserv- ation, providence, and the march of human thought and civilization as directed by God are best under- stood from this standpoint. The supernatural is intelligible in proportion as it is not severed from the order of Nature which it transcends, and revelation can only come to us in opposition to that continuous operation of the Divine Spirit which guides and illumines the thoughts of all mankind.

6. Divine personality.—Religion is bound up with the doctrine of the Divine personality; philo- sophy has been for the most part opposed to it. But there need be no discrepancy between the idea of God viewed as the ultimate entity in philosophic thought and God as the ultimate ground of religious trust and hope. The philosophy of religion to-day, so far from opposing the position that to attribute personality to the Infinite limits and lowers the conception, rather lays stress on the category of personality as the only one that suf- fices for a worthy conception of Deity. Force and causes and substance are not ultimate in a true conception of essential being; only a Person represents existence by, in, and for itself. Personality, of course, be rightly understood, not identified with the imperfect forms of its characteristic of finite spirits. Even amongst men it implies intelligence, feeling, and will; it is characterized by self-consciousness and implies self-determination. As such it forms the highest category of existence that we know; even Herbert Spenser urges that the Infinite Energy on which all things depend cannot be less than personal. The Absolute must be Absolute Intelligence, and this carries with it, as implicate, Absolute Will. The Absolute, finally, is not to limit Him; to deny it constitutes the real limitation. A person knows; a thing is known. Such measure of personality as man possesses is the one source of infinity within him, since it is the measure of him grows in knowledge and power, and is capax infini. The unquestioned limitations amidst which human personality is realized arise from the conditions not with the universe, but with the person, not with the external world, but with the self. The God of Theism is not the Unconditioned, out of all relation with the universe, nor is He the Absolute, in the proper sense of that much abused term. But He is Infinite Spirit, possessed of personality in a sense that can be predicated only of the Infinite—consciousness, knowing, feeling, willing, each at its highest, and all indissolubly blended in the unity of immediate, inalienable Self-existence. Some of the speculations of Aquinas in the 15th cent. have taken more sedent and abiding shape and become the assured possession of the philosophy of religion in recent years.

7. Christian doctrine.—Theism, however, is not Christianity. As interpreted by some, a bare theistic doctrine of God has even stood in the way of the acceptance of the Christian gospel. The God of some theistic philosophers could never be- come incarnate. Christian Theism, rightly under- stood, only carries to completeness the conception of Deity implied in the definition of an Infinite and Eternal Spirit, perfect in wisdom, righteousness, power, and love. Christianity is nothing if not a religion of redemption, and the Christian idea of God is inseparably bound up with the doctrine of Divine Incarnation for the salvation of men. Given a God of infinite compassion, and the existence of moral evil in man as divine and deep- rooted as the Biblical opposition to it, the existence of God as a necessary part of Divine self-revelation as Nature. A God who humbles Himself and suffers in order to redeem, because only thus can the redemption of a Deity, if it is to be genuine, be worth- less, and the supreme manifestation of a holy love in action is demanded alike by the needs of man and by the expression of human thought and action. The question of the kind of mediation necessary to set right the disturbed relations between the Father of Spirits
and His children are still various, as they have been throughout the history of the Church. But new light is continually dawning upon the minds of men as to what is implied in a Redeemer-God, and this has been especially the case in the last century, and is being illumined by it. The study of history and of the facts of human life, the fuller understanding of human nature yielded by modern psychology, the development of new ethical, and of new ethical and social standards, and the stress laid by such writers as Eckermann upon the life of the Spirit have combined to confirm the Christian doctrine of a God who, as essential love, has proved the divinity of His regard for men by giving Himself in uttermost self-sacrifice on their behalf. The kind of redemption, the supreme value of redemption, is as different from the release from the Wheel of life in Buddhism as the fundamental idea of God differs in the two religions. A living, personal God of holy love delivers from sin in the cross of Christ, whilst a religion practically without belief in God and the soul can promise cessation only from the wrongs of the world by a long journey on an eightfold path leading to the city abode at the disappearance of individual existence.

3. The Trinity.—Belief in an incarnate and resurrected God which leads the mind beyond Unitarian Theism. In modern light it is seen to imply a richer and more adequate conception of God than that set forth in Judaism and Muhammadanism. The Christian doctrine of the Trinity is conceived, however, to be arrived at by philosophical reasoning, though a verification of it may be constructed from the relations of personal identity. In recent expositions the doctrine has chiefly been dwelt upon as the earliest Christians understood it, as one of revelation and personal experience. It has been necessary to combine the facts of Gospel history, the teaching of the Apostles, and the religious experiences of believers in Christ from the first until now. Such a doctrine makes it easier to apprehend, however, its meaning in the Trinitarian, and in the Godhead and the true significance of thought, goodness, and love, as existing eternally in the Divine nature, by its indication of interior distinctions in the Godhead which do not impair unity. It avoids the extremes of Deism and Pantheism, preserving elements of truth in each with regard to the relation of God to the world. Trinitarian doctrine, however, did not originate in speculation, and it is not propounded to-day on a priori grounds arising from the nature of Deity. It commends itself to faith as the best expression of the fuller, as of a revelation of God which was given in Christ, and of the rich and many-sided communion with Him made possible by this realization. The importance of the specific respect the phraseology of the 4th cent. does not express to men of the 20th what the Fathers of the Church intended to say more than a thousand years ago. 'Substance,' 'nature,' and 'person' do not mean precisely what they meant in Aristotle, St. Augustine, and Cyril, nor have the three English words always preserved the same meaning. The modern idea of personality would perhaps have been unintelligible to the Fathers at Chalcedon; and changes in that idea, whether it signifies, have taken place even within the last half-century. The theological phraseology employed to describe religious truth may well be varied as the generations pass. But the substance of the doctrine remains. The N of concerning Father, Son, and Spirit, Three in One and One in Three, whatever various comment it may receive, remains the highest and the best, as it was a for the meaning of the sacred name God means in the Christian religion.

W. T. DAVISON.

GOD (Buddhist).—A general statement of Buddhist belief with regard to the meaning of the conception which Buddhists generally have formed of God, presents considerable difficulties—less on account of the complexity of the belief in itself than by reason of its many-sided character, and of the very various views that are held in the many Schools of Buddhism. The sects of the Hinayana and the Mahayana are not in agreement in their doctrine of God as in any other article of their loosely-knit, respective creeds, and perhaps further. Both have departed widely from the position of primitive Budhism, as taught by Gautama Buddha himself, according to the usual interpretation of his teaching on this subject. There is, indeed, little evidence that that teaching was ever actually put into practice beyond a narrow circle, or the generation of his immediate followers and disciples. By its philosophic detachment and refusal to make concessions, it fell in the desire of the human heart for some external support and supernatural aid in the conflicts of life, it set itself in opposition to the universal tendencies of religious thought and the aspirations of religious life, and—probably inevitably—while appealing to the few, lost the support of the majority of mankind, whose needs it did not fully meet.

It is probably an erroneous view of the original teaching of Gautama Buddha which explains his attitude as entirely and of set purpose atheistic; as construing the universe in a materialistic and denying the existence of a God. That he interpreted the universe in the sense indicated is in all probability true; and his views in this respect were derived from the ancient doctrine of the Sankhya philosophy, which in India professed to explain everything in terms of soul and matter (purusha and prakriti), and to have no need for the
intervention of a Divine power. The latter view, however—that the founder of Buddhism intended to give expression to distinctly atheistic views—seems to be a mistaken inference from the response which he is recorded in the Buddhist books to have given to the questioning of his disciples with regard to another world, and his refusal to offer any definite instruction on the spiritual and unseen, or to superintend, with any ray of light, which he was competent to give, the uncertainty and darkness of the unknown realm that lay beyond the touch of sense. Many centuries later than the period at which Gautama lived, there is no reason, however, to doubt that in this respect they correctly report his views.

The inference, however, that he intended to imply personal disbelief in the supernatural and in the existence of a God, and to urge or enjoin upon his disciples, is certainly mistaken. As 'enlightened' and in possession of the true and perfect dharma, which he had gained after so many years of strife and endeavour, it is most unlikely that he meant, with any ray of light, which he was competent to give, the uncertainty and darkness of the unknown realm that lay beyond the touch of sense. Many centuries later than the period at which Gautama lived, there is no reason, however, to doubt that in this respect they correctly report his views.

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And a strongly anthropomorphic conception is elaborated with the utmost possible freedom, presenting a rich and even extravagant mythology, which is based ultimately, in all essentials, upon the popular pantheism of the Indian peoples, and reproduces the two main currents of thought of its original—that, namely, which exalted the object of its reverence worship as the Supreme Author and Creator of all; and which was content with an innumerable company of deities, of varied attributes and power, often deficient and liable to err, as frail and impetuous as he, and which was content with an innumerable company of deities, of varied attributes and power, often deficient and liable to err, as frail and impetuous as he.

Thus a more or less complete enumeration is presented of the various classes of gods. There are Sakka and Yasna gods, gods of the Tuṣita and other heavens, Brahmā and Mahābrahmā gods, etc.; and of the thirty-one grades of being or sentient existence, the divine or that of the gods one. Elsewhere reference is made to the gods of the Thirty-Three, i.e. subordinate classes or varieties of gods, who approached Sakka the ruler of the gods with questions or complaints.

And, entirely after the manner of Indian mystical conceptions and rules, of the ten subjects of meditation or ‘reflection’ (which include the physical body and death, as well as the three ‘ganas’—the Buddha, Dharma, and Sākya; for the reader of the old textbooks may be found in the word of meditation upon the gods) are a subject of transcendent importance—his insight was defective, and that he was unable of his own personal knowledge to satisfy inquiries with one another; hence the idea of the law of transmigration or the control of karmas; they are subject to desire or passion with all its evil consequences; and even the greatest of them, Brahmā himself, has to confess to ignorance of the nature and constitution of things which he might be expected to know. As they are not omniscient, so also they are not omnipotent; and it is further implied that not even a god, but only one who is born a man, can by resolution and perseverance attain the highest state of a Buddha.

Apparently also the abstract and philosophical conception of Brahmā as the First Cause, the Creator and Ruler of all, was taken over by Buddhism, but made no impression upon the disciples of the Hinayāna, and was too much out of harmony with the general presuppositions of the Southern School of thought to influence their system of doctrine. It appeared to the Hinayānists and the Mahāyānists, sometimes only to be contested; especially in the Chinese version of Asvaghosa’s Life of the Buddha, the most striking and for Buddhist doctrine important conception of the Divine was the uniform exaltation of the Buddha himself above the highest god. In the Northern School, this thought found expression in the conception of the Divinity, supreme and alone, the first of all the gods.

The Dhamma-sutta-pavatipattī Sutta, 27, enumerates seven of these heavens, each with its appropriate company of gods.

5. Vinukha-Nīkāya, iii.
7. Sutta-Nīkāya, iii. 6.
8. Kosambī Sutta, 31; cf. the wisdom of the true Buddha contrasted with the ignorance of others, including gods (Dhammapadā, 419; Sutta-Nīkāya, iii. 6).
9. Not even a god... could change into the victory of a man who has vanquished himself! (Dhammapadā, viii. 106; Mahāvibhāsasutta, viii. 34, and Dhammasa-sutta-pavatipattī Sutta, 25 ff.; the wheel of the universe of Truth, which the Buddha has set on its course, cannot be turned back by any god).
10. Sutta-Nīkāya, i. 14.
Buddhas, without companion or peer. But the religious thought of the Hinayana, moving on different lines, glorified the historical Buddhas, Gautama himself. It required its own object for an object of reverence and worship by practically deifying its Founder. At his birth and death the gods came to pay him homage; they strewn flowers, and offered garlands, and placed worshipful relics after cremation. On more than one occasion during his lifetime they appear and offer him reverence; but especially when Gautama gained perfect insight and enlightenment under the Bo Tree. He also is their teacher and guide into the Truth; and they are by him converted to a knowledge of and obedience to the right way. Elsewhere the same worship is extended to all the Buddhas and even to the muni, the sage, the man who has vanquished his kama and has extirpated on the path that leads to Buddhism. Significantly also the perfect wisdom of the Buddha is contrasted with the imperfect and limited knowledge which the gods possess. He is god over all gods, supreme in knowledge as in power. And thus in the doctrinal system no less than in the actual practice of the Southern School, which in most respects has no rival, the Buddha is in its great rival to the teaching of Gautama himself, the deistic theories of the founder, or at least his prohibition of worship and deification on the part of the gods; and the being of a god, have been ignored or transcended; and the faith and practice which he inculcated, and which made his disciple look to himself as the centre of his own strength and resolution win for himself deliverance from the bondage of existence and misery, have had superadded to them a practical deification of his own person, and a theistic belief in his supremacy and power.

Historically therefore, at least in its expansion and development within the area in which the Hinayana school of thought has prevailed, Budhisht experience has been marked by the growth and strengthening of a theistic movement which has found its centre in Sakyamuni himself. It is probably right to regard the Buddhist teaching of the Hinayana as the truest exponent of Gautama's own doctrine and beliefs; and philosophically and in theory it has always remained loyal to the principles, deistic and agnostic, which he is understood to have commended and enforced. In practice however, outside of the circle of the more metaphysically minded and capable of the monks themselves, and certainly to the laity, the process referred to has restored to Buddhism the personal centre and object of adoration which was lacking in the impersonal self-centred doctrines of the primitive teaching. The earliest Buddhist thought, as expressed and formulated by the Master himself, was consistently agnostic, if the representation of the Pali books may be trusted; professed its ability to secure the highest and most desirable aims without requisitioning external aid; and from its world-scheme omitted the superhuman and the Divine. That, however, was not a position in which the followers of Gautama Buddha were satisfied to rest. The human craving for an ideal or idealized object of love and homage was too strong for the remote aloofness and somewhat cold philosophy of the doctrine. The desire was met, and found its satisfaction in the person and in the Being of the historical Buddha himself; and such tendency manifested itself, to all appearance, at or very soon after his death. With him were reintroduced the Hindu deities, or the more important and popular of them. But they were always subordinated in attributes and power to the Buddha. And thus a system in theory deistic became a practical polytheism.

It was far otherwise, apparently from the very beginning, in the Mahayana. In its origin, it retained the rich, even extravagant, features of Oriental fancy and the syncretismo with which the Buddhist reform rejected; amplified its mythology, and elaborated a complete and extensive hierarchy of divine beings of many grades and capacities, at the head of which, remote and altogether abstracted from practical life or experience, was the Adibuddha (q.v.), a metaphysical conception but not an active force in touch with the universe which he was supposed to have brought into being. The deities, moreover, so far from remaining abstracted, interested themselves purposefully and actively in the affairs of their worshippers, and rendered them effective aid in all their most pressing needs (see Buddha, Mahayana).

Mahayana Buddhism, therefore, was always theistic, and even monotheistic, not denying the existence of other deities, but subordinating them to a single Head. It differed remarkably, however, from the more coloured in the South in that among the innumerable Buddhas, who held the most exalted rank in the celestial hierarchy, Sakyamuni, the historical Buddha, occupied an entirely subordinate position. To his deification had been applied to all the Buddhas; and all, having been human teachers upon earth, had by virtue of their own immeasurable strength and wisdom and power, won for themselves an abiding place in the highest heaven. Vows were made to them, prayers offered, and their favour and assistance sought in the ordinary as well as in the extraordinary exigencies of life. Gautama, however, was only one among the rest, by no means the most distinguished or important. The first place was taken by Amitabha (Amida), a deity whose origin and history are altogether obscure, but who was invested in the popular thought with every attribute that could attract devotion or win homage, and on the delight in whose paradise Mahayana writers expatiate with unrestrained delight. To be received thither after death and to see Amida in his glory was the longing desire of every pious believer. The Indian founder of Buddhism was hardly more than a figure and a name. In Amida every wish was centred. Grace, mercy, and beneficence, as well as wisdom and power, were his attributes. Homage might be given in other gods; but to Amida every heart went out in loving adoration with the assurance that he would hear and heed the prayers of his worshippers. A reform movement was initiated in Japan in the 13th cent., the object of which was to reestablish Sakyamuni in the supreme place. It proved, however, an entire failure. Amida has almost universally retained his position, which he has held from a very early period, the embodiment of every Divine grace, the all-wise and all-powerful guide and friend of all who call upon him.

From the speculative and metaphysical point of view also the Buddhism of the Mahayana, in formulating its conception of the Divine, gave expression to the familiar thought of a first principle, the primal and essential cause of all that is. By the Buddhist thinkers the Person of the Buddha himself was an essential factor in this result was attained. This determining principle and cause was known as the Dharma-kaya.

1 In one form of the legend he is born spontaneously from a lotus, without father or mother. In all probability the introduction and worship of Amida were introduced into China from the West in the early centuries of the Christian era, and were of Indian origin. Other authorities, however, would connect his worship and cult with Persian Buddhism. His paraisos is always conceived to be in the West.
the ‘body of righteousness’ or ‘of the law’ (cf. art. ADBUDDHA, vol. 1, p. 97 f.) and was in theory identified with the Buddha, one of his three bodies, his essential and permanent nature, by virtue of which he was one with all existing beings and all existing beings were one in him. The DharmaKāya represents the mind of the Buddha, one of his three bodies, of Brahman, but with a very important difference. The Buddhist philosophers and thinkers never lost their hold of the personal element or attribution in the DharmaKāya. So far from being a blind or impersonal force, the DharmaKāya was conceived as endowed in the highest degree with the most distinguishing attributes of personality, especially will, intelligence, and love. It is in Amitābha Buddha that the DharmaKāya has chiefly manifested himself, and Amitābha therefore is the supreme object of religious homage and worship. The whole creation, however, is a manifestation of the DharmaKāya; all are really one in him, their union being darkened and obscured by ignorance, prejudice, and sin. In the final issue they will in the DharmaKāya find the light and their own true nature, and be delivered from the bondage of present evil and suffering.

Accordingly this was the crown and completion in the Northern School of Buddhist teaching with regard to the nature of God and man’s relation to him from the metaphysical standpoint. It differed from the Hindu view in that it so strongly maintained and emphasized the personal element. In this respect it had not a little affinity with Christian thought. Nevertheless, however, it was and remains the conception of the thoughtful few; and, although truly and faithfully representing Buddhist doctrine at its purest and best, it was of too abstract and mystical a nature for the comprehension of the many. Their faith and love centred in Amitābha with his paradise of perpetual bliss, and sought nothing further. The philosophical reasoning and the popular aspiration and devotion met and were reconciled in the doctrine that these were one and the same, that Amitābha (Amida) was in fact, the highest manifestation of the DharmaKāya.

The Buddhist doctrine of God, therefore, even in its most abstract and speculative form, never lost touch, as did the Vedāntic philosophy of India, with which it is most natural to compare it, with feeling, feeling, and devotion. It personified the highest and best in man—mercy, gentleness, and love—and conceived these in a truly noble and generous spirit. In India its similarity is most marked to some forms of the so-called sectarian religions, and especially the Bhāgavata faith, which inculcated devotion to the one Supreme Lord, and self-sacrificing love in His service (see art. BHAKTI-MĀrgA, vol. ii, p. 540 ff.). Its second in many respects with Christian teaching is not improbable to be explained on the hypothesis that at some period in the course of a long history and development it came under Christian influences, and borrowed elements from Western teaching; and that in part at least the similarity is due to the assimilation of Christian doctrine and forms of belief covered more or less directly in the early centuries of our era by missionaries from Europe. The theory is incapable of proof in the present state of knowledge, and may be altogether devoid of foundation. Under any circumstances, however, the development of the doctrine has proceeded on altogether natural and Oriental lines. Whether historical criticism has at any point taken place and a mutual influence been exerted, or whether doctrinal growth has been altogether spontaneous and independent, it remains true that, of all non-Christian religions, the Buddhist theory of the DharmaKāya, the Divine Ruler immanent in the universe and manifesting Himself in His creation, is perhaps the nearest to the New Testament teaching and ideal.

LITERATURE.—The literature is sufficiently indicated in the articles to which reference is made, especially those on Brāhma and Buddhism. For the Mahāyāna, see also articles on Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism, London, 1897; Arthur Lloyd, The Great Brentwood General of the Buddhist Identities, Madras, London, and Colombu, 1912. The last-named work has regard mainly to the Buddhism of Ceylon, but is well worthy of study.

A. S. GEORGE.

GOD (Chinese).—The Chinese language possesses two terms which, as far as etymology goes, seem adequate to stand for ‘God.’ The former of the two is Shang Ti, or ‘Sovereign (T) Above’ (Shang); the second is T’ien, or ‘Heaven,’ and is used in later centuries for the visible heavens, but explained in the ancient Han dynasty dictionary (the Shao Wéi, largely quoted in the Imperial Dictionary of Kang Hsi) as ‘the Exalted in the highest, being formed of signs meaning the One who is great.’ Some famous Chinese scholars have explained the common substitution of the latter for the former by saying: ‘It is not lawful to use the name of Shang Ti lightly, and therefore we name Him by His residence, which is T’ien, or heaven—on the principle that the Court should for the ‘Emperor.’’ T’ien, however, probably seemed to the Chinese mind the more appropriate term for general literary use, after the early ages, standing, as it does, for an unfocused and impersonal concept.

The earliest reference to Shang Ti, or indeed to any religion whatever, in the ancient history of China, is found in the oracle bones, on which was cast the name of the Shang (1600-1200 B.C.) sacrificed to Shang Ti, gathered the whole populace together, and diffused among them the principles of government and religion.”

We seem to have here a brief note of the worship of a patriarchal priest-king, somewhat ‘after the order of Melchisedek,’ in the days before that branch of the Turanian race now called Chinese had continued their eastward migration down the bend of the Yellow River, to occupy the territory which formed the nucleus of present-day China. For the palace of the Yellow Emperor is said (in a work ‘probably of the 2nd or 3rd cent. B.C.’ [Wylie] and universally since) to have been on the Kun-lun mountain, over a thousand miles westward from the capital of the Chow dynasty sovereigns (1122 B.C. onwards).

The next historical reference to Shang Ti is in the reign of the emperor K’u (3425-3296 B.C.), father of the much-quoted emperor Yao: ‘Ch’ien Yuan (his consort) together with the emperor sacrificed to Shang Ti, and bore Ch’ü’ (or Hou Ch’ü),’ or Hou Ch’ü, afterwards Director of Husbandry under the emperor Yao. The Book of Odes celebrates the birth in the words: ‘Shang Ti regarded her with favour; and without hurt or injury, immediately her months were fulfilled, she gave birth to Hou Ch’ü.’ Then, in the unimportant reign of Wu Tsin (1194-1186), that ruler, wishing to obtain an able counsellor, ‘reverently mediated upon moral matters, and in a dream Shang Ti bestowed upon him an able and virtuous helper,’ whom he afterwards sought and found in reality. From this point, as far as the Historical Annals are concerned, we find the term T’ien substituted for Shang Ti. Thus the ‘flood-regulator’ Yü (2305-2198 B.C.), on assuming the throne, said: ‘I have received the decree of Heaven, and will exhibit to the whole empire to emerge the mythical populations in

1 This quotation is found in the ‘Early Edition of History,’ published in 1711, and ranking second only to the ‘Imperially edited edition,’ published in 1709. It is an added chapter of an edition drawn up by Ch’ü Hsi (1189-2000), which was itself a collection of the works of various authors. The tendency has always been to cast, never to add, references to mythical matters, and we may take the quotation as an

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their labours.' And to the tyrant Chih (1818–1767 B.C.) a memorialist said: 'The hearts of the people are lost, and Heaven's decree no longer aids us; while of the moral order of the state an early commentator says: 'They enjoyed (the favour of Heaven's) heart, and received Heaven's mandate; but the two last (of the sovereigns of) Shang Ti and T'ieh were interchangeable is strikingly shown in the History Classic (v. 23): 'Thus did they (Wen and Wu Wang) receive the true appointment of Shang Ti; thus did Imperial Heaven approve of their ways and give them the four quarters (of the empire).'

A prominent topic in the History Classic is the reverence with which a ruler should carry on his government. The object of that reverence would seem to be the Supreme, whether quoted by the term Shang Ti or by T'ieh. Instead of the former term was in frequent use down to the 19th cent. B.C., and still current much later, is evident from the passages about to be cited. The earliest reference to Shang Ti in the History Classic does not give us a picture of absolute monothecism: 'The emperor Shun sacrificed specially to Shang Ti, offering lesser sacrifices to the Six Honoured Ones, to the ancestors, to the spirits of the land and to the multitude of spirits.'

On the whole subject a memorialist of the Sung dynasty (Hu Hsiung, 108 B.C.) says of the Chou dynasty (1122–222 B.C.) that in the solitary sacrifice to Shang Ti, and in offering of heaped-up faggots to sun, moon, stars, and of bundles of rushes (as the Confucians) to the household and kitchen spirits, and to the wind and rain spirits.' In a memorial to the prince T'ai Chia (1753–1721 B.C.), his aged aged gave an interesting glimpse of the religious opinions of the times, which prompted a secondary worship of the spirits of heaven and earth, of the land and grain, and of the ancestral temple; for the former sovereign is said to have 'served and obeyed all these, keeping his eye all the while upon the inestimable requirements of Heaven.' The spirits of heaven and earth were destined in after years to loom larger in the popular imagination than Shang Ti; and in six hundred years' time we find a modal ruler, who extolled the last Tyrant of the Chou dynasty (1122 B.C.), announcing 'heaven and earth' (perhaps in those early days equivalent to our modern word 'cosmos') as the (pates) of all things.'

Yet Shang Ti was still recognized as the one King of kings—often in a very literal sense. 'Now Heaven, to protect the populace, made for them rulers and instructors, able to assist Shang Ti, and to secure the tranquillity of the (realm in all its) four quarters.' And so, returning to the earlier passages in the History Classic, we find T'ai (afterwards emperor), while yet a minister of the emperor Shun, counselling him saying: 'Abide in your resting-point, attend to the springs of things, study stability, employ upright assistants,—then will your every action evoke a large response from a submissive populace, you will receive in brightness (the bounty of) Shang Ti, and Heaven will surely renew its appointment, dealing out blessing.'

The dynasty of Hsia, founded by Yu the Great, lasted four hundred years, and, like all the succeeding dynasties, it gave tribute to the court of Shang Ti. A new form of worship was added, and T'ang the Completer was the man for the crisis. Arousing the populace to revolution, he addressed them saying: 'The (present) sovereign, a braggart, is an offender, and, as I fear Shang Ti, I shall not recite the situation of my position.' In a later chapter of the History Classic the case is represented in the words: 'I have heard that Shang Ti guided to rest the two last (of the sovereigns of) Hsia would not enter into His rest, whereupon Shang Ti visited him with corrections. Then, as history repeated itself at the end of the dynasty founded by T'ang the Completer, it is recorded of the last ruler of the series that he was much abandoned to dissolve idleness, regarding neither the emperors and the people of the empire. The favour of Shang Ti is still not (infallably) settled; it is upon the good that He sends down manifold blessings, but upon the evil-doer manifold calamities. Also 'The Majestic Shang Ti has conferred (even) upon the ordinary populace a moral sense, to comply with which would give them a right and constant spirit.' Then, passing over some fifteen other quotations in the very massive History Classic, he finds a glowing presumption of the goodness as well as the righteousness of Shang Ti in the ancient Book of Odes.

'The great is Shang Ti, Described (even) in majesty, surveying all regions, seeking the repos of the populace.'

'The vast is Shang Ti, the Ruler of the populace below! How awful is Shang Ti! How irregular are many of His dealings! . . . (yet) it is not (infallibly) settled in evil time, but Yin, is not following (the good) old ways.'

'There is the majestic Shang Ti. Does He know that? (Yes). He gives rain and fruitful seasons. How beautiful are the wheats and barley! What shining produce we shall receive! The bright and glorious Shang Ti will give us a good year.'

In another ode there is the exhortation, 'Have no doubts nor anxieties, Shang Ti is with you.' This message occurs in other languages, a thousand years later, in the Annals of Suen-ma Ch'en, addressed to the emperor (Han) Wu Ti (140–87 B.C.): 'Shang Ti bends down to grace and mercy, looking for blessing, bringing (the empire) to a commendable conclusion.'

The great essentials of the devout life are described as having been fulfilled in the case of Prince Wen (father of the founder of the Chou dynasty): 'This Prince Wen, with the carefulness of a fluttering bird, served Shang Ti intelligently, and secured abounding blessing.' This passage is the more interesting as marking the non-imperial worship of Shang Ti, for the title 'Prince (or King) Wen' is merely a title of canonisation given to duke Ch'ang of the State of Chow, otherwise called 'Marquis of the West.'

The special ceremonies of worship, in yet earlier days, on the part of T'ang the Completer, before he ascended the throne, are thus described by the worshipper himself: 'I, the little child . . . presume to use a dark-coloured victim, making clear announcement to the spiritual Sovereign of the high heavens.' Such is the version in the History Classic, and In the Analecta of Confucius: 'I, the little child Li (the child-name of T'ang), presume to use a dark-coloured victim and presume to announce to thee, O most majestic and imperial Shang Ti. And the consciousness of priesthood on the part of the sacrificer, not yet 'Son of Heaven' or special representative of Heaven, is expressed in the rest of the invocation: 'If in my own person I commit offences, they are not to be attributed to the population of the land. If the populace commit offences, they must rest on my person.'

Leaving unmentioned about seventeen other references to Shang Ti in the Book of Odes, we find the requirements of kingly worship described by a statesman of the Sung dynasty (Li Kang, 1085–1140): 'Heaven is to the sovereign lord and mother to a son, loving him with an extreme love,
and therefore giving him extreme adoration. Thus a ruler of men, admonished by Heaven, must be fearful, and keep in mind the point to which he is so sincerely bound. To this a statesman of the 12th cent. (Hu Hung) adds: 'The sovereign serves Heaven as a son serves his father. He must do so in the same way. That emperor was noble, and the most refined of them all. He selects a spot of rural land to the south of the city, sweeps the ground, and says to Shang Ti of the vast Heaven, the word "Heaven" pointing to His disposition, and the word "(Shang) Ti" referring to His essential nature.' An emperor of that dynasty (Hsiao Tsung, 1183-1190) applied to this: 'I sincerely, and reverently serve Heaven, and Heaven continues to make me happy and blessing.'

That some of the ceremonies of Imperial worship were originally undertaken by way of example to the populace seems clear from their connexion with the annual handling of the plow by the sovereign and local officials—a ceremony continued every spring-time until the Revolution of 1911. The Book of Rites says: 'In the first month of spring the Son of Heaven prays to Shang Ti for a good harvest, and himself handles the plow.'

An emperor with an otherwise fair name set a very different example to the populace in after years by identifying Shang Ti with the visible sun and raising himself to a position of equity with Shang Ti as an object of worship—calling forth the condemnations of the best scholars ever since in connexion with his adoption of five TVs at the emperor Wang Ti (Han) Wên Ti (179-157 B.C.). The story begins with the accession of 'The First Emperor,' as he termed himself, in the year 259 B.C., and for the time abolished the ancient worship of Shang Ti, setting up as objects of worship eight new deities, Heaven-lord, Earth-lord, War-lord, Yang-lord, Yin-lord, Moon-lord, Sun-lord, and Earth. So great was the resulting disorganization of Imperial worship that Wên Ti, coming to the throne fifty-two years later, passed fourteen years of his reign without attending to any religious rites at all. Then in the fifteenth year of his reign, he was informed by the Master of Ceremonies that of old the Son of Heaven every summer (he should have said 'every spring and autumn') personally offered ceremonial worship to Shang Ti, and the emperor, awaking to his duty in the matter, went forth to do so. But, with the old custom, he said: 'I now personally offer sacrifice to Shang Ti, but Regal Earth is without a sacrifice, and so the ceremony is one-sided!' whereas upon he erected an altar to Regal Earth, and offered similar sacrifices thereon. Thus the historian Hsiao Tsung relates in his 'Sacred Records.' And in his 'Historical Records' proper he says that altars to the 'Five Imperial Ones' were also erected. The emperor Chao Ti, of the last dynasty, in his 'Imperial Annointings,' criticizes these serious public innovations by saying: 'Those who know the true constitution of the universe may not allow themselves to be thus deluded by spirits and bogeys.' And the editor of the Easy Edition of History in 1711 exclaims: 'Heaven is one! And to talk of Five Imperial Ones! Such is not following antiquity! Sick-minded Emperor!' The action of Wên Ti, however, was to be outdone by the weak emperor Hui Tsung (A.D. 1101-1126), who deified a favourite court magician as the 'God.' Literally 'Gemmons of Jade Shang Ti'—still the chief idol of decadent Taoism.

Under the term 'Heaven,' as used of the Supreme, there are many fine utterances. In the works of Yang Tsung (53 B.C. to A.D. 18) we read: 'Heaven is spiritual, Heaven is intelligent, with an enlightened knowledge of all regions; Heaven is pure, that no filth contamination may enter. It is a sacrifice, without equality to which is no sacrifice; it is homage thereto.' Heaven is claimed by Confucius as the source of all that was good in him; and of the task of national renovation the History Classic declares: 'The prime duty of the Prince is to be a virtuous ruler (but) deputy.' A work ascribed to Chiang T'ai-kung (12th cent. B.C,) and on sale at the official libraries, contains the words: 'Heaven's extreme partiality in practice is really extreme justice.' The erratic philosopher Chang-Tsun (3rd and 4th cent. B.C.) exclaims: 'Partiality is human, but a large compass belongs to Heaven.' And, in Lao-Tsun's muchquoted words, 'The net of Heaven stretches everywhere; its meshes are wide, but nothing escapes them.' Pan Ku, a notable historian (died A.D. 22) says: 'Heaven has a disposition (capable) of pleasure and anger, a heart of sorrow and joy, answering to that of humanity, so that Heaven and man may be as one.' And the work known under the name of 'Kuan-Tsa' says: 'When a man's deeds accord with Heaven, Heaven aids him; when his deeds are opposed to Heaven, Heaven disregards him. Those whom Heaven aids, though small, become great; those whom Heaven disregards, though successful, must suffer defeat.' 'Heaven is infinite and listens to the lowest,' says a work of the 3rd cent. B.C. In the Book of Odes some one suffering from slander exclaims: 'O vast and distant Heaven, who art called our Father, Mother!' and Chi Yuan (290-285 B.C.), under stress of calamity, says in one of his essays: 'Heaven is man's Origin; and man's Ruin!' and on the contrary he recalls his Sources. For when men are overwrought and worn out, who is there that does not cry to Heaven?' The latter remark applies to China to-day.

GOD (Egyptian).—x. Name and Ideograms.—It is quite in keeping with the ancient reverence for the systematic faculty among the ancient Egyptians that, in the vast profusion of their religious literature which has come down to us, no definition of the term 'god' has ever been found. For our knowledge of the concept we have to fall back upon discrepancies allusions in the extant texts. The conditions of the earliest age of Egyptian civilization are indicated by ideograms which retained their ancient form in the script even when the objects for which they stood changed their shape. Of the ideograms used for the term 'god,' the subsequently rather frequent figure of the star (☆) was derived from the occasional, but never altogether systematic, identification of the gods with the stars. The figures of the hawk or falcon for 'god,' and of the Uraeus-serpent for 'goddess,' recall the incarnation of the sun-gods (with which a large number of other gods were subsequently assimilated) as falcons, and of goddesses in serpents. The late usage of figures of the three most sacred birds—hawk, ibis, and heron—instead of three hawks, the Uraeus-serpent 'gods.'

3 According to Lortet, Bulletin de l'Inst. franc. d'Archeol. du Caire, III. (1909) III. 1., the Fa'ao peregrinus. In the animal sepulchres, the most diverse kinds of birds were mingled together (Lortet and Gallard, La Faune momofie de l'ancienne Egypte, Lyons, 1908, I. xii. 14), and these can hardly have been precisely distinguished by the Egyptians.
A much more frequent figure is the short axe (†), similar to that used by soldiers. The axe-head was let into a wooden haft and fixed with a bolt or wire, or sometimes with a wooden or metal wedge; to suggest the polished stone used for such tools in the earliest age, and superseded later by copper or bronze. In the Nubian period, instead of the single head, we sometimes find two somewhat thin and almost nail-like—attached to the handle. This symbol always represents a weapon, and in the inscriptions the standard, with which some have sought to identify it. It is normally depicted in a different way. A cult of weapons is certainly met with on Egyptian soil. In the semi-Libyan Seth a shield and two arrows served as a sacred symbol of the name, while an amulet with its strap formed the ideogram of the goddess Neith. Implements of war were worshipped in the Upper Egyptian city of Pa-ahb, 'the house of conflict,' and are specified in a list from the reign of Pepi I, while a duplicate of this list, dated from the reign of Sesostris I, enumerates the weapons as slings (†), axes, sceptres, clubs, harpoons, and two arrows. But the weapon-cult was, on the whole, so severely limited to a range that, while the derivation of the symbol for 'god' is evident, we cannot safely trace the connexion with certainty.

The regular term for 'god' has the soundтвор, but from the time of the XVIIIth dynasty the final כ is left in many other Egyptian words, tends to be dropped, and the Copt. נטוי begins to come into use. Besides signifies 'natron'—a designation which, in view of the fact that this substance was used for embalming, might well arise from the meaning of 'divine'—the wordтвор may be applied in two senses, vis. (1) to 'strike,' 'knock down,' 'throw,' and their derivatives (§), which, while it is written, not with the symbol for 'god,' but with another syllable sign, would nevertheless accord with the figure of the axe; and (2) to 'grow,' 'thrive,' 'be young' (†) —not, however, in the special sense of 'to come periodically and to be renewed,' as Lorent (SpG, zl. 86.) supposed; nor can the meaning 'to be vigorous' or 'powerful' be decisively made out. The crenellated rampart with which the symbol is sometimes surrounded was intended, like the cartouches enclosing the king's name, to safeguard the term and its correlative concept against malicious magic.

The frequently recurring property of the youthfully fresh god, is to be understood in the sense of 'being and becoming fresh, like a plant.' But this does not involve the wider sense of 'the god who by being renewed creates everlasting life for himself,' as such personal immortality was not an attribute of the Egyptian deities, who, as a matter of fact, grew old and were mortal. It is also doubtful whether the idea of vegetative youthfulness is really equivalent to the fundamental conception of deity, as, apart from the isolated figure of the sprouting Osiris, the distinctive character of which must not be regarded as general, plant-cults play by a small part in Egypt. A reliable derivation of the term נטר is, therefore, still to seek.

2. Monotheism or heterotheism?—The earlier Egyptologists believed that a species of monotheism must have existed in the Valley of the Nile. As a primitive revelation, this, it was supposed, would mark the starting-point of the religious development, and was afterwards forgotten and overgrown by polytheism, so that it is now traceable only in vestiges. Other scholars were of opinion that monotheism existed side by side with polytheism, but that it was known only to the learned, i.e. the priests and the initiated. The theory of an Egyptian monotheism was often combined with the hypothesis that a doctrine of mysteries likewise prevailed here, though this finds no support in the religious texts. More, arguing from the mystery plays of the Middle Ages, applies the term 'mysteries' to the Egyptian doctrines of immortality and of the ritual necessary for the attainment of the life beyond; but, as the texts show, these doctrines were in no sense esoteric. Greek writers who treat of the Egyptian mysteries speak of the belief in immortality—which formed an element in the secret mystery cults of Greece—as being an esoteric doctrine also in the Nile Valley, but here they are undoubtedly mistaken in their conclusions. In Egypt the only mysteries were magic words and ceremonies. Nor does the statement that certain chambers of the temples could be entered, and certain ritual performances witnessed, only by the initiated find any support in the extant texts.

From the Egyptian texts scholars have laboriously collected such passages as would indicate a higher conception of deity, or such as attributed to the deity the qualities appropriate to a god regarded as One. They have also found passages which speak of a god as the creator of all life and all existing things, as one who traverses eternity, the lord of infinite time, one who cannot be grasped by the hand, whose evolutions are a miracle, the outstretcher of whose being knows no limits, and who is king in Thebes, and, simultaneously, prince in Heliopolis, and the great of crowns in Memphis. He cannot be seen; he listens to prayers; he turns his countenance to men according to their conduct; he is hidden, and his form is not known; he is alone, and there is none beside him. These attributes, however, were not all ascribed to the same deity, but now one now another of them was regarded as the special property of Ammon, of Ra, of Ptah, or of some other member of the pantheon. Even when the texts refer to the One deity, they speak also of other independent figures. The One god is at most described, in a purely material sense, as the begetter, father, builder, conciliator, or king of the other higher powers. He is then, as such, the sovereign of the world of gods and men—one who, corresponding for the time being to the earthly Pharaoh, reveals his will to his subjects by decree. In all this, however, he is never more than primus inter pares.

Nor is this relation essentially altered when it

2 Piroux, Ξανθ. 8 ff. (cf. in opposition, Maspero, Réaux de mystère, I, 1892) 110 ff., and the same author, Les interprétations de la religion, 1912, Paris.
4 For such decrees of the deity, cf. Maspero, in EZ 9, (1889) 12 ff.; Medecin de la religion, I, (1882) 65 ff.; for decrees in favor of the dead upon seal, see Wiedemann, in Muts. 1, (1894) 34 ff.
GOD (Egyptian)

comes under the operation of syncretistic modes of thought, for in that case the other deities are defined as the various existences or phases (vas-es, 'names') assumed in other localities by the One god, whose 'names' are many. The tendency to such syncretism was specially active in the later period. The high god of Amon-Ra, Ptah, Hator, Khnum, Isis, and others. The practice finds expression more particularly in hymns, which ascribe the supreme, all-dominating position to the deity who happens to be invoked for the time, as, e.g., to Amon-Ra,1 to other deities in the Oasis of Chargab,2 in Euseb,3 and so on. At a much later day, Apuleius (Metam. xix) states that the slave name of the god whose he was worshipped with various ceremonies, and under various forms and names, was Isis. How artificial the procedure might be in such cases may be seen from an inscription of the reign of Sabako, the aim of which was to assign, by syncretistic methods, the highest place to Ptah of Memphis.4 Such texts, however, just as one of the prominent deities that they give to the one deity invoked, are of little value for a proper estimate of the Egyptian religion as a whole. Notwithstanding textual data of this kind, the One god held the consuetudinary position only at a particular place, and even there the other gods are not absorbed in him, but maintain their own functions and individualities.

Egypt was an attempt made, with the aid of the civil power, to invest a deity with a more comprehensive sway. Aibon 1440 B.C. Amenophis iv. tried to secure a wider range for the cult of Aten, the solar-disc—understood in a purely material sense; and this not without result. To this deity the king dedicated his residence, on the site of the present Tell el-Amarna, and erected temples in his honour at Thebes, Memphis, and Heliopolis. The temple itself, however, though its worship was thrown into the background, was not abolished. What is said by king Tut-an-kh-amon (on a stele published and translated by Lepsius, AT xliv. [1871] 102 f.) regarding the plan of the temple, is really intended to extol the merits of the former in restoring the sanctuaries, and is not to be taken too literally.

The theory that Amenophis iv. engaged in a thoroughgoing campaign against all the traditional deities of his country is refuted, too, by the character of the reaction against the cult of Aten which took effect after his death. It is true that the temple of Aten in Thebes, and perhaps also in Memphis, was desecrated at the time of the death of the king; but the monuments of his reign are, for the most part, left unimpaired. As a matter of fact, a considerable number of those monuments survived till a late period in the temple of Aton himself as Aten.5 Amenophis iv., in his religious reforms, did not in any sense deny the existence of Amenophis iv., as he himself unhappily wrote. While he seems to have held that Aten was the only deity with whom he and his kingdom had any concern, he was no monotheist in the strict sense of the word. It is to be regretted that his reforming movement cannot be more closely followed, as only in very few cases, as our only real information regarding the cult of Aten is derived chiefly from hymns,6 upon whose extraneous language we cannot safely rely.

The apparently monothestic expressions on Egyptian monuments rest in reality upon heno-

thegistic modes of thought. Each name fom its supreme Divine authority in its special deity. The gods from which the Pharoh had sprung was always regarded for the time as the most important of the nome-gods. The very fact that he had raised his devotees to the throne of Egypt showed the place of other gods in heaven in the divine mind. But his prestige lasted only so long as his chosen dynasty held the reins of power. If his favoured deity, for whom he had done so much, perished, its members worshipped a different deity, he himself had to give place to the latter. Thus, on merely political grounds, the supreme position was held in the Old, in the Middle, and in the New Kingdoms by Amon, and in the Saite period by Neith.

As a rule, however, the supreme position of the nome-god did not rest unchallenged even in its own home. Here also he had to tolerate the cult of other deities, who, like the sun-god Ra, or Osiris, the god of the dead, were enshrined by all Egyptians, or were concerned in some special way with certain localities, occupations, families, or private individuals. The lower classes in particular took little cognizance of the nome-god, or of other gods worshipped by people of higher rank. They preferred to worship deities whose sphere of action was believed to be relatively narrow. Some of the popular deities could increase their power at any time; others had special functions, as, e.g., that of affording security against demons in general (Bes), at birth (Tuberser), or entering the under-world (Mentu, a form of Hator), or that of protecting the corn (Neperu), etc.

This class also includes the special and temporary deities (germ, djet, mst). These, e.g., i.e. the numerous by-forms in which the great gods were invested with independent personalities, and which sometimes attained to an important position in the pantheon. In the case of Imhotep, 'he who comes in peace,' and Sochet, 'the mighty,' a secondary form of Sechet of Memphis. Probably Amon, 'the hidden one,' was likewise associated with Khons, the god of fertility. To the same class belong, in particular, the numerous animals which might be regarded as animal-deities or as sacred animals.1 Though the worship of such animals declined in the great temples, a wide range of power was frequently still ascribed to them. In many cases the penalty of killing one of these animals, even unintentionally, was death. Such an occurrence demanded an atonement, in order to protect the country from the vengeance of the slain animal and the ruler of its species—a vengeance which not even the greater deities would otherwise be able to avert.

The existence of monothestic in ancient Egypt has been inferred, finally, from certain expressions in the so-called 'moral papyri.'2 In these we read that certain acts are desired, or rewarded, by 'god' (hnet), no particular deity being mentioned by name. In point of fact, however, the reference in such expressions is not to a mysterious, all-ruling God, in whom, as contrasted with the other deities of the country, the authors of the papyri believed. Any such inference would run counter to the established fact that these texts were designed for the general mass of a polytheistic people. In the passages in question the writer simply left the persons using the texts to supply the name of their particular nome- or family-deity. In certain cases he may himself have regarded the deities in place. Thus the use of the term 'god' in

1 Papyrus Bulak, no. 17; cf. Wiedemann, Rel. of the Ancient Egyptians, 111 f. and others.
2 P't. in Recueil, Lectures, p. 231 ff.
3 Dares, in AT xlvii. [1896] 82 f.
4 For the most recent discussion of this, see Brunner, Graew, 1911, p. 916 ff.
6 For the most recent discussion of this, see Brunner, Graew, 1911, p. 40 ff.
7 A long hymn addressed to him was first published by Bourgeois. Mém. du Caire, i. 1896 f.; cf. Wiedemann, op. cit. p. 232 ff.
9 Most recently Budge, Osiris, i. London, 1911, 845 ff.; similarly Recueil, Lectures, p. 100 ff.
these passages may be traced to the same vein of thought as found expression in the celebrated dedication to Isis, found by St. Paul in Athens (Ae 179), or theSITE THE pile of sacred offerings upon the altar erected c. 100 B.C. at the foot of the Pyramids of Egypt. The foregoing considerations warrant the inference that the ancient Egyptians held much in common among the religious beliefs, but that they had a leaning towards the hieratical conceptions, which, though they were not consistently applied, yet readily combined with the local and proverbs. 

3. Systems of deities.—With a view to introducing some kind of order among the vast multitude of deities, the Egyptians attempted from a very early period to arrange them in groups. One such group after another was believed to have reigned as Pharaohs; or, again, a particular deity was regarded as the king, or as the father and lord, or of others, as in the names of Heliopolis. In other instances we find certain smaller groups, as the god of Heliopolis, who sometimes also in the form of triads, which might appear as families (father, mother, son, and, in Thebes, usually very loosely connected, or in even less coherent unions (god and two goddesses, in Elephantine) which never developed into triads. Alongside of these we also find larger families (the Osireion, and various other arrangements. But none of these seem to have been more or less parochial, or to be of general occurrence, as in the case of the great deities, or to have had in general more than a local vogue. Moreover, the deities of a certain cycle in one locality might belong to an entirely different group in another. There was no single system embracing a majority of the pantheon, and, consequently, the functions of the individual deities were not everywhere defined in the same way. The same god might for the time be concentrated in a single deity, and, if occasion demanded, the functions of a kind of god or goddess were ascribed to him in a cycle, or to the god of a special point, and thus the deities, this arose from fortuitous and, for the most part, spasmodically operating causes, which were nowhere permanently recognized.

4. The anthropomorphous character of the deities. —The gods, while they might assume the external form of men or animals, mostly, as the products of human art, were always represented as having the feelings and needs of men. They required sustenance, and food and drink were accordingly offered to them in sacrifice. Even the obelisks, the embodiment of the sun-god, received oblations of loaves and beer. In the daily worship, moreover, articles of clothing, ornaments, fumigations of incense as a protection against evil spirits, and the like, were consecrated to the deity in a fixed order of sequence. Attention was paid also to the housing of deities in temples and chapels, and to making these acceptable to them by such necessities as groves, lakes, ships, attendants, slaves, etc.

In all this the relation between the deity and man rested upon the idea of reciprocity. The worshipper attested to the needs of the god, and the god was expected to requite the worshipper with divine gifts—life, prosperity, health, happiness, victory. In the temple-reliefs we see king and deity facing each other as partners in a ceremonial act. The world was ruled by a pantheon of deities, the so-called Dynasties, or the history of ancient Egypt, as it is called, or the field. Within the temple, the god was represented as a living being, and the deity was regarded as a living power.
The fullest list of human attributes is met with in the case of the Ea. The centre of his cult was Heliopolis, but the kings of the Vth dynasty had erected great sanctuaries to him in the neighbourhood of Memphis. The Theban Book of the Dead requires the deceased to present his sons of Ra, who, assuming the personal form of the reigning monarch, begot his successor, as is depicted, in the beautifulScarabaeus in the British Museum, and Amenophis III. in Luxor. Ra is accounted the king of gods and men; he is decrepit with age; his spittle drips from his mouth; his limbs have become like gold, and lapsis lacrimi; he prevails over mutinous deities only by the aid of the sun-god Horus of Edfu. Incensed at the refractory race of men, he issues to the goddess Sechet an order for their annihilation, but presently repents, and can thereafter deal with the destroying goddess only by wiles. He suffers agonies as the result of a battle in which he is buried. Nor are things any better in the case of other gods. Thus the sun-god Horus receives an injury in his eye. Osiris is slain and cut in pieces by his hostile brother Set. Horus suffers from head-injuries and internal pains; he is stung by a scorpion, and, especially in his youth, has other afflictions to endure. The goddess Sechet becomes intoxicated with a mixture of beer and blood (legend of the annihilation of mankind); and there are many other incidents of similar character. Popular tales, in representing the gods as altogether human, were really quite the spirit of the tempera ment. According to these stories, the gods move about the world as a band of musicians (Papyrus West-copel, 8), by whose music, composed by the god of Egypt to the gods to earth, and presents his favourites with gifts which afterwards work injury to their recipients (Papyrus d'Ordiney). In these inscriptions we are, more rarely—the greater deities, e.g. the Sun, Khnum, and Ptah, as independent figures. Here there is no reference to the power of magic; the desired boon comes simply by the favour which the gods manifest in response to urgent entreaty. That the deities who thus manifest themselves as mothers of petitions by the gods manifest in response to urgent entreaty. Especially similar ideas lie at the root of what we find in the stele of Amenophis. Memphis beheld the figures of the ear in large numbers, and sometimes speaking of Ptah as the hearer of petitions. A list of the deities who thus manifest themselves as hearers of petitions like those of the Egyptian language.

The idea of ascribing to a deity a large number of ears is also met with elsewhere in Egypt. Thus a certain very powerful deity is alleged to have seventy-seven eyes and the like number of ears; and in a hymn to the king—regarded as equal to the God—we find the words: When thou takest rest in thy palace, thou hearest the words of all lands, for thou art endowed with innumerable ears.


The multiplicity of gods was supposed to make the anthropomorphically conceived deity able, in a material sense, to listen simultaneously to the numerous and varied petitions of many individuals. But the texts in question do not present, as has been surmised, a higher conception of deity. Those who were too far away from the main currents of life, the people of lower rank, and could, therefore, make no pretensions to possess magic powers. In the realm of the dead they were not of those who dictated or demanded, but of those who entreated, and, accordingly, they were not in a position to extort, but could at best only try by submissive humility to win, the favours of the unknown. Here, as elsewhere, they paid homage to the popular deities, and especially to the sacred animals, as those who would be more likely to be interested in them than the greater gods. The utterance, in a like submissive tone, which sometimes emanates from persons of higher rank, are to be regarded as mere cajolery, since in other parts of the same texts it is assumed that the deity is subject to the power of human magic and dependent upon human goodwill.

Conclusion.—The conception of deity among the ancient Egyptians thus never got beyond the primitive stage, and there is no evidence to show that it attained to any highly developed or refined form. The belief in the future life seems to have emerged in the hymns to the gods, it is at once repressed by the ascendency of magical doctrines, and by the all-dominating idea of the reciprocal relation of deity and humanity which rests upon the assumption of their essential equality. Cf. also art. EGYPTIAN RELIGION.


A. WIEDEMANN.

GOD (Greek).—The words most nearly corresponding to 'God' in the Greek language are θεός and θεότης, both derived from unknown origin,—the former rather conveying the sense of an individual personality, the latter of a spiritual power. Minor differences and changes of meaning will appear in modern. The purpose of the present article is to trace the gradual development of the characteristically Hellenic conception of the divinity.

1. We are met at the outset with the prevalence of a multiplicity of gods. One who undertakes to unravel the tangled web of Greek polytheism is described by Plato as a laborious, and not very fortunate man (Phdr. 229 D, ἀλβοτα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐνδυμαγμονοῦ τῶν θεῶν). The former epithet remains, and will long remain, most apposite. But recent discoveries in archæology and the comparative study of religions have removed some part of the obscurity. The earlier communities, whether they lived by hunting, pasture, or some primitive agriculture, could not but feel their dependence on powers over which they had only a limited control. Wild animals, their own flocks and herds, the seasons of the year, rivers, fountains, wind, and rain were of the utmost importance to them; acts hostile or benign, were also inspired by the growth of the forest and the darkness of the cavern, suggesting to the imagination the existence of subterranean powers into whose keeping the souls of departed from earth departed. It is sometimes assumed that primitive worship was wholly inspired by terror, but this must not be the case. The germ of hope and of affection. On this subject the words of Auguste Sabatier are worth considering (Philosophie de la religion, Paris, 1887, p. 15):

'En elle même et toute seule, la peur n'est pas religieuse; elle paralyse, elle rend stupide, elle assoucit. Pour que la peur devienne religieuse il faut qu'elle se mêle de l'adoration, de l'adoration, un sentiment contraire, un doute d'appréhension; il faut que l'homme, en proie à la peur, commette ou doute au moins de la surmonter, c'est à dire de pouvoir vaquer à ses biens, un accours pour conjurer les dangers qui le menacent.'

The god of the family or tribe, perhaps an ancestor who had passed into the Unseen, was looked up to as the protector of his race from hostile powers, and from the spirit of death, with whose fruit the primitive imagination was always ready to suspect as dangerously near. Immigrants by land or sea must have found new gods, of which probably that of some earth-goddess and of a heavenly rain-giver were most widely spread. The new-comers applied to powers worshipped by the conquered tribes in the lands familiar to themselves. The Aryan warriors may have found on certain mountain-heights the worship of a cloud-compelling deity, giver of the rain, whom they identified with their God of Lightning (Δίας = Zeus); just as the word which signified the bee in northern climes was now applied to the oak, or as the Greek in later times recognized the objects of his habitual reverence in the gods of Egypt or of Persia. Thus the power that dwelt in the forest of Dodona now took the name of Zeus, and his female counterpart became Thetis, while on Mount Lycaon the wolf-god that ravaged or spared the flock was likewise Zeus in the new nomadic tribe. Apollo, perhaps a sun-god, was identified with the protector of the world of the Aryan, while Athena (perhaps a lightning-goddess), Artemis, Hera, Demeter, were names applied, whether by the Aryans or by some earlier immigrants, to female powers previously worshipped in different localities. Aphrodite, Hercules, perhaps Poseidon, owed their existence to Phoenician or other colonists by sea. Already those hospitable shores were sensitive to foreign influences. Asia was a Thracian; Dionysus partly Thracian, partly Cretan. Yet even he, though confessedly a late-comer, must have found in primitive village-festivals a congenial soil.

The Aryans also brought with them their own patriarchial system, involving the worship of ancestors, whom each family had its peculiar cult; and, when the family had grown into the tribe, there followed an amalgamation of such cults under one presiding power. Hence came a grouping of divinities differing in each central district, until in certain regions an amphiachtyorny (ξυστ., or federation of neighbouring communities, was loosely combined under the protection of one chief god—as Apollo at Thermopylia, Poseidon at Calauria, Zeus at Olympia, Artemis at Atoll; and, as tribes were gathered into states, one worship in each place tended to become supreme,
Such abstract notions as justice, mercy, or reverence, were in the Greek mind, embryonic. The attributes of such deities were modified by the character and history of each city. Athens had different attributes at Athens, Sparta, Thebes, Corinth, Thessaly and Caria, Nemea at Nemea, Rhamnus and Smyrna. Powers once supreme, as the Graces, vegetative powers at Orchomenos, became subordinate to more prevailing deities. Colonies on the Asiatic seaboard, or elsewhere on the Mediterranean coast, and the several island communities were subject to special conditions. Apollo was the same and not the same at Delphi, in the Troad, and at Branchidae; Athens at Athens, in the Troad, and on the shores of Africa. The worship of these local cults was further modified in various ways. One potent cause was the love of story-telling which created mythology. When Hellenic worshippers were asked, 'What mean ye by this service?' their ready imagination furnished copious replies. Hence came an almost endless multiplication of deities; for each attribute of a god or goddess tended to become a separate personality. Thus to Artemis were added Callisto, Iphigenia, Dictyna, etc.; to Aphrodite, Peitho, Harmonia, Helen, Ariadne; to Athena, Aglauros and her sisters; to Hera, Eileithya—and so on. Such additions were further developed in literature and art. 2. The Homerice poems show this development already at an early stage. They present the gods, with a special grouping of the chief deities, embodying possibly the same of Achian culture. Zeus is at all, but his nominal omnipotence is limited in reality. And the, so-called trinity of Zeus, Athena, and Apollo is the usual sanction for an oath. By this time the power of divination, once vaguely attributed to an earth-goddess or some demigod, was more definitely attached to some object, at many local shrines, was concentrated first at Dodona, and afterwards at Delphi, where the priesthood had secured a predominate and widespread influence.

Beneath the many-coloured veil of mythology there is evidence of the unconscious working of the human mind, endeavoring to form a general notion of that which is higher and mightier than man. All manner of mortal weaknesses are attributed to individual gods; yet there are grave moments in their lives, we not unworthy conceived, and in times of exceptional emotion not an individual god is present to the mind, but the gods collectively. The Hesiod and in the Odyssey, where the gods, both as and and as , are often spoken of without particular mention of Zeus. What, then, are the general attributes of the Homerice gods? (1) They are immortal. This privilege is shared by some who are not dwellers on Olympus. (2) They live at ease (water), exempt from pain and sorrow. (3) They feed not on the produce of the ground, but on ambrosia and nectar. (4) They are in their nature inviolable, but have the power of appearing to men in various disguises (sometimes as birds). (5) They are the givers of all good, but (6) they are ever ready to punish the breach of an oath, the oppression of the stranger, and other acts of wrong. The Muses, who contend with them in doomed to perdition. They visit cities in the guise of strangers, to observe the just and unjust deeds of men.

The poetry of Hesiod reflects a parallel and partly independent growth of the religious consciousness. The Muses of Mount Helicon are imagined as revealing to their devotees the realities of the superhuman world. A crude form of reflexion comes in aiding of poetic fancy, and is associated with a strong though simple ethical conviction.
society, but do not exist in the free life of Nature. The mystery of self-reproduction, of eternal unity amid temporary diversity, is the key idea on which all the requisite legends and ceremonies that cluster round that worship, and all the manifold manifestations or diverse embodiments of the ultimate single divine life depend. 

That religion had some elements essentially alien to the Greek spirit, which, however, like all strange things, became a powerful distraction for individual minds. Obtaining a footing at seaports, these cults found their way into the cities, bringing with them some impurities for which the earlier Greek cults were again not responsible, but also diffusing a spirit of mystical devotion which in the Orphic and Pythagorean schools was associated with ascetic strictness of conduct.

6. Excesses, however, whether of impurity or asceticism, found little response until the decline of Hellenism, except on the outer fringe of Hellas. Corybantic wildness remained a peculiarity of semi-barbarous lands. The Attic of Catullus has nothing corresponding to it in classical Greek. Laments for Adonis were confined to women. Dionysian exuberance, in Athens at least, had been tamed and regulated through the institution of the drama. To some such influx of foreign ideas, in which Egyptian, Oriental, and Thracian influences mingled, must be attributed here the origin of the oracle at Delphi. A crude theosophy had already appeared in Essed. The tendency to Pantheism and theological absurdities (see Hesiod) had shown itself here and there, and in the worship of Dionysus the notion of a god who suffers, dies, and lives again was already present in germ. There was a tomb of Dionysus at Delphi, as probably in Crete. The founders of the Orphic mystery weaved these several threads together in a new mythology. Dionysus Zagreus, born in pieces by the Titans, lived again not responsible, but also diffusing a spirit of mystical devotion which in the Orphic and Pythagorean schools was associated with ascetic strictness of conduct. 

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7. Philosophy in its earliest form stood aloof from common life, and involved a reaction from ordinary belief and custom. Xenophanes despised anthropomorphism, and Heraclitus could not tolerate the absurdities of the ascetic sacrifice. Yet each great speculative effort was in effect a seeking after knowledge. The Heraclitean theory of Change, the True World of Parmenides, the Thought of Anaxagoras, Pythagorean Number, were modes of expression for a conception of the Supreme Being. Meanwhile, apart from philosophy, and from Orphic innovation, there were significant changes both in popular worship and in literary expression. The grouping of divine powers was symbolized by a common altar-place (cosmòpóles), either for the eight or for the twelve greatest gods, at Athens and in Argolis; and the generalizing tendency already noticed becomes more distinct. In Herodotus, for example (i. 32, vili. 46, vili. 13, 60), the idea of God which is present to the historian is at once impersonal and personal. All exceptionally striking events and extraordinary phenomena are accounted for by a supernatural providence above and beyond the action of individual gods (see especially the curious case of teleology in Herod. iii. 108). The stage of religion which appears in his history probably dates from an earlier time than that of their publication, representing to spirit which may be described as social pessimism. The old suspicion of Divine malignity was confirmed by the sad uncertainty of life amongst those who lived beneath the ever-threatening head of Fortune (see stoicheia ev aletheia ev kureia, Herod. vii. 86). 

The idea of Fate (q. e.) as distinct from Divine volition at the same time acquires increasing prominence (θεός, χρόνος, Ἡρακλ. 930). The hope of immortality, which in Homer had grown dim, was revived in the Eleusinian worship, and found poetical expression in Pindar. This poet has sublime conceptions of the Divine nature as exalted above the petty things of this world, swift, etc., and he refuses to accept fables that seem to him degrading to the gods. But his ethical standard, that of the Hellenic aristocracy of birth, though noble in many ways, has not the human breadth and depth of the great tragic poets.

6. Ἀρέσχυς absorbed and carried further the theosophical speculations which were prevalent in the early 5th cent. B.C. For him they centred in meditation upon human things. The idea of Divine rightness striking a harmony amidst a clash and conflict of events and bringing order the moral chaos of the primitive world is the dominant note in him. He reserves the word 'God' (θεός) principally for the supreme name of powers, and sometimes makes expression opposition between the gods and the subordinate deities (see Εὐμεδεῖς). The mythophoric faculty is still strong in him. But his mythology is not fixed in a system. It is an elastic medium for the expression of his thoughts. Apollo is the prophet of Zeus; Athene represents the glory, the freedom, and was equity of Athens; Poseidon the seer. The Divine attributes he came to see clearly the necessity of combining power with beneficence and Wisdom (Προμηθέας Ζωοτροπός) 9. In Sophocles the idea of justice is identified with the righteous but inscrutable will of Zeus, and destiny becomes the symbol of the mysterious, unaccountable element in life. 'The burden and the mystery. Of all this unintelligible world.' 

9. δησισθαί is used of any superhuman power directly acting on the life of man. 

The 'eternal laws' (probably an Eleusinian notion—see Lydias, ad nov. Andoc. p. 104) may not be broken with impunity either consciously or unconsciously, but the noble spirit, though over-clouded for a time, is ultimately justified. Some notes of sadness here and there, chiefly in late plays, prepare us for the asceticism and newer pessimism which find frequent utterance in Euripides. This belongs to the period of the Sophists (q. e.), in which earlier beliefs and positive speculations gave way before the one vision of the Supreme Being. Meanwhile, apart from philosophy, and from Orphic innovation, there were significant changes both in popular worship and in literary expression. The grouping of divine powers was symbolized by a common altar-place (cosmòpóles), either for the eight or for the twelve greatest gods, at Athens and in Argolis; and the generalizing tendency already noticed becomes more distinct. In Herodotus, for example (i. 32, vili. 46, vili. 13, 60), the idea of God which is present to the historian is at once impersonal and personal. All exceptionally striking events and extraordinary phenomena are accounted for by a supernatural providence above and beyond the action of individual gods (see especially the curious case of teleology in Herod. iii. 108). The stage of religion which appears in his history probably dates from an earlier time than that of their publication, representing to spirit which may be described as social pessimism. The old suspicion of Divine malignity was confirmed by the sad uncertainty of life amongst those who lived beneath the ever-threatening head of Fortune (see stoicheia ev aletheia ev kureia, Herod. vii. 86). 

10. It is observable that in the later tragedies the word for 'God' (θεός) is used with increasing laxity—for instance, for Nobe in Soph. El. 180—and is predicated for mere abstractions, such as Time (καιρός τοῦ θεού), Soph. El. 179, Thought (θεωρεία τοῦ θεού), Soph. frag. 837, Caution (κεφαλαία καταφύγια, θεωρεία τοῦ θεού, Eur. Phem. 725). Wealth (πλοῦς οἱ κρατοῦσαν ὁμολογίαν τῷ Θεῷ ὁ τῆς καταφύγια καταφύγια, Eur. frag. 29; cf. Aristoph. Plut. 991, abstemfastness (ἀθρασμός ἡ ἱματία τοῦ Θεοῦ, Eur. Ion. 326, 327), Poverty (πλοῦς οίκοι καταφύγια καταφύγια, Eur. frag. 250), and even Recognition (θεώς ὁ θεός καταφύγια καταφύγια, Eur. Hec. 690). Here had anticipated this mode of speaking in saying of Rumour (ϕύμα): 'She also is a god' (θεός ἐστὶ τοῖς καταφύγια, Op. ed Dice, 762). How conventional Athenian religion had become, although it still had a powerful hold, appears from the light treatment of Dionysus and other deities by Aristophanes.
GOD (Hindu)

11. With the career of Socrates (q.v.) a new era of reflection, at once religious and ethical, begins. Plato is probably justified in representing him as an accursed pursuit of truth by the command and inspiration of Apollo, and the Divine Intimation (sādānta) which chooses him, even when on the point of undertaking some new enterprise was likewise regarded by him as supernatural. While conforming to the religion of his countrymen, he rejected fables which attributed immortal beings to the gods. The simple theology which we have already noted in Herodotus was carried by him somewhat further in recognizing the adaptation of organs to function in the animal frame, and in giving the gods little future in opposing prayers for blessings which the gods had placed within human power.

12. Plato it necessary to distinguish between his allusions to popular conceptions and his own original thoughts. In one place the ordinary notion of God is spoken of as the fragment of a non-natural man (Phaedo, 236 C). In another the gods who exist through custom and convention are contrasted with the heavenly bodies to whom he attributes real divinity (Tima. 41). But when speaking of the gods in the widest sense, he expresses theological principles which are of permanent value. God is the author of all good, but also of evil. If He chooses men, it is that He may make them better. He cannot create evil. He is free from envy (here Plato contradicts his predecessors), and He would have His creature to be as like Himself as possible. In these and other passages preserved in Plato's writings, we find a methodical treatment of the subject. Elsewhere the place of God is taken by the impersonal idea of good. That is the Atlas on which the universe rests, and which preserves the stars from wrong. It is this which has validity in the highest principles of truth and being, and with which the fabric of the universe would collapse. Plato speaks with some reserve on theological questions, and in his Laws the most sacred rites are to be performed in the temple of the Sun. Yet above and beyond all such rules of worship, there are unmistakable indications of a true monothesticism. God is virtually identical with the good mind or soul, which in the end prevails over the evil or imperfect soul. That is the prime cause of motion and being—benevolence, unchanging, and unmoved. The unity of the supreme will is expressly recognized in the Statesman. Lastly, God is not to be confused of rite of atonement, nor by prayer and sacrifice; and only a less dangerous error is to suppose that He takes no interest in human things.

13. In the system of Aristotle, the spheres of theology, ethics, and politics, though not unrelated, are distinct. The life of action and of moral choice is human; the life of contemplation is alone divine. God causes motion, but is Himself unmoved. His unceasing, uninterrupted energy is the thought of thought (vôpia evróma). This metaphysical notion, seemingly cold and impassioned, is yet informed with a strain of philosophical enthusiasm which occasionally breaks forth (Ed. Nic. xi., cf. Met. xi.), and it has had an influence on theology (both Scholastic and Reformed) more persistently effective than Platonism as later understood. Even in Aristotle the perfection of the Divine nature as immanent in the universe is linked with the symbolism of the circle and the sphere. But these shadows of Pythagoreanism are not essential to the philosopher's thought. God, the prime mover, Himself unmoved, is at once the first and the final cause of all things. All Nature, from the lowest to the highest, is potentially Divine. From God it has received the seeds of being, and yearns to realize itself in the self-appointed pursuit of truth. It is the Denver and inspiration of Apollo, and the Divine Intimation (sādānta) which chooses him, even when on the point of undertaking some new enterprise was likewise regarded by him as supernatural. While conforming to the religion of his countrymen, he rejected fables which attributed immortal beings to the gods. The simple theology which we have already noted in Herodotus was carried by him somewhat further in recognizing the adaptation of organs to function in the animal frame, and in giving the gods little future in opposing prayers for blessings which the gods had placed within human power.

14. Epicureus, following the Cyrenaic school in ethics, and Democritus in physics, and adopting one of the heresies denounced by Plato, taught that the gods, living happy in eternal calm, cannot be supposed to interest themselves in the affairs of men. The Stoic, on the other hand, while adopting Heraclidian cosmology, deified the moral ideal, and looked for God within the human mind and will.

15. By the end of the 1st cent. A.D. it had become impossible for persons at once religious and thoughtful to accept the old mythology in a literal sense. Meanwhile other worshipers, especially those of Egypt and Persia, had met and mingled with the Greek and found wide acceptance in the Roman world. The blending of divinities (theopoiusis, 'syncretism') had gone far. In this wave of superstitions, those who clung affectionately to ancient ritual and tradition had recourse to allegory and device, until a treatise concerning Iris andni and addressed to a pious and intelligent lady, is very instructive in this regard. He is strongly impressed with the doctrine of monothesticism, and quotes largely from the Timaeus and Laws. His own thoughts point clearly to monotheticism. Yet he assumes that the religion of Egypt, however barbarous, is better than that of the heathen. His explanation of the worship of the crocodile may serve as an example of what occurs when the pure and simple eyes are so arranged that he can see while himself unseen, a power which is justly attributable to the Supreme Being. By accepting the notion of communication between gods and demons (hēdai kai thērakiai), Plutarch is enabled to effect a superficial reconciliation between monotheism and polytheism. The same antithesis was adopted and emphasized by the Christian Fathers, when they followed St. Paul in saying that the heathen prayed and sacrificed to demons and not to God (1 Co 10:14).

See also GRÆCO-EGYPTIAN RELIGION, RELIGION, AND CIVILIZATION, RELIGIOUS LITERATURE.


GOD (Hindu).—At the foundation of all the religious life and thought of India lies her sacred books. The literary element, inspired and controlled by a dominant class and largely accommodated to their own needs, only serves to indicate the breadth and comprehensive nature of which finds few if any parallels outside of Christianity. Among other peoples the appeal to what is traditional more or less automatically dominates the tradition as in the case of the sacred words, in the case of the Vedas and the Puranas, among Western nations, Indian life, on the other
hand, in its religious aspect is, broadly speaking, no less determined by the teaching of the Indian Scriptures. Every leader of thought, every reformer of his time, took his stand upon these, and claims to be their true interpreters. Any one who, therefore, of the forms and developments of religious thought naturally and necessarily begins here; and if he can make his way into these conceptions which the Indian peoples have formed of the Divine must take account in the first instance of the evidence and teaching of the author of these books.

1. The Vedas. — The earliest illustrations of primitive doctrine and belief as they existed in north-west India are found in the Rig-Veda; and the chronological uncertainties of this literature hardly detract from its supreme importance as a witness to the origin and development of 'theology' in the narrower sense of the word, the doctrine of God, as formulated and held by the Indian peoples. The succession of the literary strata, generally speaking, is not doubtful; and it is upon this that the history of doctrine rests. Behind it lies the Indo-Iranian period, whose ideas with regard to the unseen form matter of more or less well-founded conjecture, but hardly as yet of secure inference. That these early hymns reflect the higher and serious beliefs of the people is not doubtful — as on another plane of thought the Atharva-Veda reflects the craving for unnatural or supernatural power, the cunning and greed of primitive man on his guard against demonic influences, seeking to overreach his fellow-man, and fearful lest his foe should overreach him. Of both tendencies account must be taken in any attempt to trace the genesis and history of theistic belief. As a whole the Rig-Veda is the collection, and has been most influential upon later thought. The Atharva-Veda, however, contains elements of very great, probably of not less antiquity.

It has often been pointed out that the conceptions upon which these ancient hymns are based are those of a primitive Nature-worship — a Nature-worship, moreover, which is sufficiently frank and inartificial to enable us to watch the process of personification, and to trace its development from the scarcely-disguised natural phenomenon, where there is a lively collaboration from the physical appearance, to the idealized and abstract personification, clothed with moral attributes, and endowed with an abstract life. To the four great elements belong Dyaus, the broad bright sky, perhaps the only one of the great gods of the Veda who carries us back to pre-Vedic times; the Marets, the deities of the storm; Indras, the god of the rain-cloud, who became the mighty warrior and champion of heaven; Agni, the god of fire, as regards some of his attributes and functions; and others, all of whom are in process of becoming detached from those phenomena of Nature which they represent, and obtaining an individual and abstract existence. The rich personification of the Veda extends over the whole realm of inanimate Nature. The heavens, the earth, the waters, the air are all laid under contribution; and there is a constant tendency to assimilation and interchange of attributes, so that not only are the same qualities sacrificed to different deities, but the same actions are performed, and they thus tend to become indistinguishable in character and function. The point of interest is that many of the Vedic divinities is no less noticeable than their derivation from the physical universe.

Abstract personifications are more characteristic of the later hymns, but are not confined to these. Aditi, the immensity; Prajapati, the lord of creatures; Hiranyagarbha, the golden germ, are illustrations of a tendency, which seems to have become more marked with the progress of time, towards a mystical, contemplative attitude of mind, which sought to dissociate the objects of its worship from the visible and tangible, and to assign to them a position of greater purity and exaltation. Hence especially the gods originally mortal become immortal, and cease to be moved by passions like their human counterparts; and the worshipper cannot come crudely with a gift in his hand, hoping to receive an equal or a greater return, but needs to inquire the way, and reverently to approach one whose nature and being he cannot fully know. In the later Rig-Veda the hymns there is a distinct approximation to the speculative and pantheistical spirit of philosophic Hinduism.

A further and noticeable feature of the Vedic gods is their predominantly beneficent character. Malevolent deities, at least of the higher order, are absent; and the demons, malicious and harmful, in their perpetual conflict with the gods are uniformly worsted. The great gods themselves are either neutral and indifferent, or interfere actively for the suppression of wrong and the punishment of the sinner. Ethically regarded, their power was conceived as making for righteousness; and, though subject to gusts of passion, and open to external inducements and caprices, the gods stood on the whole for justice and right as against deceit, fraud, and wrong. These qualities, that is, in the lofty character of their deities a comparatively high moral tone of the worshippers found expression.

That behind some of these personifications lies a differentiation of the heroic and honoured dead is sufficiently probable, though it can hardly be said to be demonstrated. Traces of totemism also have been found in the names tribesmen of the cow, goat, fish, etc. These indications, however, are obscure and indecisive, and at the most are readily explicable on other principles. It remains that the leading motive of the theology of the Rig-Veda is Nature-worship, the attribution of a personal and divine character to the objects and phenomena of the external universe.

It is not of such importance as at first sight it might appear to be that the poets of the Rig-Veda ascribe omnipotence and supremacy to the individual deity whom they are addressing; that, in other words, the religion of these hymns is henotheistic. Each divinity in turn so fully engages the attention of the poet that he seems to be no room for any other, at least for any equal. To him attributes of majesty and greatness are assigned which can be the possession of but one alone, unique and without a peer. But, as he ceases to be invoked and passes out of sight, another comes forward, who is invested with precisely the same powers and dignities with the same titles. This is the essential feature of henotheism, the worship of one god at a time, who for the time is regarded as supreme, to the exclusion or subordination of all others. In no other primitive religion is this character so marked as in that of early Aryan India. The logical conclusion and development of a henotheistic creed is monotheism, and from this forward movement Indian thinkers turned aside.

The East cares little for logic or consistency in the strict Western sense of the term. And the Vedic religion fell back into a lunatic polytheism, which on the one hand fettered itself with the most uncompromising system of rites and ceremonies that the world has ever known, fixed on the other allowed the freest scope to a speculative daring which resolved the idea of God into a vague and mystical pantemism.

2. The Brähmaṇas. — In the thought that char-
acted the period of literary development which followed, from the 6th or 7th cent. B.C. and onwards, it seems that to the active invocation of the gods by hymn and prayer there was added a ceremonial type of worship, which darkened all spiritual life, or at least laid the groundwork for it. The priest intervened, and demanded with increasing insistence a rigorous provision in the form of the niceties of ritual and sacrifice, a strictness which in turn had the effect of making his own service the more dispensable. The gods needed placating, and none could pacate them except the priest who knew the formulas and was able to carry out the ritual. Myth and story, precedent and custom ruled. It was an episode of order and commandment, of method crystallizing into principle, of elaboration of the minutiae of service, like to nothing so much as to the stringent demands of the later Judaic code, when beneath the weight of the latter the mass of the law the spirit was almost crushed. Doubtless, however, the reality was not so entirely spiritless and formal as the extant literature would suggest. True progress was made, in doctrines as well as in the ritual and modes of the sacrifice. But the doctrinal changes hardly affected, broadly speaking, the people's conception of God. They were not eschatological, extending the retribution which might be required of the sinner into a future life; building up a more ordered and settled theory of the constitution and government of the world, was leaving the idea of God still essentially that of one with whom a bargain might be made, and who for various reasons would or would not avenge his wrath, accept the transgressor, or bestow numberless benefits. This tendency found exaggerated and morbid expression in the practices of the hermits and ascetics, for whose use special books of rule and doctrine were framed (see Art. ABHAYAKAS), and who by intense meditation and prolonged self-mortification believed themselves able not only to wring from the gods what they would not give them in their dignity and sway, and to take possession of their throne (see Art. ASCETICISM, RENUNCIATION [HINDU]). On the other hand, a reaction against the formalism and religiousness of the times seems to have given birth to a materialistic or atheistic movement, which has left its traces in the literature, though naturally not allowed to assume a prominent place there; which scoffed at all things human and divine, denied the existence of a God, and, quite after the approved manner, sought to make the best of the enjoyments and opportunities of the present.

II. A line of thought essentially opposed to that of the Brahmans are the idealists and thinkers of the Upanishads (q.v.). Here the trend of thought on the nature and being of God is speculative and mystical, as contrasted with the practical and propagatory view of the books of ritual. In germ there can be little doubt that the former is of at least equal antiquity; the human mind pondered and scrutinized certainly not later than it worshipped. But, in the form in which they have been preserved, the Upanishads present us with the final result of a long period of inquiry, discussion, and speculation. During the ritualistic and the philosophical or speculative elements moved and were developed upon parallel lines, without in the main clashing with one another; until a common human influence they were brought together, and in some sort harmonized and made to agree. The leading doctrine or doctrines of the Upanishads seem to have originated around the Brahmans, and the ascetics were...
thoughtful classes of the people almost as far back as the records will carry us; and have determined the trend and character of the beliefs and world-views of India and the farthest reaches of the Indian civilization. The Pantheism is the theo-

3. The God-personal and the God-universal. The Hindu God is the highest expression of the spiritual nature of man. He is the supreme being, the creator of the universe, and the ruler of all things. He is the source of all knowledge, power, and bliss.

4. The Vedanta system of Indian philosophy. The Vedanta system of Indian philosophy is the most important and influential system of Hindu philosophy. It is based on the Upanishads, which are the most ancient and authoritative works of Hinduism. The Vedanta system is characterized by its emphasis on the oneness of the individual soul with the Absolute.

5. Epic poetry. The epic poetry of India, such as the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, is one of the most important contributions of Hinduism to world literature. The epics deal with themes of love, war, and the human condition, and are rich in philosophy and symbolism.

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local or tribal divinities, whose attributes they have more or less adopted, and whose worship is more or less preserved.

Many of the elements, the episodes, and the characters of this poetry may be traced back to a great antiquity, equal if not superior to that of the Tantras themselves. Its thought, however, has moved on different lines, and the points of contact, of action and interaction, have not been numerous. But, while the tone and tendency of the philosophical literature has been pantheistic, mystical, and symbolical, that of the epic poetry has been uniformly in the direction of theism, but a rich polytheism, which has flooded the land with gods and goddesses innumerable. It is an illustration, moreover, of a bent of mind that has been noticed before, that from among this crowd of divinities there has always tended to emerge one or more with greater power and wider sway than the rest, whose veneration is more to be feared and his anger deprecated, and whose aid is more to be sought in times of need. The Indian pantheon is always a more or less stable monarchy, not a republic.

Morya is dependent upon the epic proper for the secondary romances and mythological literature, still imperfectly explored, and extant not in Sanskrit but in the various vernaculars, employing much of which has come down from a considerable antiquity. While the tone of a great part of this literature, as far as it is known, is sufficiently demoralizing and coarse, there are some of the works a true religious spirit, which seeks to cast off that which is sensuous and degrading, and to know and hold communion with a higher power that makes for rightness, holiness, and perfection.

6. A characteristic strange combination of theistic and ethical teaching with dreamy speculation is found in the Bhagavata-Gītā, the Song of the Blessed—the New Testament, as it has often been called, of Hinduism. To the European reader its many repetitions, its frank opportunism, its mixture of poetic and prosaic, its numerous and preposterous stories of an unfamiliar kind of people, must appear a highly imaginative and fascinating work; but to Hindu thought there is no similar book which has exercised such fascination and influence in the course of ages. The very features which condemn it to Western taste are beauties and excellencies in Indian eyes. But with all its difficulties and inconsistencies, the Bhagavata-Gītā, which only shares with nearly all Eastern literature, cannot be denied that the Bhagavat-Gītā has been a moral force, and that on the whole it has promoted simplicity and purity of life.

The poem has suffered interpolation (see art. Bhagavata-Gītā), and is no longer in its original form. To this cause undoubtedly are due some of the contradictions which meet us in the poet's view of God and the chief god. Action and devotion are the two themes upon which he insists. Nothing is better than faith in God, reliance upon Him, and obedience to His will; and this is the whole doctrine of man. The doctrine of Brahman, moreover, the soul of the universe, everlasting and omniscient, is set forth in the manner, and even in the very phrasing of the Upanishads; and the entire poem, as it stands at the present time, moves in the atmosphere of Vedantic idealism. It has been held that this idealistic teaching is the basis of the original Bhagavata-Gītā, and that all its later additions are a later comment. In a recent monograph, however, R. Garbe argues strongly for the primitive character of the theistic elements, holding that the basis of the poem was a monotheistic teaching or hymn designed to commend the worship of Kršṇa as supreme god; and though he has worked over and supplemented more or less in the interests of Brahman orthodoxy and the ascendant orthodoxies, the most important part of the text has certainly not been said. But, however its tangled history may be unravelled, there can be no doubt that its monistic and spiritual teaching, modified as it may have been and contaminated by other tendencies, has been a most potent factor, perhaps the most potent factor, in the religious life of India.

7. Sects.—By the side of the philosophic doctrines and systems of the Vedas, a tremendous development has taken place in the earliest times innumerable sects, over all of which has been thrown the loose cloak of the Hindu name, but which differ widely from one another in belief and purpose. At times their larger number accepts more or less fully the ancient Vedic divinities, recognizes the supremacy of the Brahmans, and caste, and adheres to one or other of the philosophical systems above named. Cross currents, however, run everywhere; the sects and the systems are rarely or never pure. And it can only be said in general terms, which admit of numerous exceptions, that this or that form of religious belief is allied to a particular trend of philosophical speculation. The tenacity and conservatism of the Hindu, moreover, has given rise to the result that the circumstances of the origin and rise of a creed or sect, the environment and influence of the founder and his immediate disciples, have exercised more influence upon the character of the faith they have professed than is usual in the West. The sects that have rejected Vedic and Brahmanic beliefs have been comparatively few, and in most, perhaps all, instances, the impulse to such rejection has come from without. Historically also they have usually been assumed to be some of the works a true religious spirit, which seeks to cast off that which is sensuous and degrading, and to know and hold communion with a higher power that makes for rightness, holiness, and perfection.

The greatest and most enduring revolt from Brahmanical assumptions and claims was raised in Buddhism, which has left marked traces of its influence in many of the sects, and, though in general extinct in India, lingers obscurely to the present day in some of the villages of Bengal. The sectarian or popular religions of India are essentially theistic. The two chief forms of religious creed and life, Vaisnavism and Sāivism, which recognize Viṣṇu in one or other of his forms and Śiva respectively as supreme, can both be traced back to a great antiquity, and contain elements which it is impossible now fully to disentangle, derived from the ancient beliefs and practices of the aboriginal tribes, and from the perhaps looser faith of the incoming Aryans. Of the two, Sāivism is the older, and has preserved most of primitive ideas, customs, and tendencies. Vaisnavism has come more entirely under the influence of Aryan thought, and has submitted more completely to that influence than has Sāivism. It is concerned with Brahman ascendance, following in its development the lead of Brahman advance. Sāivism, on the other hand, has hardly passed beyond a material and sensual view of things. Philosophically, the latter approaches nearest to the Sākhyas; but on the religious or emotional side has allied itself with Sāivism, the worship of the vital principle in Nature, and with the cult of the
Mātrī or Mahāmātrī, the 'mothers' or 'great mothers,' who are the source of all fertility and life, and on the other hand deal out disease and death. Kālī, the black goddess, whose temples are stained with blood, and whose ferocity reflects, no doubt, the traits of primitive savage life, has been identified with Šiva; and thus to her rites has been given the sanction of official recognition. Together with other deities throughout the land, of kindred nature and probably similar origin, though less widely popular and influential, this goddess and her worship have therefore become responsible for a degradation of the ideas of God, which has made of the divine power a capricious tyrant, or a monster that needs to be propitiated with the best that his worshippers can provide. Early in our era and for many centuries Šaivism was apparently the dominant cult in India; but it has long been losing ground steadily to its great rival.

The second idea closely associated with the Šaivite form of faith was that of ascetics. Šiva was the great patron of ascetics, and himself strenuously practised self-mortification. And the āsanas or Indian devotees, who divested himself of all his possessions, and who, after disencumbered, the final aim of union with God. To him the rejection of family ties and the ascetic life of Jogis and Jains, together with the afflicting of the body, were means to an end—the securing of release from individual existence with all its pains and penalties, and becoming a part of the One and Last of the divine. The ascetic ideal therefore was not only inconsistent with the prevailing pantheistic mode of thought, but directly contradicted it. To the Vedántist there was asceticism; the ascetic ideal was a realisation, whether personally conceived or not. He was essentially and altogether one with Brahman, and the only change necessary or possible was enlightenment, the opening of his eyes to a pre-existing fact, an eternal truth. The ascetic principle, however, as worked out in India, tacitly assumed the contrary. The quest for union, on whatever line it was pursued, implied belief in a supreme power with which the union was sought; and that power was logically personal, although, in the Hindu thought, it did not always accept or recognise its personality. The tendency therefore of the yogic conception and practice was in the direction of them.

It may be doubted, however, whether in ancient times any more than at the present day the ascetic ideal ever exercised really a great influence on the mass of the people of India, or modified to any appreciable extent their attitude towards the spirit world. They were vaguely conscious of its excellence, admired it in theory, and were ever ready in practice to bring their gifts. But they neither imitated nor desired to imitate the manner of life therein exemplified.

Of far greater immediate influence than the Šaivite faith or ideal is Vaiṣṇavism in one or other of its many forms and sects. Allied with the philosophy of the Vedánta, the Vaiṣṇavite creed has commanded the allegiance of three-fourths of the thoughtful minds of India, and has deeply, if not always consciously or professedly, permeated the life and moulded the conduct of the mass of the people. It can hardly be disputed that Vaiṣṇavism is the truest general presentation of the religious tendencies and conceptions of the Hindus; and, apart from its theoretical idealism, it is a peculiarly ethical in practice than the Šaivism itself. In its higher, purer forms the henotheism of the Vaiṣṇavite worshipper approaches closely to monotheism; and of all the so-called heathen cults, including Buddhism, this faith in its creed and in many of its forms has most affinity with Christianity. In particular, the ascetic ideal presents no attractions to the true Vaiṣṇavas, and to the philosophy of the Saivite deities is especially abhorrent. In his temples bloody sacrifices are offered, self-torture and self-immolation are unknown, and are indeed opposed to his religious precepts. His entire conception of God is gentler and more humane, and is, moreover, deeply impressed at every point with anthropomorphism and individualism. The Deity is present to man, converses with him, walks by his side, sees and hears, knows and feels, and perpetually reiterates Himself for the deliverance of suffering, helpless humanity. The similarity to Christian doctrines is often indeed merely verbal and superficial, as is the case with the Hindu theory of incarnation (see article INCARNATION [Hindu]). But the purpose is broadly the same, the rescue of man from the bellicose dominion of a foreign and hostile power. Such 'descents' or incarnations take place continually more or less of the deity being present under the bodily form. And every great ruler or teacher is thus regarded by his followers as divine, with a just claim not only to respect, but to formal reverence and worship.

8. Reforming movements.—Upon this theistic or monotheistic conception of the Supreme Deity is the one hand from the vague idealistic notion of the philosophers and yogins, and on the other from the polytheistic beliefs of the common people, the reforming tendency that has found expression within Hinduism itself has usually laid stress. In most instances a comparatively lofty moral and spiritual tone has characterized the teaching of the founders of the six higher of the six Vedánta schools, but in the main pointed the way not only to an amendment of life and manners, but to a purer faith.

(a) Perhaps the greatest and most influential of the reformers was Rāmānuja, who was born near Madras probably in the early part of the 12th cent., and took up the position of opponent of Śaṅkara in his interpretation of the Vedánta Sūtras. He expounded and enforced the doctrine of a Supreme Deity, endowed with all the attributes of graciousness, wisdom, and love; of the separateness of the souls of individual men, who are capable of knowing and attaining unto God; and of the reality of the external universe. His teaching also has been supposed, without any sufficient justification, to owe its inspiration to Christian influence.

(b) The impulse which Rāmānuja gave to a higher, purer faith was effective mainly in the south of India, where his followers and disciples carried and still carry on his work. In the 16th cent., however, it became a power in the Panjāb and the north through the influence of Kabir in the Panjāb in the 16th cent., who is said to have been a personal disciple of Rāmānuja. Himself of Muslim origin, Kabir united in his teaching the strict uncompromising monotheism of Śaivism with a readiness and more generous views of the Vaiṣṇavite faith as represented by Rāmānuja and his school. The sayings attributed to him by his biographer are of high moral tone, but are deeply penetrated by the mysticism characteristic of Indian thought. With him and with his great disciple Nanka originated the reforming movement of the Sikhs, which, taking cohesion and national life under the pressure
of external persecution, developed into a strong monopoly society and kingdom, offering various corporations, especially in the various religions and legal orders of the Middle Ages in Europe; but which, while maintaining its own exclusive ceremonial and forms of worship, ceased to possess a distinct religious significance, or to preserve its doctrinal and ethical superiority to the Hinduism by which it is surrounded. See, further, under art. Siva.

(c) In another direction, all the more interesting and instructive because it seems to draw its inspiration from pure native sources, the teaching of Râmânanda and the writings of Tulsî Dâs, perhaps the greatest as well as the best-known and most popular of India's poets. Literature in India is, almost without exception, whatever its immediate theme, religious and philosophical in tone. And the poems of Tulsî Dâs convey instruction in religious doctrine and embody a system of cult and creed, which by virtue of their popularity has been carried into every hamlet and almost every hamlet where the Hindoos are spoken.

'Fully ninety millions of people base their theories of moral and religious conduct upon his writings.' In adopting and giving literary expression to the teaching of Râmânanda, in Tulsî Dâs imparted to them a tenderness and directness of application to human needs which constituted their irresistible appeal to the hearts of the common people. There is one Supreme Being, who in love and pity became incarnate for the relief of man from his sin. In His sight all men are equal, without distinction of birth and position; all are alike involved in ruin irretrievable save by the grace of the Creator, and thus all stand in need of a deliverance which in and by themselves they are incapable of achieving. Tulsî Dâs further declared that it was in Râma, the blameless king, that the Deity became thus incarnate; so linking his teaching with the most popular hero and exemplar of bygone days. The justly celebrated and much-honoured poet died early in the 17th century. He also has been freely credited with having borrowed his doctrines from Christian sources; but there seems to be no real ground for the charge, at least so far as direct derivation is concerned. His creed is the outcome and highest expression of all that was best in Hindu thought, controlled and guided by a pure heart searching after wisdom. There have been many like-minded among the sons of India.

(d) The later and more modern reform movements within Hinduism, at least as much to the ferment of Christian thought and ideals as the earlier movements of the Panjâb to Muhammadanism. Of these the Arya Samâj (q.v.) claims to be a pure monothelion in the four Vedas, which alone it accepts as inspired and authoritative Scripture. The adherents of this sect, while intensely hostile to Christianity, ascribe to the Deity attributes of mercifulness and grace, which have their nearest parallel in the God of the New Testament. They deny the possibility of an incarnation, and in this respect approximate most to the teachings of Islam. Their professed aim, however, is to restore the ancient unblemished faith of Vedic times, which they declare has been corrupted from the time of the Mahâ-bharata, and that the doctrine of transmigration, although this is strictly speaking, foreign to Vedic teaching. The influence of the Arya Samâj is neither very deep nor far-reaching, and it has spread mainly in the ultra-conservative circles of those Brahmins who have kept themselves aloof from Western dogmas, and who are opposed to the temple, the road, the field, each has its guardian spirit—with the result that the thirty-
three faces of deities, with which India is popularly credited, might easily be multiplied many times, if the reckoning were to take account of every way and spirit in which the Indian village priest and godman are represented. The truth is, however, that among all these variant forms and practices of worship there is a very great likeness. It is more often a matter of mere adaptation to the local circumstances and the prevailing customs and ideas of the people, than of a genuine effort to approach the Infinite. The deities of India are not the impassioned, formidable, and terrifying deities of the ancient and primitive nations. The ancient and primitive nations, which have come down to us as the remnants of the great Asiatic empires, have left behind them traces of the old beliefs and practices of the races which had disappeared. The patriarchal and theocratic notions of the ancient and primitive nations have been replaced by the more democratic and popular ideas of the modern and progressive nations. The gods of India are not the fierce, terrible, and terrifying gods of the ancient and primitive nations. They are the gods of the modern and progressive nations. They are the gods of the modern and progressive nations.

India has been so broadly comprehensive, gathering into its net the most diverse races and absorbing the most unlike and even contradictory modes of thought and worship, combining them all to form one under one name and to recognize the advantage of one social order, that many have despised of a any definition on religious lines, and have affirmed that the common bond consisting in the practice of one or several religions, combined with a practical recognition of the supremacy of the Brahman caste. This denial to Hinduism of the status of a religion ignores the immensely religious character and tendency of the Hindu mind. Whatever else it may imply or concede, the essential indispensable element, it seems to there is no religion, is belief in a higher power, whether one or many. It may be doubted whether there has ever been a people among whom this belief has been more deeply engrained, or, to put the same thing in other words, who are more religiously inclined than the inhabitants of India. The definition, therefore, of Hinduism cannot be entirely secular; it will be simple, its articles few and broad, its terms of subscription wide and generously interpreted; but it will be distinctly a religious definition, not one of mere social conformity. With such a definition we have no further concern here than it contains and gives expression to the Indian conception of the Divine, of God. It must be broad, its articles general statements can never be other than subject to numerous exceptions and deductions.

1. Hindu thought shows a marked inclination towards theism. It would, perhaps, be more correct to describe its speculative theory as a theoretical, the occasional or opportunistic worship of one divinity, the supreme object for the time being of the worshipper's devotion. Atheism has never found a congenial home on Hindu soil. Alien, like agnosticism, to Hindu nature and sympathies, it is almost always an exotic which has required deli- cate nurturing to bring it to even a stunted maturity. The philosophic pantheism of Śaṅkara, on the contrary, has proved itself to be in harmony with the tendencies and dispositions of the people; and his interpretation of the Vedanta on these lines, although not unchallenged, has become the accepted metaphysical belief of the great majority of those who call themselves Hindus. The philosophical theory, however, does not interfere with the practical religions of the people. In Brahma, the All-One, with the doctrines of non-dualism, reality and unreality, illusion and the like that are associated with the Vedantic creed, remains theory and theory only. The living potent force to which the man turns in need is not his philosophy, but the personal God, who, by whatever name He is called, as Śaṅkara, Vāgu, Kṣru, or many another, is conceived as the sovereign dispenser of favours and the ultimate source of power.

2. Together with this theistic and, as it were, ultimate though unformulated creed, there exists an indescribable wealth of polytheistic beliefs, godlings, male and female, without number, imps and elves, ghosts and demons, the vast creeds of whom not seldom obscures, and for immediate purposes puts out of sight, the lofter and more stable power in the background. Among the more primitive races and tribes of India also, as so frequently is the case among peoples low in the scale of civilization, there are found traces of a belief in a higher being who is sometimes and unchanging, seldom addressed, who has become a shadowy recollection rather than an active force or an object of worship, discarded from memory and regard in favour of spirits, whose malicious
designs it is the pressing necessity of the moment to frustrate. Hindu belief, therefore, is not wrongly described as polytheism. A better term would be 'polytheism.' But the description does not cover the whole ground. It leaves out of account a higher and a more significant element, in which the lower and the polytheism is enwrapped; the mind by which in the more thoughtful minds it is superseded.

13) To the Indian, religion and philosophy are inseparable. His thinking is essentially spiritual and idealistic. The imperious demands of a hard daily life leave, indeed, to the ordinary Indian peasant, no opportunity for leisure or speculative thought; but amongst the higher classes the trend is distinctly in a spiritual direction. The ever renovating force of Nature—residing in the vastness of the material universe—leads to a process of mind to matter is solved, as far as the Indian is concerned. Matter is the shadow; mind is the reality; and mind is God. His philosophy, therefore, is cast into the scale, not on the side of materialistic views or dogmas, but on that of an idealistic and reasoned theism.

4) Hindu beliefs, finally, are coloured by the universal, or almost universal, acceptance of the doctrine of transmigration. Obscurantism and uncertainty as the origin and early history of this doctrine in India may be, it has become a part of the moral and religious faith of the people, and has profoundly influenced their outlook upon life. And, inasmuch as the gods themselves are, theoretically at least, involved in the process, and subject to the same perpetual flux and change of all things living, it has tended to make the outlines of these indistinct, their character and functions interchangeable.

14) The dividing line between men and gods is not so sharply drawn as in the West, or the place and features of the latter so clearly conceived. Logically, a doctrine of transmigration assumes and necessitates a doctrine of the separateness of individual souls, and is inapplicable with the extreme idealistic theories of the Vedanta as with Chritian Abbein. But the two conceptions lie side by side in the Indian mind without interfering with one another, or carrying on the mutually destructive war which to the European would appear inevitable. His thoughts concerning the Divine adapt themselves, or remain unadaptable, to a view of life which opens out to him a vista of recurrent human existences practically without end.

Cf. also Hinduise, Vedanta, Vedico Religion.

LITERATURE.—For the literature of the several periods of religious development, the sects, etc., consult the separate articles. All the works dealing with the religion and philosophy of India in general discuss with more or less fulness the Hindu pantheon of God: e.g. A. Barth, Religions of India, London, 1881, posth.; W. Hopkins, Religions of India, London, 1898, posth.; H. M. Memoir-Williams, India’s Legacy of Religion, London, 1880; D. Haydon, Hinduism, London, 1887; C. F. Duff, Hinduism, London, 1888; E. Sapir, ‘Religion,’ with a valuable appendix on the Religious Ideas of some Animistic Tribes in Bengal; P. Denisse, Philosophy of the Upanisads, p. 1. Theology, Eng. tr., Edin. 1886. A. S. GEDDEN.

GOD (Iranian).—1. The Idea of God during the Early Iranian period. For ascertaining the conception of God entertained by the Iranians during the earlier period of their history we possess neither direct records of their religious practices nor any form of sacred text crystallizing their religious experiences at that stage in the development of their God-consciousness. Nevertheless, the indirect evidence bearing upon even this part of the subject is neither meagre nor wanting in significance, so that comparative science has succeeded in reconstructing what can be confidently regarded as the main content of the early Iranian pantheon.

In his well-known account of the anthropomorphisms worshipped by the Medes in the middle of the 6th cent. B.C., Herodotus (I. 131) claims for the first part of his description an application to the conditions of a much higher antiquity. He says: 'They are in the habit of ascending the highest mountains and offering sacrifices to Zoro—giving the same Zoro to the whole oriental circle. Moreover, they sacrifice to the sun, moon, earth, fire, water, and winds. To these alone,' he adds, 'they were accustomed originally (Α&omicron;πε&omicron;) to sacrifice.'

According to this account, therefore, the early Persian idea of God was that of worshippers of the great Nature-powers—trees and birds, sea and sun, mountains and sea and sun, rivers and springs. Hence the sky and its associated phenomena. Although this description lacks completeness in one vital respect, as will appear later, yet, so far as it goes, it accords perfectly, as we shall now proceed to show, with what our other available evidence leads us to believe of the Iranians generally at that period.

Schrader has already shown very fully (see Ar. Aryan Religion, vol. ii. p. 31) that the worship of the elements enumerated by Herodotus always formed an essential feature and character of the religious life of all the Indo-European peoples. That religious regard for the same Nature-powers should survive amongst the early Iranians is, therefore, in the nature of things and subject to the same disturbing influence, what was naturally to be expected.

The Iranians, however, shared with the Indo-European people generally in common religion and culture for a much longer time than they did with any of the others; and this common life continued until the commencement of the period of the Aryan invasion. There is no evidence concerning the Indo-Iranian tribes as they made their way into the East. That people was the Aryan sect which ultimately settled on the banks of the Indus, and are known to us as Indians. Of necessity, therefore, the earlier stages of the development of the Indo-Iranian religion can be reconstructed only with very marked differences between the two peoples in concept and custom, dating in some cases probably from Aryan, i.e. Indo-Iranian, times. Hence the necessity for caution in attributing Vedic ideas to the early Iranians.

But, when we find the same religious beliefs and usages reflected in the Vedas as are attributed by other independent authorities, such as Herodotus, to the contemporary Iranians, we may fairly certain that we are dealing with phenomena that were common to both peoples.

Now, the Vedas reveal the same general stage in the development of the consciousness of God among the dwellers beyond the Indus, especially during early Vedic times, as we have postulated for the Iranians during, partly, the same period. The mighty Nature-powers that inspired the awe and reverence of the Vedic poets also compelled the sacrifices of the devoted Iranians. Comparative philology has shown that the two peoples from the period of unity employed the same two general terms for a god, thus indicating that the character of the objects of their worship in the same.

One of these was azu (Skk. azu, Av. ahu); the other was dvs (Skk. dvs, Av. dves). From Indo-European deies, pl. deites (connected with ydas, 'sky'), heavenly ones, meaning the sky and the great physical phenomena connected with it.

The premier position amongst the early Persian 1 Agashii (Av. Aharma) and Symmachus—says that previous to Zarotzher reform the Persian religion was that of the Greeks (see Jackson, Graeco-Iranian Religion, p. 612).
divinities assigned by Herodotus to the sky is in
perfect consonance with the supremacy which the
sky-god enjoyed amongst the Indians, whether in
the oldest times under the name DYUS or later
under the name of Yazdān. What was the name
and what the exact conception of the term
employed in addressing themselves to the
sky-god are most questions. Our indebtedness
and gratitude to the Greek historian would have been still deeper had he on
the occasion departed from his countrymen's usual custom and abstained from converting the Persian term into its Greek
variant. 1 That Herodotus had in mind the name Awar Mādā is improbable, 2 for we have no evidence that he was
acquainted with Mandām, as such, in any form, much less in its
Zarathushtrian development. Spiegel suggests Zavēka (Mod.
Pers. Zaveka), the probable term by which the Persians
invoked the vault of heaven. It seems improbable that the
old term dyus had been handed down as part of the
tradition upon which Herodotus relied for his account of the
earliest period. 3

If the evidence of the Iranian sun-and-moon
worship is somewhat less abundant, it is scarcely
any less clear or certain. In Vedic times the
Indians worshipped the sun under the name Varu
and the moon as Mātvā. The former is cognate
with the Avestan Avar (Mod. Pers. Avar, Avarhe,
'sun'); the latter with Avestan Māt (Mod. Pers.
Mātī, 'moon', and 'month'). The re-appearance of the
sun and moon in the post-Zarathushtrian
pantheon is highly suggestive of their earlier
worship.

In connexion mention should be made of another
important divinity, who, if not himself
a sun-god, was still intimately connected with the
chief luminaries and gave modern Persian its usual term (Mērtān) for 'sun'. We mean of course,
Mērtān, Vedic Mitra. Perhaps the best opinion is
that which regards him as the god of the luminous
either (cf. C. de Harlez, Avesta, Paris, 1891, p. 58,
also Monier, op. cit., p. 261). The
unique position of this deity in Vedic religion, and his almost unique position among the post-Zarathushtrian Yasna,
leave no room to doubt his existence in the early Iranian
pantheon.

Although the Earth did not properly come within
the category of the 'Heavenly Ones', yet the wide-
spread mythological conceptions of the Earth as one of the
divine pair, the wife of the sky, is sufficient
ground for accepting her as an Indo-European
divinity. In the Vedic her name, Prthivī, is,
approaches, invariably connected as a dyad with
that of the sky, DYUS, in the form Dyudhpahitās. 4
Moreover, we have the testimony of Herodotus
(Polyb. vi. 48) that at least one branch of the Iranian
peoples—the Scythians—worshipped the Earth as
the wife of Zeus.

There can scarcely be any doubt that the Earth
worshipped by the early Iranians as a 'god
worshipped by the main body of the Iranians during
the early period (see Spiegel, Die arische Periode,
pp. 156-159; Monier, op. cit., p. 261).

The most characteristic Iranian divinities,
perhaps, are those that come next for mention,
namely, fire and water. When Strabo says (XV.
iii. 14) that it was to fire and water especially
that the Persians offered sacrifices, he was indicating
no new emphasis in Persian worship. That
they were part of the Indo-European heritage is
well known. And the new physical conditions in
1 Herders maintained that Asa in Herodotus' account is not
the son of the Gr. Zeus, but the Persian form of the term
for 'sky', derived from the Aryan dyus (cf. Spiegel, Sivas,
Ätherstuhlebenen, Leipzig, 1876, ii. 180).
2 Monier observes that Awar Māta was not specially connected
with the orb of skies, and in later epochs he was Identification
made with the wife of Varu (cf. Monier, op. cit., ii. 141, 180;
also Die arische Periode, Leipzig, 1867, pp. 128-131).
3 See, however, Monier, Early Religious Poetry of Persia,
Oxford, 1868, pp. 39-40, 89, 126, 150, etc.

which the Iranians found themselves in conse-
quence of their eastward migration served only to
enhance the use and value of the two elements,
and consequently to intensify their reverence for
them or for the spirits which were associated with
them. In India the chief fire-god was Agni (Lat.
\textit{ignis}); but in Iran he was venerated under another
old name, Atar.

Another circumstance which substantially con-
tributed to the prestige and pre-eminence of these
two elements was their association with the
thunderstorm—a phenomenon that especially ex-
cited the awe and reverence of primitive peoples,
and for the Indo-European peoples it was not only
a deity, but it proved to be a \textit{vān ussurum de-
cum}. We find among both branches of the Indo-
Iranian people one very important and exception-
ally interesting divinity, whose origin is to be
traced to that great physical phenomenon, namely,
Apām Napāt, or 'offspring of waters' (i.e. 'fire
that rises in water') (Tiele). In the Vedas he is
a god of fire—the lightning flash; and even in the
Avesta he is once associated with another god of
fire, Nairosangha. But usually in the Avesta he is
a god of waters. In the later books he is
frequently invoked. In Yast 1614 he is even said
to have made and shaped man. As Spiegel observant
5, 209 (Die arische Periode, p. 318), we have in Apām
Napāt a very ancient and highly venerated
divinity.

The presence of another divinity in the later
Avesta and the functions assigned to him point
clearly to his existence in early Iranian times.
Vītaras in India is Indra, the slayer of the
imaginary demon of drought; whereas his cor-
respondent Varēhāŋkhag was regarded by the Iranians
as the god of victory in general.

The wind was worshipped by the early Iranians
under the name Vayu (Vedic Vāyu). It was
especially reverred for the supposed help rendered to
bring to the earth the fertilizing rain from the
clouds. Nor should Haoma (Vedic Hemśu) be omitted from
the list of early Iranian divinities. It may not, as
Tiele observes (Bol. of the Iranian Peoples, Engl.
tr., Bombay, 1912, p. 54), have been materially the
identical Haoma plant of the later Avestans, but
that an immortalizing drink was distilled at that
epoch is fairly certain. Cf. art. HAOMA.

The prominence of the custom of ancestor-
worship amongst Indo-European peoples generally,
taken in conjunction with the cult of the Pitaras
in the Vedas, and particularly the lavish adoration of the forefathers (g.n.) in later Avesta, 6 have
inevitably to the conclusion that only during the
strictly Zarathushtrian régime had this ancient
custom been discontinued among the Iranians.

A more difficult question confronts us when we
inquire how the early Iranians regarded their
gods; what precise character they attributed to
them; to what point in conception of feeling
they had attained at this time. Whatever vastnesses
of Animism there may still have been in their
religious notions, we are certainly justified in
asserting that in pre-Zarathushtrian days in Iran,
just as in India, some of the gods were credited
with a tolerably high moral character (cf. Indian
Varu). Moreover, the two classes of gods, ahuras
d avalanche, were ever from Aryan times viewed
in some respects as rivals in their claims upon the
adoration of those tribes. In India, as well known,
even in early Vedic times, the devas were
accepting the ascendency, although it later
the Ahurā Veda that we find the avāras regarded
as demons.

In Iran the opposite course prevailed. The
 ahuras, who from Indo-Iranian times were the
more feared and awe-inspiring, seem to have
gained in prestige, and, apparently at a
very early epoch, one of them had become the Ahura
par excellence. And it is in relation to this Ahura that the religious consciousness of the Iranians has since been primarily developed and exercised. Moreover, evidence seems to be accumulating to show that even the epithet Mazda, 'wise,' or 'twi,

dom,' was, so early as the middle of the second millennium B.C., applied as the special cult-epithet of the god, as well.

In accordance with this opinion is the fact that in the Gāthās Zarathushtra professed to reveal no new god to his countrymen, but only to bring a new revelation than one who was supposed to have been already well known. At this period, of course, even if supreme, he finds himself a member of a very extensive and miscellaneous pantheon.

2. The Gāthic or Zarathushrian concept of God is the five Gāthās of Zarathushtra and his immediate followers that enshrine the oldest as well as the highest and purest of the ideas of God to which the Mazdaean religion attained. Ahura Mazda, or Mazda Ahura, which is the more usual order in the Gāthās, is already not only supreme, but sole God. The whole pantheon has fallen from heaven to hell.

And, if Mazda himself was at any period a Nature-god, the last vestige of his ancient associations have been completely obliterated to the minds of the inspired writers of these spiritual hymns. Not that Mazda any more than Jahweh, the God of Israel, was praised in linguistic forms free from anthropomorphism or material imagery. The God of the Gāthās also puts on the solid heavens as a garment (Ys. 30) and covers himself with flames of fire. But still in substance he is the mainour, 'spirit,' as his faithful ones are never weary of repeating.

His most characteristic attribute is spenta, 'eternal,' as in the etymological and wider sense of that English word; and this Beneficient Spirit is, in the Gāthās, the great and sole creator. He created not only the light, but darkness as well; not merely the firmament, but midnight just as truly (Ys. 44). He is omniscient and omnipresent, the all-seeing Lord who cannot be deceived (40 P. 297), the immortal, who remains evermore the same (31). Nevertheless, in one important respect he is limited: he is not omnipotent, or at least for the present that attribute is only potential. But, as another self-existent spirit, coeval with Ahura Mazda, fundamentally opposed to him in his very nature, and having for a period the power of thwarting the purposes of the Beneficient God and working evil and suffering among his saints.

From the principal passages in the Gāthās in which this doctrine is expounded, it would appear that Zarathushtra did not conceive of the Evil Spirit as gifted with positive creative power, such as is attributed to him in the post-Zarathushrian portions of the Avesta. The truth that seems to emerge from the locus classicus of this doctrine in the Gāthās (Ys. 30) is the self-determination of the rival Spirit for evil in harmony with his inherent nature, and his choice of wrong and death as the principle of his actions and influence. So far as the doctrine is developed in these hymns, Ahura Mainour or Aza Mon is conceived of as exercising his destructive and malicious power in bringing about in the creation of Mazda an issue and culmination the very opposite of that destined for it by the Beneficient Spirit. In perfect keeping with this consciousness of a mighty, malicious, and ever-present Competitor, that is the emphasis placed upon certain attributes and blessings of Mazda which are the absorbing theme of the Gāthās. That idea of Angra Mainuy is the dark background against which this conception of Ahura Mazda with his six (or seven, if Brahma is included) ever-recurring attributes and blessings must be placed.

The minds of the Gāthic poets are not so much concerned with the essence of Mazda's nature as with the means and ways to realize his true relations to his saints and to the world as a whole. It is not theology proper that we find in the Gāthās, but the sociological aspect of the doctrine of God, not his transcendence and absolute nature, but his immanence and relationality, which are here emphasized. These moral attributes, through which the ideal relationship is to be realized together with the blessings resulting therefrom, are conceived of in such a vivid manner that they are constantly personified and addressed as if they were distinct persons in the Mazda system. Still the words are so often used as common abstract nouns, that in these hymns there need be no mistaking them for separate persons. The essence of Mazda, perhaps P. 40 in the OT serves as a good illustration of this sustained personification of abstract ideas. The precise attributes emphasized, as well as the meaning of those as a whole, has been determined in some degree by considerations dictated by the earlier history of Iranian religion. Still the nature of the case would have been sufficient of itself to account for the facts as we find them, and perhaps this has not always been duly considered by the expounders of this part of the Gāthic doctrine. The two most frequently mentioned of these abstract qualities are Vohu Mana, 'the good or best mind or spirit,' and Asha or Asha Vahushita, 'rightness,' 'perfect order.' The former connotes the idea of good will or benevolence, that attribute of Mazda which desires and seeks his people's good in opposition to that spirit which meditates harm to them; and in Ys. 40 these two thus come up in both pairs.

The other concept is that expressed by Asha, which has as its root-idea that of fitness, appropriateness; hence order, rightness, and other abstract ideas of meaning. It means that ideal relation to in which all would receive their due and highest good in conformity with their nature and destiny. The next is Khosrav or Khosrau Farvar, 'power,' 'dominion,' 'kingdom,' or 'wished-for-kingdom,' and indicates that condition or state of things in which the power of Mazda completely prevails, and in which his will is done, and where the two former concepts are fully realized. The fourth abstract attribute is Ahraniat, 'pity' or 'devotion,' which Mazda produces in the soul of his saints, and is the subjective attitude corresponding to Mazda's benevolence and justice. The last two of the six conceptions are always mentioned together, namely, Hauravastu, 'health,' 'well'; and Ameriatar, 'immortality.' They are equivalent to complete present and future salvation. This is the certain, if as yet distant, Divine event towards which the whole purpose and power of the Beneficient Spirit are ever directed.

This brings us to the idea of Mazda presented in the Gāthās, and the spirituality of their conception of
God is reflected in the inwardness of their ethic; for Mazda demands truth and purity, not in word and deed alone, but also in mind and heart. Mazda is represented by the appellatives 'good,' 'pure,' 'right,' 'splendid,' 'glorious,' 'wise,' 'bountiful,' 'wise.' These are the terms by which the Spirit of Mazda is known. In a beautiful psalm the Hebrew poet also couples with Jehovah's name the 'ark of his strength' (Ps 129). Nor is the name of the holy fire more incongruous with the Spirit of Ahura Mazda than the mention of water with the regenerating Spirit in the NT (Jn 3:5).

3. The Mazdeism of the Later Avesta.—Ahura Mazda is still a personal god, and his name means more the sole object of worship in the Later Avesta than in pre-Zarathushtrian days. By this time the six abstract ideas or attributes which were frequently personified, but never really regarded as distinct persons in the Gathas, had become separate personalities, and were called Amersha Spentas, or 'Immortal Holy Ones,' and accorded Divine worship.

It must have been in this later form that the Greeks learnt of the doctrine, for Plutarch refers to 'the god of the Persians' (De Res. 47); and Strabo speaks of a temple of Omanaus (Vohu Manah), and a wooden statue of the god carried in procession (xv. iii. 18). Moreover, a distinct doctrine of the use of persons is the greatest of the 'clan-gods' (perhaps the words should be rendered 'all the gods'), and 'the other gods that are' (cf. Xenophon's οἱ ἄλλοι θεοί). And, even when the Avesta is said to be greater than the greatest of the gods (maitisathas baqdadams), there is a tacit admission that he is only supreme, but not sole God. There is no suggestion that they are his creatures. Mitra is co-ordinated with Ahura Mazda in the Inscription of Ochus: 'May Auramazda and the god Mitra protect me and my kingdom and the work I have accomplished.' His predecessor, Artaxerxes Mnasene, not only addressed his prayers to Mitra and Anahita with Auranamza, but, according to Berosus (frg. 16, apud Clem. Alex.), he erected statues to Anahita at Persepolis (see his Inscription), Ecbatana, Bactria, Susa, and Babylon. Nevertheless, the whole of the Inscriptions of Darius and Xerxes breathe a spirit more akin to that of monotheism than that of most parts of the Younger Avesta. The recognition of the other gods in these Inscriptions impresses us as being, very largely formal; for the number of times they are mentioned in conjunction with Auramazda is very small, compared with the instances in which he is prayed to alone. The character of Auranamza as creator is constantly emphasized in all except the Inscriptions of Mnemon.

A great god (bapa vazata) is Auranamza, who created this earth, who created yonder heaven, who created fire, who created peace or prosperity or delight (shigshiti) for man, who made Darius (Xerxes, Artaxerxes) king. Not even in the Gathas is the creator conceived of as being more distinct from his creation than these words show him to be. As for his government and providence, he is more unfettered according to the Inscriptions. He has created peace (shigshiti) for man, a state of happiness and prosperity of which even the Gathas have no more than a promise.

5. The history of the later development of the idea of God amongst the Iranians is practically identical with that of certain sects in Sasanian times, whose views have also largely determined those of modern Parsism on this subject. The treatment of this period will, therefore, come more properly under 52877 (Persian) Literature.—In addition to works already referred to, see on the earlier period, O. Schrader, Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples (2d. Ed., London, 1890); M. Rapp, 'Die Perser.'


2 Mitra, a Persian word, means 'god.'
GOD (Japanese).

The Japanese word for 'god' is kami. Its derivation is uncertain. Some see it as an abbreviation of kamo-nami, meaning 'to look at,' 'to judge,' 'to decide'; others, a form of kami, or 'lord;' while still others propose kachi, the mysterious,' as its origin. A comparatively modern theory traces it to an Ainu word, kamyu, meaning 'he who or that which covers or overshadows,' and so representing divinity. The generally accepted derivation, however, is that it is traced in modified meanings of the same word kami, signifying that which is 'above' or superior, in contrast to shino, signifying that which is 'below' or inferior. The upper part of the body is kami, while the lower part is shino. A man of superior rank is kami, while an inferior man is shino. Heaven is kami, earth is shono. So general is the term that it lends itself readily as an application of that which is looked upon with fear or respect, as above man in power or honor, in the same sense as in Homer. Shinto, an eminent Shinto scholar (1730-1801), says:

"The term kami is applied in the first place to the various deities. Kami were the deified men and women who are mentioned in the ancient records, as well as to their spirits which reside in the shrines where they are worshipped. Moreover, not only human beings, but birds and beasts, plants and trees, sea and mountains, and all other things whatsoever which deserve to be dreaded and revered for the extraordinary and pre-existent powers which they possess, are called kami. They need not be eminent for surpassing nobleness, goodness, or servile obsequiousness alone. Malignant and mischievous beings are also called kami, if only they are objects of general dread." (Koyōshiden, ed. 1801, II. 180).

The primitive faith of the Japanese was Shinto, in which various natural phenomena, awakening awe and reverence, such as the sun and moon, fire and water, wind and storm, were worshipped, and in which various Deity names were given to the powers controlling the more noticeable manifestations of Nature. To this limited body of divinity others were added; and not a few from foreign countries, until the number the number was so generically stated as 'eight myriads,' and the country was called 'the Land of the Gods.' According to an official record, compiled in A.D. 301, the number of shrines at that time was 2861, while the number of deities worshipped therein was given as 3152. This multiplication of deities has continued until the present time; and the latest official statistics give the number of Shinto shrines of all grades as 190,436. These shrines are sacred to: (1) mythical gods, (2) patriots and heroes, (3) phenomena and objects of Nature, and (4) various animals and objects. Among the shrines recognized as governmental and national, those under the special supervision of the provincial or national government are classified as follows: sacred to mythical gods, 100; to emperors and members of the Royal Family, 25; to patriots and heroes, 30; to the various Deity names, etc. The deities worshipped by the Japanese might be roughly grouped as: (1) stellar bodies; (2) the elements of earth, air, fire, and water; (3) natural phenomena; (4) prominent natural objects, as mountains, rocks, trees, and caverns; (5) men; (6) animals; and (7) manufactured objects.

In short, anything conspicuous or exalted may have become a kami, the same that are the object of the people's worship. Kami of which they know absolutely nothing as to nature, origin, or being. What god we know not, yet a god there dwelleth.

It does not follow that those makai, or underworld, deities that have been regarded as of equal importance, nor have they all been revered by the mass of the people. According to the Ko-ki, the first Emperor, worshipped the deity of Heaven and Earth. In the opening chapters of the Ko-ki marked distinction is given to three deities: Amo-no-minaka-nushino-mikoto (the Deity-master of the -august-centre-heaven), Takamisubi-no-kami (the -high-august-producing-wondrous-deity), and Kami-misubi-no-kami (the Divine-producing-wondrous-deity), who are said to have been born in the plain of High Heaven when the heaven and the earth began. To them alone certain modern Shinto sects pay reverence.

Asu-mu Hirata, a modern Shinto scholar (1778-1843), says:

"The object of fear and worship in foreign countries is known by several names, e.g., Sovereign, Deity, Imperial Deity, God, Heaven, or Heaven. He is none other than our Heavenly Kami who dwells in Heaven and governs all the affairs of the world.

This clearly shows the tendency of Shinto scholars to a monolithic belief.

G. Kato, in a monograph in Taisi for 1909, on the 'Chief god of Shinto,' concludes that the deity 'shows in its origin a clear trace of primitive monotheism, when viewed in the light of the modern study of the science of religion.

It is true that a strict monotheism has never found congenial soil in Japan, yet there is not infrequently to be noticed the idea of one supreme and all-powerful force behind the manifold exhibitions of what are called kamyu. Moreover, the introduction of Chinese thought modified earlier Japanese conceptions; and Shong, the Supreme Being, or Ten, the Heaven, of the Chinese, became identified with Kami, and was worshipped, often supremely, though not exclusively by many. Shunta Daisai (1681-1747), a Chinese scholar, said:

"All the fortunes of man, whether prosperity or calamity, happiness or sorrow, are in accordance with the Heavenly Kami... Among all so-called Kami there is none so lofty and mighty as Heavenly Kami, who governs the Supreme Belief in Heaven as the Supreme Force, the Providence over all, and the criterion of all, to whom is due allegiance to the utmost, may be said to be universal among the Japanese, while individuals and classes reverence also in particular certain other subordinate kamyu. Among the most popular individual kamyu may be mentioned the Sun, associated with Amateru Omikami, as a sun-goddess, with whom is identified the pre-historic ancestress of the ruling house of Japan; Hachiman, an old-time hero; Tenjin, a great scholar, now revered as the god of learning; Inari, the god of rice; Kumpira, revered by sailors, as in Jehan by the seekers for good luck.

In recent years Emperor-worship has been advocated by not a few as a unifying substitute for vague religious faith.

The meaning of the English word 'God' by Jap. Kami is not entirely satisfactory; but, in spite of the polytheistic ideas long associated with the term, it has been in a remarkable degree filled with the content of worship. Not infrequently the Western religious and philosophic thought. The confusion becomes daily less, and the idea of a unitary Supreme Being is now one of the first conveyed to the educated Japanese mind by the
word Kami. The definition of the word in modern Japanese dictionaries is significant: (1) a spirit which is thought to exist invisibly, with unlimited supernatural power of good or ill, to punish crime and reward virtue in human beings; an object of religious trust or fear; (2) the honorific name given to rulers, kings, and the deities of Shinto shrines; (3) the name applied to spirits enshrined in Shinto shrines; (4) the Christian God, the almighty and omnipresent creator and ruler of the Heavenly Ruler; (5) the spirit of the dead in Shinto funeral ceremonies; (6) that which transcends human understanding (the *Yin* by S. KARASAWA, 1907). Or, again: (1) God; a deity; supernatural being; (2) the consecrated spirit of the dead, especially of an emperor, sage, or hero; (3) that which cannot be conceived by the human mind; a miracle (Jap. Eng. Dict., by F. BRINKLEY and others, 1860).


**GOD (Jewish).—Whatever had still lingered in Israel of the ancient conception of Jehovah as a territorial God (which rendered a lapse into idolatry easy whenever interest urged a prior or collateral claim of some other local god) was largely extinguished during the Exile; and after Nehemiah and Ezra the Jews were uncompromising monothists. This faith Judaism preserved and confessed before the heathen world in its scriptural expression, by legal observances, and by disassociation from every appearance of idolatry. The secret of its power to hold its own against all opposing world lay in the conviction of the Jews that their race was the favourite of Heaven. Indeed, Israel's election is an integral part of the Jewish conception of God. The Jews are monotheists because Jehovah is monotheistic. They have not chosen Him, but He chose them first.

"One God, one Israel, one Temple," says Josephus (Ant. ap. II. 9); and in the *Amidah* for Sabbath prayers every Jew repeats: "This art one, Thy Name is one, who one (unique) in the world as Thy people Israel." (cf. *Suk. 55a*). "Thy only one people".

1. Anthropomorphism.—The anthropomorphic expressions of the OT are linguistic relics of an age when the Hebrews attributed to Jehovah a human form and human passions (*JDB* v. 927). The Prophets retained these expressions as conscious anthropomorphisms and convenient terms to describe the personality and activity of the Deity. We assert, however, whether the popular conception of Jehovah was other than of a gigantic warrior in human shape. The Exile brought the Jews into contact with the gross idolatry of the Babylonians; and, viewing their captivity as a punishment for disloyalty to Jehovah, they became the more averse to the gods and religions of their enemies. The Exile became to the Jews a means of spiritual development. Jehovah ceased to be regarded as a territorial God, though the tribal conception remained. He was the God of the universe, but father of Israel—the God of Nature and revelation. Efforts began to be made to explain and remove anthropomorphisms.

The first step we read of was taken by the *Seferot,* the early scribes and immediate successors of Ezra (L. H. WEISS, *Zur Gesch. d. jüd. Tradition,* Vienna, 1871-91, vii. xxii.). In the *Seferot,* anthropomorphisms are used rarely and with caution. An important step was taken in the versions of the Bible. The artful manner in which the LXX softens down many anthropomorphisms and deities is well known. And yet the version was viewed with distrust by the Palestinian Jews, for fear it might convey to the heathen world wrong impressions of the nature of the God of Israel. Versions in the Apostolic church were more acceptable. "Targum,* in *JDB* circulated orally in Palestine time from the days of Ezra (Mey. 8). Children received their first instruction in the Law in Aramaic.

At the public reading the interpreter (dragonman or interpreter) stood by the side of the reader, and rendered into Aramaic each verse as it was read in Hebrew. The frequent repetition of the same must have produced in a short time a stereotyped version, and we may safely assume that it is embodied in our editions of the Targum, and that they represent the oldest form of Judaism. In all these anthropomorphisms, with few exceptions, are paraphrased and spiritualized. Thus, e.g., by the eyes and ears of God are understood His omniscience, by the hand His omnipotence, by the mouth of God His immediate communication with man, or inspiration (e.g. Nu 122). The finger of God in Ex 84 is rendered 'this is a plague from before Jehovah.' Peculiar to the Targums is the use of the Memra (q.v.), the executive word of God. The existence of this intermediate being was deduced from passages like Ex 2323, is 5500. Although not regarded as an emanation of the Deity, like Phile's Logos, the Memra was conceived as apart from God; and to it, and not to God, all anthropomorphisms and anthropopathisms were ascribed.

Turning to the Rabbinico literature, we find that anthropomorphisms were removed in several ways. (a) The particle *ne,* 'as it were,' or *jeh,* 'as though it were possible,' was placed before anthropomorphic assertions. (b) Such appearances and actions as seemed inconsistent with the idea the Deity were attributed to intermediate beings and to angels. (c) Convenient explanations got rid of many anthropomorphisms. Thus 'a jealous God (Ex 2022) is explained in the *Mishnah* as the God who rules over jealousy.' The same Midrash comments on Ex 128: "Is not everything revealed before Him? Why then does He say, 'When I shall see the blood, I will pass over?" (Am. 107; cf. V. 11.) (d) Executing My command I will reveal myself and protect them.'

In the same section it is asserted that anthropomorphisms are used *ne* *jemel,* 'to sink it into the ear, i.e. to assist a person's perception.' R. Judan said: 'Bold, indeed, were the Prophets to liken the Creator to the creature' (Gen. R. 27; see also Pes. 36b). Another Rabbi went so far as to deny that the Shekhinah ever descended on earth, or that Moses or Elijah ever went up to heaven.

(Suk. 5; *Mishnah* Tjebro, 4).

When we turn to the Rabbinic writings from about the 3rd cent. A.D. onwards, however, we find that anthropomorphisms went hand in hand with gross anthropomorphisms. There is no special event in Jewish history to which we should ascribe the reaction. No doubt Essenianism, the fertile imagination of Alexandrianism, the success of the sacrificial cult, the rise and progress of Christianity, with its offshoots of speculative Gnosticism, directly and indirectly influenced the Rabbis in favour of mysticism. But the reaction was rather the gradual outcome of legalism, according to which Israel's sole mission in the world was to keep the Divine Law. Israel's election was never lost sight of since the Exile, and ultimately developed a Judaised conception of God. The Halakka laid the foundation, and the superstructure was raised by the Haggada. The latter, originally with a few traditions in stock more or less based on facts or curiously deduced from them, might have been a good handbook on the Law, but in time it mounted the heights of imagination and spake of everything. It not only wrote human history as it ought or ought not to have happened, but explored the seven heavens and revealed the Deity.

Putting together the passages from the Talmud and Midrashim, we find in plain pronouncements that the Divine Image of Glory, on the book of which is engraved the image

A mysticism, a psychological body, leads God to government (Jers. 9, 6). Satan succors Israel, and Michael assists him by their help (Ez. 12). On God's seal is engraven the 'truth,' the first, middle, and last letters of the Hebrew alphabet, indicating that He is, and is to be (Gen. 10, 6; 1 Cor. 12, 1). In the seventh Jerusalem, there is a tablet on which Michael offers up the soul of the righteous (Est. 10). Behind the throne stands Sanballath, whose height is a distance of a walk of 600 years, and who bends chapter for chapter in the continual study of God. It is co-opted with studying the 6 books of the Bible by day, and the 6 scribes of the Midian by night (2 Cor. 5, 15). There are schools in heaven in the Biblical model, where Rabbin in their order discuss the Halakha, and God studies with them (Shab. Meg. 28). Every day He pronounces a new Halakha (Kid. 69). Old traditions about the nature of the Messiah were searched out. Mysticism, which hitherto lurked only in dark corners, crawled to the light. The study of Chiliasm was neglected in favour of this new theosophy. The experts were called be-dil 'imnot, 'men of faith,' who by means of charms and the recitation of senseless formulae were supposed to cast off the sin, assuaged the raging sea, and revealed the secrets of the Deity. The most monstrous book of this period was the Aron Kama, 'Elisha's scroll,' and out of all proportion. The measurement of each member, such as the neck, the head, the right and left eyes, the upper and lower lips, the ankles, etc., is given in parasangs.

Only those parasangs are not like corn, for a heavenly parasang measures 27,000 cubits or 27 miles, and each cubit space, and each span reaches from one end of the world to the other." 'And,' says the book of Elisha, 'blessed is he who knows these measures, for he has a share in the world to come.'

The Karaites were the first to ridicule the Shiki'ar Kama. The most learned orthodox Jews also, especially when the Kama was not in vogue, were highly hostile. 

Maimonides gave the most effec-

tual blow. In his More Nebuchadnezzar he asserts in philo-

sophic language the spirituality of God, and explains the Biblical anthropomorphisms as figurative terms.

2. The name of God.—Evidence of a transition to a new conception of God after the Exile is found in the manner in which God is spoken of. (1) The covenant name Jahweh, originally a proper name necessary in polytheistic and heathenistic periods to distinguish Him from other gods, gradually vanished from the consciousness of the people as a personal name of the Deity, until, at the time of the Christian era (and probably considerably earlier) it was entirely forgotten. Gen. R. 38 states that, whenever Jahweh is used, it signifies God in His most holy, pure, and majestic aspect, while Elohim stands for His attribute of judgment (see also Ex. 20, 3). To guard against an irreverent use of the sacred name the latrie ceased to pronounce it. Only the priests at the benediction, and, after the death of Simon the Just, only the high priest, and he with bated breath, so as to render it inaudible even to his colleagues, pronounced the 'unutter-

able name.' But the real reason of the decision that the name was delivered only to the priests and humble (Kid. 71a). According to Philo (Vita Mos. iii. 14),

it was breathed by holy lips into holy ears in a holy place. 1 The crucified Saviour, who was crucified at the command of Pilate, venerated by the Samaritans was crucified on Friday, and interred probably on the Sabbath, 'the name.' The Samaritans still use the name except when, in taking an oath, they pronounce the tetragrammaton YHWH. The name is sometimes spoken of as 'Elohim' (Gen. 2, 4), 'the distinguished or proper name,' and more frequently as 'Eloah, 'the name pronounced in the Temple.

It is also called 'Amen,' 'a remembrance,' 'mena,' 'menan' (Cont. R. ii. 4); 'the name of four letters' (Kid. 71); 'the great name' (Onk. Targ.); 'the great and precious name' (Jers. Targ.); 'the great and holy name' (Targ. on Ps. 47); and in post-Talmudic writings 'the name' נ"ג; and in the medieval philosophers we find י"ג, 'the proper, the great, the wonderful, the hidden, the excellent name, the written-but-not-read name.' In the later Halakha all the names of God are styled י"ג. But the usual substitute is Adonai (the plural form of Adon), יג, the pointing of which is supplied to the tetragrammaton as a memoria technica (Kid. 71). The LXX renders Jahweh by ε'ύγενος, or the anarthrous Αίγενος. This, without a proper name to the God of the Jews, is the name of charge of εὐγενία laid to the Jews of the Diaspora.

Adonai came to be styled the chief of the kinism, and was invested with an awe similar almost to the name Jahweh. Abraham called God Adon (Ber. 7), and taught Him as such to mankind (Sot. 13b). 2

The name El Elyon or Elyon, 'Most High,' originally with a relative meaning, used in the OT by non-Jews, and in the Psalms absolutely of Jahweh, came to be used in Exile (G. Dalman, Die Worter Jesu, Leipzig, 1898, p. 182). H. J. Holtzmann sees in the revival of this name a transition to an abstract conception of the Deity (Loseh, der meistet. Thabningen, 1896-97, § 49). The official title of the Hasmonean princes seems to have been high priests of El Elyon. Rosh. Rosh. 185 records that after the victory of the Maccabees, it was ordained that in dates of documents the name El Elyon should be added after the reigning high priest's name. The practice did not remain, the chief of which was of the irreverence to the Divine name when the documents are rendered useless and thrown away. It was accordingly abolished, and the day and its anniversary were observed as a fast. El Elyon, though occurring in the liturgy (e.g. first petition of the 'Amida), is seldom met with in the Talmudic literature.

Analogous to this conception of God as having His residence in the most elevated spot of the universe is 'Heaven' מֵאָרֶץ. That this term frequently stands for 'God' in the Talmudic literature, but never in the liturgies, indicates that it was a popular appellation borrowed from surrounding phraseology. Ahura Mazda was the ancient god of the vault of heaven. Bel-Sharmas, 'the Bel of Heaven,' was worshipped throughout Syria, like Zeus Olympus and Caelus in the Roman Empire.

The Divine Majesty, conceived as located in a special region in the heavens, was called מֵאָרֶץ, 'the place' (e.g. מֵאָרֶץ יֵשׁ יָם יֶשׁ, 'God help him' [Midd. 492]; מֵאָרֶץ יִנְשָׁמָה, 'Blessed be Jahweh from His place,' Ezek. 38). From Palestinian usage and not vice versa, Philo took his idea, although the pronunciation of the Hebrew name was delivered only to the priests and humble (Kid. 71a). According to Philo (Vita Mos. iii. 14),

1 Josephus already makes a mystery of the tetragrammaton (Ant. n. xli. 4).
GOD (Jewish)  

into the Talmudic literature, e.g., 'Why do they call the Holy One, blessed be He, סבון? Because He is the place of world, and not the world His place' (Pes. R. 21). 

The usual expression by which God is spoken of is 'the Holy One,' with the doxological addition, 'blessed be the name of His Kingdom.' 

(2) God as 'King.'—The practice of uttering a benediction on various occasions is probably in imitation of Zoroastrianism. Copies of these benedictions were current in the Talmudic period (Shab. 115b). Their composition and institution are traced back to the 'Men of the Great Synagogue' (Ber. 33). Every such benediction is invalid unless it contains שִׁמְךָ וַעֲנָיִיתָהּ, i.e., the name of God and acknowledgment of His Sovereignty. Likewise the response of the laity in the temple when the high priest uttered the benediction, 'בשִׁמְךָ וַעֲנָיִיתָהּ, blessed be the name of the Glory of His Kingdom,' is also the response after the Shema. As King, God is repeatedly confessed and invoked in the Prayer-book. The phraseology is borrowed from the OT, but the model is not the Hebrew king, to whom the humblest of subjects can have access, but, as Holtzmann insists (1172 266), the Persian monarch. The 'Great King' lives in solemn seclusion from his subjects. Only the favoured few may see his face. Access to him who alone may hope for a hearing, or for a decision on his will. Often he is not the author of his edicts, but government is carried on by his consent before him rather than through him. Books of remembrance are kept. Analogous to this is the Jewish conception of the court of heaven. God is transcendent. No one has seen His face at any time. 'To Moses He only showed the knot of His phylacteries (resting on His back) (Ber. 7a). He is surrounded by angelic hosts in military array, who execute His will. Around the throne of the Court, the princes of the Countenance, of whom Suriel is one (Ber. 61), and so is Melejishon (Sanh. 38). The latter is also called the Prince of the World (Yeb. 106; Kid. 60a), and enters the deeds of men in a book (Kid. 6a). The seventy nations have each a representative in the court of heaven, of whom the greatest is Michael (Yoma. 29b). The forces of Nature are presided over by viceroys. Rahab is the Prince of the Sea (Baba bathra, 74), Yurkami the Prince of Fire (Pez. 118), Dumah the angel of Spirits (Baba bathra, 94), and Leto the angel of the Serpent (Wig. 18). The angels intercede for men; and, as they know only Hebrew, prayers should not be said in Aramaic. 

Sanhedrain presents the petitions to God (Bab. 15). Elijah had a kind of Mercury, making known God's plans to the priests and sometimes solving their doubts (Ber. 3; Pes. 70). He travels from city to city (Baba forerra, 80), is a frequent visitant among the Rabbis (Sanh. 118), is familiarly known as 'that aged man' (Zul. 8), and assumes various shapes in accordance with the commission with which he is entrusted (Ber. 6; 'Ab. zuza, 77, etc.). God's statute book is the Law, which existed before creation, according to which He created, governs, and finally will judge the world. To keep this Law, and to sacrifice to Him at Jerusalem, God chose to Himself the Jewish race. Hence a right standing before God is procured by adherence to the Law. Judaism is not a faith but a system of observance, the obedience of a slave to his master. The very word in late Hebrew for 'religion,' ני (occasionally only in Esther), is borrowed from the place for the slave (Yeb. Lex. 193a, s.v.). Foremost knowledge itself is a piece of piety. כִּי יָדַע, or he who understands how to apply to and fulfill the Law under all circumstances, is accounted of higher merit than even an illiterate high priest. It was a saying of the 'gentle' Rabbi: 'An empty-headed man cannot be a sin-fearing man, nor can an ignorant person be pious' (Yer. Abod. ii. 6). 

(3) God as 'Father.'—Sometimes the epithet 'Father' precedes the word 'King.' In the 'Alumim Malkemi, four verses of which were known and used by Rabbi Akiba, or in a parallelism, as in the sixth petition of the 'Amida': 'Forgive us, O our Father, for we have sinned; pardon us, O our King, for we have transgressed.' Our Father, who art in Heaven,' is frequently used in the Mishna (Yoma, viii. 9; Sanh. ix. 7a), and in the Liturgy. The appellation, however, signifies nothing more than that Israel is God's property. 

'In a deeper penetration into the essence of God it never entered into Jewish theology' (F. Weber, 'Judenthum Theologie,' Leipzig, 1897, p. 165). The address of God as Father gives one the impression of a lost word in a strange word. The manner in which Jesus imparted intensity and depth to the spiritual life from the faith in the Father-God, such as in the Parables of the Prodigal Son, or when speaking of the birds under heaven, is peculiar to Him (W. Bouwsma, 'Relig. des Judenmenschen, Berlin, 1906, p. 249). 

(4) God as 'Creator.'—To the contact of Judaism with Mazaicism under Persian rule is probably due the institution of the Y'der, in which universal creation is ascribed to God, with which the second part or morning prayer proper commences. Its original form consisted probably of Is 40, in which God is styled 'Father,' 'Creator,' 'Maker.' A later epithet, savouring of polemics against Gnosticism, is 'He-who-spake-and-the-world-came-into-being.' It occurs in Siphra on Num. 21v. 15. 'Wilt thou know Him, etc., study the Haggada;' and frequently in the Talmud, and is the invocation in the collect of the first half of morning prayer. In the various phenomena of Nature the Jew saw the operations of the Creator and the 'King of the Universe,' and uttered a blessing. Not only is there an abundant material in the Jewish liturgy, but different blessings (many of which are referred to in the Mishna as known) on every conceivable occasion, such as the partaking of wine, of water, of fruit; as the scent of a spice, of fruit trees, of precious ointment; in a storm; at the sight of lightning, of the rainbow, of the sea, of spring-beds, of a king, of a wise man, of a monstrously fine, indeed, are the very few sentiments of the Rabbi on Divine immunence. 

R. Hanina said: 'Sometimes the Universe and the fullness thereof cannot contain the glory of His Deity, and sometimes He converses with man through the hair of his head (Pez. R. 4). To R. Yose is attributed a dispute with a lady who was a serpent-worshipper. When she maintained that the greater because Moses at the sight of the burning bush hid his face (Ex. 33) but from the serpent he did not, the Rabbi replied that in two or three steps he could become as strong as the serpent, but from God nowhere (Sanh. 3). As no one knows where the soul is situated in three or five books, no creature knows the exact place of the Holy One, blessed be He; not even the Holy Beasts who carry the Throne of glory know it.' ('Midr. Shoqar Tov. 150). 

(5) Peculiar to post-Biblical addresses to God is a lengthy enumeration of His attributes. Yet R. Hanina silenced a reader for saying 'O God, the Great, the Strong, the Awful, the Mighty, the Powerful, the Bold,' being as derogatory to the Deity as praising a millionaire for possessing only a hundred thousand (Meg. 25a). The tendency was to avoid the use of the name of God altogether. Addressed to God, which records a providential deliverance of the chosen race, does not contain it, but only once alludes to it (40v). A similar reserve is observed in the first Book of Maccabees, where 'Rabbi,' in place of Hebr. 'Lord,' is substituted for 'God.' This is the more remarkable in a book of Sadocean authorship (Holtzmann, 303). In the Rabbinic literature the usual surrogates for the above-mentioned epithets or an attribute, Some-
times the third person plural is used, e.g. 'Who
soever has bathed on it, they show pity on him from heaven' ('Shak. 151a).

Of the use of a Divine name in exclamation we know only one instance in the Talmud: 'Lord of the
universe!' (Kad. 11).

3. The solity of God.—A God who is Creator and
absolute Monarch of the universe can have no rival. Jewish monotheism, therefore, denotes belief in the existence of one God, and connotes denial of Divine attributes to any other being.
This the Jew has confessed by creed and conduct since post-exile times; the formulary is 
'shout daily recitation of the Sh'ma', Dr 84. 'Hear, O Israel, Jahwéh our God is One Jahwéh'; the latter by repudiation of the remotest approach to idolatry. It is, however, in heresy, in the Hebrew: 'faith' in Judaism, which is a religion of mere observance. The Hebrew 
'faith' does not signify an active principle, but is only an expression for strong confidence in God's help, a reliance on His faithfulness, His willingness to answer prayer, and the like (see art. 'Faith', in HDB and EB). 'Strach still uses the Hebrew in this sense (28BS 114.
409). It was applied also as trust in the saving power of the Divine prophets (Ps 119th; cf. Dv 6).

The persuasion of Judaism under Antiochus Epiphanes produced martyrs and confessors of faith. 
Tevvi came to stand for 'knowledge of Jahwéh and trust in Him, based not only on Israel's election, but also on individual conviction.
To become a believer meant to be converted to a form of religion (Jth 14th). To be a believer in
corporate articles to the essentials of that religion and steadfastness under persecution (Enoch 61
39th, He 11). It is possible that in this period was instituted the morning and evening recitation of the 
'shout of faith.' That it was so used in early pre-Christian times is attested by Josephus ('Ant. iv. viii. 13), to whom the practice seems so ancient that he ascribed it to Moses. It formed part of the 'T'fillin' (Deut. v. 10).
In the Mishna and the early Midrashim the recitation of the Sh'ma' is styled 'taking upon oneself the yoke of the Kingdom of Heaven' (Yev. 69b 60.

A traveller who recites the Sh'ma': 'walking must halt when he takes upon himself the yoke of the Kingdom of Heaven. Which is the Kingdom of Heaven? The Lord our God is one Lord' (Deut. 6).

Women, slaves, and children are exempt from reciting it (Ber. iii. 8), which indicates its use as a confession of faith such as an adult and a responsible member of the race could make. It is not surprising that the Rabbinics made much of the Sh'ma'. Minute directions are given about the time, the posture, and manner of its recitation.

It must be read with the utmost exactness. A slight pause must be made between words separated by dittoetical letters, such as תבככ. The first verse is read louder and with greater emphasis on the last word, 'yov,' and with 'intention' that God is ruling above, below, and in all the four corners of heaven. Hence the Sh'ma' is sometimes spoken of as 'a sign,' 'to cause God to reign.' The omission of the 'intention' would frustrate the process and require a repetition of the Sh'ma'. After the first verse the glory is said to be 'the name of the glory of his kingdom for ever and ever.'

The Bekhetha will be cooled for him who recites the Sh'ma' more than once. 'Whoever is he who recites the Sh'ma' to less than he who is occupied in the study of the Law' (Ch. 40). R. H. says: 'The Sh'ma' should be recited in public ('Shak. 48b).

'And he is sure of a share in the world to come' ('Shak. 119'). It is accepted by God in the place of the daily sacrifice ('Raph. on 15). The omission of the Commandments from the daily liturgy is ingeniously explained by R. Simon on the Temple at Jerusalem, because they are contained in the Sh'ma' (Jerus. Ber. 1). A further recitation of the

The Divine unity insists on in the Sh'ma' is re-echoed throughout the Jewish liturgy. Every office ends with the Amen, which is a repudiation of idolatry and an acknowledgment of the Divine Unity and Sovereignty.

The prayer is ascribed to Zenas to Rab (420), against Mendelssohn, who places its origin at a much earlier date. Its three daily recitation dates from the Middle Ages. Whether it is intended to be used as a protest against Christianity or not (see J. A. R., 'Amen'), it is less dogmatic than the prayer against the Maimonides composed by Samuel Ha-Levi (Beres. 149, 19th).

The Maimonides is distinguished from a dissertation and a memorandum. He quotes repeatedly from the Bible in a manner that is not uncommon in the Bible in this period. The passage is for the utter destruction (forte of the 'Avoda
Zaide, Wuta, 592-934). Simon y. Yoshai, also a disciple of Camael d., contemporary of the Talmudists, says: 'Whoever couples with the name of God any other thing is ascribed to R. Yohanan ben Zakkai, who at the time of the Roman conquest of Jerusalem.'

The point at issue between the Rabbinic and the Maimonidean is the Divine Unity. In ii. 5. he attacks the doctrine of the Trinity, addressing himself not to the vulgar, but to those whose faith is supported by speculative knowledge. He was followed by other Rabbinics, who were influenced by Aristotelian philosophy and who developed philosophical treatises on traditional monotheism, such as Babyl. (1274-1275), who ascribed the Chabad Ha-Shabbat, ch. v. 5. 330-340.) in his Or Yehud, Joseph Albo (1390-

In his book, better known by the Hebrew title, Emunoth W' deoth, he proves the divinity of Jesus. He relies on the testimony of the Maimonides, in imitation of Mu-
hammadan and Christian confessors, formulated a Creed in his commentary on the Mishnah. It consists of thirteen essentials of the faith, each commencing 'I believe with perfect faith.' The second asserts 'that the Creator, blessed be His name, is a unity' (ע"ש, solema), and that 'there is no unity (י"ו) in any manner like unto His,' etc.

The Creed has never been favourably accepted; and, although it is printed in some prayer-books, it is never recited publicly. But it was versified in the Yigdal and the Adon Olam, with which the introductory part of morning prayer begins. The two poems are also read in the death-chamber before life is extinct.

As a system of observances restricted to a race, Judaism demanded of every member a confession of its faith not so much in words as in conduct, consisting in conformity to the requirements of that system. A distinctive feature of Judaism was called Kedusha Ha-Shem, 'the hallowing of God's name,' or the avoidance of 

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GOD (Muslim) — 1. The name for 'God' common amongst Muslims is Allah, a word which, according to their theologians, denotes a 'Being who exists necessarily by Himself'; comprising all the attributes of perfection (cf., further, 'Arabic, pre-Islamic' section of this art.). Another Qur'anic word is ar-Rabb, 'the Lord.' There are also many names which express the various attributes of God. These are called the 'Asma' ar-Rahman, names of qualities in contradistinction to the 'Asma ash-Sharif, the name of the essence of God.

It is said that, when Muhammad and his Companions addressed God as ar-Rahman, 'the Merciful,' Abû Jahl said: Muhammad and his Companions are the enemies of God, why, then, do they call upon another God?' On this the following verse was revealed: 'Most excellent titles hath God; by these call upon Him, and stand in awe of Him. Call upon Him by His titles' (Qur. vii. 179). Those who perverted His titles were the pagan Arabs who were alleged to derive the names of their idols from names of God, as al-Lat from Allah, al-Uzz from al-Astâ, 'the Mighty' (Qur. lxxi. 1), which is now considered a grievous sin, and even infidelity.

In a much earlier Sûra also, in a verse which emphasized the unity of God, these names are referred to. In this Sûra their existence did not impair the idea of unity: 'There is no God but He; His are the excellent titles' (Qur. xxi. 35). Again, a tradition recorded by Abû Hurairâ states that Muhammad said: 'Verify there are ninety-nine names of God, and whosoever recites them shall enter Paradise. All these names express some quality of God, and are such as - ar-Rahman, 'the Merciful'; - ar-Rahîl, 'the Merciful'; - ar-Rabbîn, 'the Creator'; - al-Karîm, 'the Most Merciful'; - al-Asmî, 'the Nameless God'; - al-Îzzî, 'the Majestic'; - al-Sahî, 'the Guide'; (see full list in Hûcêr's PL. 141). The reason given for the large number is that God may always be addressed by a name suited to the need of His petitioner. Thus, in case of illness, He, calls on God as al-Muhsîn, 'the Forgiving,' or al-Mustaghî, 'the Receiver of repentances': in case of bodily violation, He prays to ar-Rahîm, 'the Provider': in case of doubt as to a course of action, He addresses God as ar-Rasûlû, 'the Messenger,' etc. To seek in the repetition of all of them, a rosary of one hundred beads is used. The Wahhabites, however, use their fingers, believing that this has been the custom of Muhammad. The name Allah is recited first or last to make up the hundred.

All Muslims agree that such names as 'the Living,' 'the Wise,' 'the Powerful,' can be applied to God, but they must be tawzîfî, i.e., authorized in some revelation—Qur'ân or tradition; e.g., God can be called al-'Îzzî, 'the Healer,' but He cannot be called al-Tâbiîn, 'the Physician,' because that word is not applied to Him either in the Qur'ân or by Muhammad. Other authorities are less strict and say that, though the exact word may not have been so applied, yet, if an attribute of the Deity has been praised, an adjective expressive of that attribute can be used; but, if names not so given are used of Him, such use must be looked upon as expressive only of His attributes and not of His nature. Such a term is Musâabît al-'arâd, 'the Causer of causes.' The Persian word Khâdîj objection also has been taken; but, as it means 'one who exists in himself,' it is equivalent to the Arabo-Persian Wâdî al-'âdîf, one who has necessary existence, and, therefore, may be used. Of names taken from a language of the infidels, such as 'God,' 'Dios,' 'Gott,' the general opinion is that they ought not to be used at all.

Among the many names of God is the Ism al-'A'zam, the exalted name.' According to one tradition, it occurs in Qur. ii. 156 and lll. 1. The names there are: ar-Rahman, 'the Merciful,' ar-Qaīrîm, 'the Self-subsistent,' and ar-Rahîm, 'the Living'; but, according to 'Aisha, the Ism al-'A'zam is known only to prophets and saints. As it is believed that those who call upon God by this name will obtain all they desire, Sûras and sermons profess to spend much time in the search for it, and, when they claim to have found it, they claim great influence over the common people. The desire to attain this knowledge has been a powerful incentive to enter on the long, arduous, and sometimes dangerous, search to which the titles are applied.

2. The doctrine of God may be considered with reference to His essence, His attributes, and His works.

(a) Muhammad laid great stress on the Divine unity. His creed, 'There is no god but God,' contains the negation of false gods and the affirmation of the unity of the one true God. The principal passages in the Qur'ân referring to this are: 'Say: He is God alone; God the eternal: He begateth not; and He is not begotten; and there is none like unto Him' (Qur. i. 1-4). 'Truly your God is but one; Lord of the heavens and of the earth' (xxvi. 4). 'God, then, is the Creator of all things: most excellent His titles' (Qur. xxvii. 7). 'This is God your Lord; there is no God but He, the Living, the Eternal: neither slumbereth He nor sleepeth: His whatsoever is in the heavens and in the earth, who it is that can intercede with Him but by His own permission? He knoweth what hath been before them' (Qur. xvi. 109).
GOD (Muslim)

what shall be after them: yet nought of His knowledge shall they know, save what He will. His throne reacheth over the heavens and the earth, and the upholding of both burdenseth Him not: and He is the High, the Great.' "There is no god but He, the Merciful,' "There is no god but He, the Mighty, the Wise." (II. 1 and 4).

His strong conception of the unity of God led Muhammad to denote what he considered to be the Christian doctrine of the Trinity. At Medina, when all hope of winning the Christians to his side had passed away, he thus appealed to them: 'O ye people of the Book, overstepping not bounds in your religion; and of God speak only truth. The Messiah, Jesus son of Mary, is only an apostle of God and His word, which He conveyed into Mary and a spirit proceeding from Him. Believe, therefore, in God and His apostles, and say nay, 'Three'; forbear: it will be better for you. God is only one God. For be it from His glory that He should have a son (IV. 130).

In the last Sura revealed we read: 'They surely are infidels altogether.' "O ye who believe in God, call not the apostles of God as-sid'iyah, or sifat, or sūlū'iyah, or faqīh al-asbābīyā. The former means that God creates and sustains all things, but belief in this does not necessarily make a man a believer; belief in the latter does, for he who accepts it worships the one God only.

(b) Muslim theologians divide their definitions of God under the seven attributes of Life (hayyūt), Knowledge (ʿilm), Power (ʿamr), Will (raṣūl), Hearing (ʿazīz), Seeing (qāber), and Speech (kalām).

Life—God has neither associate nor equal. 'Had there been a being with Me, He had gone to ruin' (XX. 31). He is Immutable, invisible, without form, formless, or partless. His existence has neither beginning nor end. He is not a body composed of substance or elements. He is not an accidents inherent in a body or dwelling in a place, and the words which proceed from his mouth. He is free from forgetfulness, negligence, and error. His knowledge is eternal; it is not posterior to his essence. 'Do not then see that God knows the secrets of the heavens and all that is in the earth' (viii. 3). 'With Him are the keys of the secret things; none knoweth what He knoweth, but He: His knowledge is whatever He wills, and in the sea; and no fellah seeth; and He knoweth it; neither is there a grain in the darkness of the earth, nor a thing slain or saved, but He knoweth it' (viii. 18). Power—God is almighty. He can raise the dead, make stones drink, and manifest the heavens and the earth, and recreate them. 'His power is eternal and a priori and a posteriori. It is such that no creature can quicken the dead.' (Irav. 15). 'If God pleased, of their eyes and of their ears would He surely deprive them' (II. 15). God hath power over all things' (III. 129).

Will—God can do what He wills, and whatsoever He willeth comes to pass. He wills everything possible, whether good or evil. He willeth the fall of the believer and the unbelief of the unbeliever. All is eternal, and is not posterior to his essence. 'God is worker of that He willeth.' (Irav. 16). 'God maketh whom He will, and whom He will He gildeth.' (Irav. 3). 'God doeth His pleasure' (viii. 3). 'If God pleased, He would surely bring them, one and all, to guidance' (viii. 58). Heart—God is without an heart, for His attributes are not like those of a man. 'He truly heareth and knoweth all things' (Al-Fātiha, v. 8).

Seeing—God sees all things, however small, yet He has no eye as we have. 'No vision taketh Him in; He taketh in all vision' (v. 103).

Speech—God speaks, but not with a tongue as men do. Speech is not of God, as a man; but it has various modes, as command, prohibition, promise, and threat. To some of His apostles, the messenger is He who did to Moses on the Mount, and to Muhammad on the night of the Ascension to heaven. To others, the speech is God. 'This is the way He speaks to the Prophets. The Qur'an is the speech (.ulūd), and of God, is therefore eternal.

The orthodox support their position by the verse: 'He it is who hath sent down to the Book. Some of its signs are of themselves penultimate' (maslak), these are the tests of the book, and others are ambiguous (mustadabbah). But they whose hearts He has blinded, He craves discord, craves an interpretation; yet none knoweth (from interpretation) but Gabriel. He is the highest of Gabriel. This is the way He speaks to the Prophets. The Qur'an is the speech (ulūd) and of God, is therefore eternal.

The difference between muḥāsib and muḥākka verses has been thus defined: 'The verses which
give orders and prohibitions are miṣtabb, all others are mutakabbib. This ruling brings all verses which speak of God and His attributes under the same ambiguous term. That being the case, the orthodoxy may say that this verse clearly shows that the interpretation of such is known only to God. There must not be any discussion on this. There was the ancient rule (de Slane, Prologomena d'lm Khalidin, ii. 67). A tradition records that 'A'īshah said: 'One day the Prophet recited the fifth verse and said to me, 'When thou seest those who follow its ambiguities, these are they whom God has named, avoid them.'

This apparently closes the door to any freedom of discussion, but men arose who altogether disputed the right of the orthodox thus to set aside the use of reason. They, too, based their position on this very verse by insisting on a different punctuation, which ran: 'None knoweth its interpretation but God and the stable in knowledge. They say,' We believe in it. Here God and the wise are said to be able to investigate all those matters which come under ambiguous expressions, and this use of reason then leads them to say, 'We believe in it.' This very reading is an orthodox one; the scholastic theologians generally adopt the second.

When the latter asked, 'How can man believe what they do not know?' the reply was ready. 'The act of believing in the unknown is the very thing praised by God.' Or, 'Why, if the Qur'an says one thing, are not all its verses plain?' The answer was: 'There are two kinds of eloquence, one the arrangement of words in a plain style, the other a figurative language. The Qur'an, as a perfect book, must contain both. Some must be plain, as 'the God and His servants who are established in knowledge,' Com. on iii. 5; see also Fritzsche's edition of Bulâtinar, Leipzig, 1846-48, vol. i. p. 146, and footnote in Sûra Faith of Islam, p. 102.

The controversy, however, dealt chiefly with the questions whether the attributes of God were internal or external, were part of His essence or not, were eternal or not. The orthodox party, called the 'Sufis' (sûfî = 'qualities,' 'attributes'), held that the attributes of God are eternally inherent in His essence without separation or change. All the attributes are conjoined with Him, as life with knowledge, or knowledge with power. The ambiguous verses in the Qur'an were not to be explained. The Mu'tazilites opposed this, and rejected the idea of eternal attributes, saying that to know the kindred of the things as 'the God and His servants,' would require a multiplication of eternal existences. The attributes of hearing, seeing, and speech they rejected; they were opposed to doctrine of existence. They looked upon such an expression as 'the hand of God' as a figurative way of speaking of His power. Ash-Shahraštâni in the Mu'ad ud-din of the Cheltenham ed. p. 40) thus puts the Mu'tazilite view:

'They say that God is eternal, that eternity is the peculiar property of His essence; but they deny the existence of any eternal attribute (as distinct from His essence); they say that He is consistent as to His nature; life, etc., to His nature; but not through any knowledge, power, or life existing in Him as eternal attributes; for knowledge, life, power are part of His essence; otherwise, if they were looked upon as eternal attributes of the Deity, it would give rise to the absurdity of eternal existences. They maintained also that the knowledge of God is within the province of reason, for which reason we need not trouble our heads.

To the Mu'tazilites a plurality of co-eternal attributes, such as those involved in the Beautiful Names described above, seemed to conflict with the principle of the One, and therefore, apprehended them as states of the Divine essence, or identified them with the essence itself. The significance of the attributes thus, indeed, ran the risk of being lost. It is said that a philosopher who denied entirely the existence of any attribute said: 'God is by His essence a Being who knows.' A Mu'tazilite who denied the existence of an external attribute did believe in attributes, and so far differed from the philosopher. His way of putting the case would be: 'God is a Being who knows, but by means of a knowledge which He Himself has.'

For the rise of the Ash'arite school, see art. AL-ASH'ARI. It is enough now to say that Abu al-Hassan al-Ash'ari (A.D. 970-999) put the case somewhat differently. He says that there are twenty necessary qualities in God: existence (wujûd), the proof of which is the origin of
GOD (Slavio)——GOD (Teutonico)

The world, which must have had an originator; priority (genesis); 2, there was a time when He was not; consequence (genesis) or lack of termination to His existence; difference (nada/ba/a) from things created; self-existence (genuine); 3, no origin; anything exists, no necessity; Muhammad will; knowledge: life; hearing; seeing; speech; being powerful; is the essence of the attributes of the Creator; "when power exists in an essence, the quality called ‘being powerful’ is the same essence; being a will, a knowers, a living one, a hearer, a seer, a speaker." These are said to be qualities existing in His essence, and are states (stati); they are not the attributes of will, knowledge, etc.; but between them and the attributes concerned there is a reciprocal inseparability.

God is described as Merciful and Gracious, the Guardian over all, the Provider of daily bread, the Rower of the people, and their Deliverer, and many similar terms; but all that the Qur'an says of the loving-kindness of God is overshadowed by the teaching of Muhammad in the Qur'an and the traditions as to His Power. This is the prominent element in the conception of God as taught by the Prophet; it has ruled the Muslim world, and still rules it. The 'most excellent names,' ninety and nine in number, do not contain any term which denotes the relation of God as a Father to His people. The idea is repugnant to the Muslim mind, and so in Islam the relation of man to God must ever be that of a slave, who lacks the freedom and dignity of a son.

The Prophet's Semitic origin is apparent in his religious doctrine of the unity of God. Allah, the God, the absolute ruler of Nature and of man, was to him the truest and noblest conception of the Divine Being. Where he had not been brought into contact with Jews, his monotheism would have been so strong as perhaps doubtful. It has been well said that there is no charm in the abstract doctrine of the unity of God to elevate mankind, and the general idea that has grown out of this dogma—that God cannot be known, and that inquiries into His nature are worse than the God of the Muslim is far off. The prevailing conception of God as the All-Powerful is not far removed from the idea of a deep, and, fear, thus separate from love, is either the incentive to all effort or leads to the repression of all energy in the Muslim. The idea of unlimited, arbitrary power, unrestrained by any law of holiness, has so filled the Muslim mind that sin is regarded less as a breach of moral law than as a violation of some arbitrary decree. Certain actions of the Prophet were evil according to any law of righteousness; but no Muslim would admit that in doing them Muhammad committed a sin, for he acted under the command of God. Thus, said the Prophet, he was come to be regarded not as the moral elevation of a man, but as safety from punishment. It is attained not by spiritual regeneration of the man's evil nature, but by the punctilious performance of certain religious rites, submission to the will of God regarding them being the essential characteristic of a good Muslim.

The Wahhābites, the most fanatical of all Muslim sects, have so emphasized this idea of the unity and power of God that, from their point of view, the concept of power may be called the Definition of Power, just as Hinduism deifies the productive and generative principles of Nature (see the description which Palgrave gives in his Central and Northern Asia, p. 284). The Wahhābite idea of God is: it is more or less true of what men of the other Muslim sects believe. The characteristic of God realizes the greatness and grandeur of His power, but it does not tend to call forth the deep love of the human soul for the right of God in the individual, so also it hindres progress in the community, and prevents the formation of a national life. A practical fatalism settles sooner or later on all Muslim communities.

LITERATURE.—The translations of the Qur'an by Sale, Lane, Peter, Palmer, IV. and V. volumes; and the comments of Qur'anic theology, esp. by A. Schuré (Berlin, 1866-67), K. Krueger (Münster, 1892); the Proceedings of the Congresses of the International Congress of Arabic Studies (see the proceedings of the Congress of the Islamic States, 1866-67); T. P. Hughes, 'Le médecin, la chasse, le plaisir, la guerre,' in the Berlin, 1866; K. Kremer, Gesch. der herrschenden Lieden des Islam, Leipzig, 1862; T. P. Hughes, 'Le médecin, la chasse, le plaisir, la guerre,' in the Berlin, 1866; K. Kremer, Gesch. der herrschenden Lieden des Islam, Leipzig, 1862; T. P. Hughes, 'Le médecin, la chasse, le plaisir, la guerre,' in the Berlin, 1866;

Edward Sell.

GOD (Slavio).—The word for 'God' in the Slavonic languages is Bog. It is found in the names of primitive pagan deities mentioned in the ancient chronicles (e.g. Strijov, Dazsbyg), and by Helmond (L. C. Zemboch, Is. deum minorum). It is the same word as the Esk. Skupa (Old Pers. Sko), which means 'good,' 'blessing;' and this meaning is found in derivatives from the root boy (e.g. bogaty), 'rich'; sko, 'eye,' 'spring'; sko, 'soup.' Procopius of Cesarea (11th cent.) seems to think it possible (de Bello Gothic, xii. 14) that the ancient Slavs had a supreme God dominating their pantheon, as Zeus dominated the Greek pantheon.

The Slavs,' he says, speaking of those bordering on the Byzantine Empire, 'believe in a God who causes thunder, and is the sole master of the universe.'

Halmold (Chronicon Slavorum, i. 83) makes the same assertion in regard to the Slavs of the Baltic and the Elbe:

'Among the various gods to whom they attribute the fields and forests, rivers and seas, they are all agreed that one God rules over the others from the heights of heaven. The all-powerful God attends only to celestial affairs. The others have their separate religions and obey Him; they are the offspring of His blood, and take precedence in rank according to their distance from this God of gods.'

Unfortunately, we have no text to confirm what Halmold says of the origin of the Slavic gods. A biographer of the missionary Otto of Dannberg tells us that the Slavs regarded their supreme deity as 'glorious and filled with all riches' (Ebbe, ii. 1). In the treaty concluded in 945 between the Slavs and Greeks it is said (supposed Russian chronicle of Nestor):

'May the Christian Russians who violate this treaty be abandoned by the all-powerful God; may those who have not been baptized get no help from God or Perun.'

But no other text mentions this anonymous god.


GOD (Teutonico).—1. The term 'god.'—The term 'god,' as used to denote anthropomorphic beings of a higher order, is found in all the Teutonic languages (Goth. god, O.N. god, A.S. and O.S. god, O.H. god in High German, Df. God, and Sell's Faith of Islam), p. 181 ff., of the Wahhābite idea of God: it is more or less true of what men of the other Muslim sects believe. The God of the Teutonic race realizes the greatness and grandeur of His power, but it does not tend to call forth the deep love of the human soul for the right of God in the individual, so also it hinder progress in the community, and prevents the formation of a national life. A practical fatalism settles sooner or later on all Muslim communities.

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GOD (Teutonic)

2. The four pan-Teutonic deities. — The worship of anthropomorphic deities constitutes the final stage in the religious evolution of the heathen Teutons. It was, in the main, a development from the belief in souls and spirits. One of these innumerable creatures of the imagination was single out as representative of a whole group of souls and became the central object of the cult; it was worshipped by prayer and sacrifice, and gradually extended its sphere of influence, in harmony with the interests of the confederation whose members paid homage to it. Such was the origin of the deities worshipped by the Teutons and regarded as holy either by single communities or by nationalities. It sometimes happened that other deities surrendered their province to the god thus worshipped, became incorporated with him, and were then recognised as mere epithets of the chief deity; while, on the other hand, certain attributes of the latter were detached from him and became independent deities. There was no uniform cult common to all the Teutons. In many instances a cult migrated from one tribe to another, and so either superseded, or became amalgamated with, the indigenous cult (religious institutions). We, nevertheless, among the Teutons three specially prominent gods, who, moreover, are met with in all the different tribes, and must, accordingly, have come down from a period when the Teutons were still an undivided people. These three are: Wōdan, the god of the dead and of the wind; Ódin, the god of thunder and of the sky; and Frey, the god of wealth and the husband of Freyja. With him he is associated a female figure who appears in the O.E.G. sources as Frīa, in the O.N. as Frigg ("the beloved," "the wife"), and is always regarded as the consort of Wōdan. Roman writers identify Wōdan with Mercury; Donar—in the earlier period—with Hercules, and subsequently with Jupiter; Ziu-Tyr with Mars; and Frīa-Frigg with Venus; and thus, when the Roman calendar was introduced among the Teutons, the dice Martis was rendered "Tues- day," the dice Mercurius "Wednesday," the dice Joviarei "Saturday" (Norse Niflheim), and the dice Venus "Friday."
of the upper regions, who manifests himself in the thunder. In this capacity he bears the axe or hammer, which he hurls from the sky, and with which he makes the earth fruitful (Adam of Bremen, iv. 28). He is depicted as a strong man in the prime of life and with a ruddy beard, and he is accordingly worth on the votive stones of Teutonic mercenaries as "Hercules magnusmanus" or "Hercules barbatus" (W. Brimbach, Corp. Insocr. Hdb., Elberfeld, 1867, no. 130 ff., 655). During the thunderstorm he travels through the air in a chariot, which, according to Norse mythology, is drawn by two goats. The saga also tells us that his hammer, which he brandishes at the ghastly revels of the giants, is called Mjölnir, and, further, that he wears a peculiar girdle, which increases his strength when his anger is roused. By virtue of his hammer he is also the god of human fecundity, using it to bless the rite of marriage. He is attended sometimes by the youthful Jörm, pre-eminent in swiftness, and sometimes by Loki the cunning. His mother is Jörtr, "the earth," whom the skalds identify with Frigg or with Hlínyn (O. H. G. Hlidana). In the North, certain of his attributes are personified as his sons, Magni (power) and Mjöllnir (strength), or as his daughter Frigg (strength), and his abode is called Friddhimter (realm of strength) or Friddhaim (land of strength). His consort is Sif, i.e. simply the "ocean," or sea. In certain districts Thor came to be regarded as the son of Odin, but this took place only after the latter had advanced to the position of supreme deity. He, nevertheless, maintained his preponderance as the chief object of belief and worship among the peasantry of Norway and Iceland till the downfall of paganism. In all the Norse countries he is the friend of man, succouring him in his conflict with demonic powers. The latter being represented mainly as giants, Thor's battles with giants form the theme of numerous sagas, some of which were of a large extent furnished by widely diffused legends. In both Norway and Iceland temples were erected to him in large numbers; his cult has left traces in many place-names, while the naming as proper names formed with Thor are a further testimony to the prevalence of his worship among the Northern peoples. It is true that outside this area we find but few data bearing upon his cult; but such as we have are in complete agreement with the evidence of the Norse sources. Thor's sacred tree was the oak (cf. Ulf, Der Mythos von Thor, in Schriften v. St., Stuttgart, 1868).

(c) Ziu-Tyrs—The third pan-Teutonic god was the war-god—the O. H. G. Ziu, A. S. Týr, O. N. Tyr, whose name appears in the O. H. G. Dienstag, A. S. Tuesday, O. N. Týrday). He has often been regarded as a survival of *Tiwas,* the Teutonic sky-god of pre-historic times, but in our extant sources he is never anything else than the god of war. His worship was specially prevalent among the Western Teutons. Thus he is met with on the Rhine as "precipinas decurum Mars" (Tac. Hist. iv. 64); the Alemanni, in virtue of their being devoted to his cult, were also called Ciuwarti, i.e. "worshippers of Ziu." Bavarian mercenaries stationed near Hadrian's wall dedicated altars to him as Mars Thingus (Things, another appellation of Ziu; cf. Dien- in Germ. Dienstag, "Tuesday"), the god of the popular assembly (cf. Dan. Ting, "parliament"). Among the Saxons he was known also as Sahamot, and Er or Eriz. His symbolic weapon was the sword. Norse myths depict him as having one hand, his left hand, as a stragam of the Fenris wolf.

(d) Frjáa-Prjá—In addition to these three male deities, all the Teutonic tribes recognized the goddesess Freyja (A. S. Freg). The wife of Wódan-Odin. Her name (akin to Skr. prjá) means simply 'the beloved,' 'consort,' 'wife,' and she was, accordingly, the goddess of married women, and the attendants of the sky-god. She was associated with Odin his growing prestige, and became the mother of the gods; but she had no such position in the cult as was enjoyed by her husband or by Thor.

3. Local deities. — Beyond the four mentioned above, no other deity was acknowledged by all the Teutonic peoples. Among the Southern Teutons and the Norwegians we meet with the indefinite figure of Fria's sister, who is called Volva by the former, and Fulla by the latter—a name signifying the dispenser of wealth. But we should note that a large number of deities belonging to particular districts—in Germany chiefly female, in Scandinavia both male and female—and known to us mainly from legendary sources. The great profusion of such local deities is shown by the votive stones erected by German mercenaries and inscribed with the names of goddesses. One of the most prominent of these was the Nekermanns worshipped in the Rhine delta—the tutelary deity of fishermen and the bestower of fruitfulness. The Marsi accorded a tribal worship to Tanfana, whose festival was celebrated in autumn (Tac. Ann. i. 51). A goddess of seafaring, whom Tacitus (Hist. 9) identifies with the Egyptian Isis, was worshipped by the Suevi. A complex of the spirit of the coast of the Baltic or the North Sea offered sacrifice and worship to Nethus, who had her seat in a sacred grove, and travelled through the various territories in the beginning of spring (ib. 46; cf. Mannhardt, Wald- u. Feldkulte, Berlin, 1877, i. 567 ff.).

4. Deities peculiar to the Northern Teutons. — The deities of the Southern Teutons cannot compare in point of numbers with those met with in the Scandinavian sources. These Northern deities, moreover, are the more interesting figures among the Fens were also objects of worship.

(a) Frey, Njort, and Freydis. — At their head was Frey, whose principal sphere of worship was in the fertile plains of Sweden, his chief temple being at Upsala. His cult found its way thence to Norway (Trondhjem), and was then carried to Iceland by Norwegian colonists. The name Frey means simply 'the lord.' He was regarded as the god of the fertility of the soil, and thus as the dispenser of wealth and prosperity—the deity from whose hand came sunshine, rain, and favourable winds. In the Eddas he is represented as travelling in a carriage drawn by a boar with bristles of gold. He possessed a marvellous sword, able of itself to fight, and also the ship Skidbladnir, in which he travelled through the air. His father is Njort; his sister is Freydis. Njort is really the Norse form of the Northman name Njort, i.e. the older god Frey, and, like him, also the bestower of wealth—wealth, however, more in keeping with Norwegian conditions, i.e. as acquired by seafaring.

In Norway, where Frey was worshipped, Njort also was worshipped, and their names appear side
by side in the Norwegian form of oath. The female Norn, on the other hand, survived in Freyja's sister Freyja may have been derived from her brother's. A Norse myth speaks of Njörd ('place of ships') as the abode of Njörd, and says that his wife, Skötti, the daughter of a giant, stays with him only three nights in Njörd, while he spends nine nights with her in his mountain home. In Freyja, who appears only in the late-provincial sources, are combined attributes of her brother and of Frigg. She was the goddess of fecundity and love. As a chthonic deity she has a share in the slain. She has the elf-like power of flying through the air in the form of a falcon, while legend endows her also with a resplendent breast-ornament, the Brisingamen ('bride's jewel'),

(b) Balder.—Of the other Norse deities the most prominent was Balder, whose name signifies 'light,' 'the bright one.' Nothing is known of a Balder cult, and what is told of him by Saxo Grammaticus and the Eddas consists of mythical narratives which group themselves round the subject of his death. The Snorre Edda says that he was noted for his bosom appearance and his gentleness of nature. It is clear that, in the latest form of the myth, Balder has been endowed with certain attributes of Christ. His death, according to Saxo, was due to Hothern, Ho6r, who for the occasion availed himself of a magic sword; the object of the conflict was the winning of the beautiful Nanna, who was the lady deity whom Balder also had paid court (Hist. Dan. i. 110). In the Eddas, on the other hand, Nanna is Balder's wife, and Balder is the favourite of the gods, who were forewarned of his doom by evil dreams. His mother Frigg, accordingly, made all animate and inanimate things take an oath that they would not injure Balder, and only the mistletoe remained unfettered. It is not Ho6r, but Loki, who perpetrates the deed, Ho6r being a blind Aes who acts merely as the instrument of Loki. Thus, when the Aes cast stones and other missiles at Balder, as they were wont to do in play, Loki thrusts the mistletoe bough into Ho6r's hand and so instigates the throw which kills Balder (Snorre Edda, i. 172 E.). In both forms of the myth Balder was avenged by a brother, whom Odin sought for the purpose; this brother appears in Saxo as Bous, and in the Edda as All. According to the Norse sagas, Balder had a son named Forseti ('president'), who was the best of all judges, and is probably to be traced to the Frisian Forste (cf. S. Bugge, Studien üer d. Entstehung der nord. Götter- u. Heldensagen, Munich, 1893; Fraser, Götter, London, 1900, II. 358 E.; F. Kantimann, Balder, Strassburg, 1902; Schück, Studien i nordisk litteratur- och religionshistoria, Stock- holm, 1904, ii. 1 E.).

(c) Heimdallr.—Another of the Aes named in the Norse sources is Heimdallr, i.e. 'world-bleem,' 'he who shines over the world,' the sentinel of the Aes on the border of the Divine world, and as such provided with the Gjallarhorn, on which he sounds a blast at the outbreak of the last great battle between the gods and the demonic powers. In his musical career he requires less effort than a bird, and sees equally well by day and by night. His ears are so acute that he hears the grass growing on the earth, and the wool on the sheep's back. According to a saga in the Edda, he is the son of nine sisters, daughters of the female sea-deamon Rán, and derives his enormous strength from the latter. Night after night upon the foaming cliff he wrestles with Loki for the possession of Freyja's Brisingamen, and wreaths from him the stolen jewel.

(4) Minor and later deities: Odin, Hoenir, Viliar, Bragi.—(1) Still another figure numbered amongst the gods by the Snorre Edda is Ullr, whom Saxo calls Ollerus, making him the visiguard of Odin during the latter's absences on the field of battle. Ullr is highly skilled in fishing and ski-running, and is conspicuous for his beauty of form. (2) The figure of Hoenir, as regards both his character, is difficult to explain. In the sagas he is often found in alliance with Odin and Loki, the three being repeatedly associated in tales of adventure. So, too, the Vaisgar represents them as having created the human race, but here Hoenir never becomes prominent. He fills a peculiar role in the legend of the war with the Fews. After the treaty of peace he was given as a hostage to the latter, amongst whom he became notorious for his mental incapacity, leaving everything in the hands of his fellow-hostage Mimir. The only quality in which he excels is swiftness. (3) In the Eddas we read also of Viliar, the son of Odin and the giantess Grith, as one of the gods. He is the tactician Aes, and bears a striking resemblance to Vali. Like the latter, he is destined by birth to be an avenger. He avenges his father Odin by thrusting his sword through the heart of the Fenris wolf, and wrenching from the creature its upper and under jaws. He shares with Vali the sovereignty of the renewed world (Yofnpep, 53). (4) The latest group of the Aes who with Odin is the god of poetical art. He was really the skald Bragi, who lived in the 9th cent. and was accorded a place among the einherjar. In Valhall he acts as Odin's counsellor, and, with other einherjar, receives the kings who die in battle. As an Aes he becomes a son of Odin. He was noted for his long beard, and, according to the later sagas, was the husband of Idun, who bestowed the gift of youth.

(c) Loki.—A peculiar position among the Norse deities is assigned to Loki. He is the Aes who sometimes succours, sometimes works injury; he is sometimes an ally of Odin and Thor, and their comrade in travel, while, again, he seeks to overreach the gods. His double character makes him a favourite theme of poetic legend, and he became the nucleus of mythical incidents and Christian stories about Satan. Loki is in reality evolved from the chthonic character shows itself also in the blood-covenant which he makes with Odin, while his elfish nature is seen in his power of assuming at will the form of a woman or an animal, in his artistic skill, his dexterity in theft, and his malicious cunning. His beautiful and graceful appearance and his lameness are characteristics also found among elfish beings. After the process of development by which the elfish apppellative loki (related to lika, 'to look in,' as holda to helan, 'to hide') had become personified as Loki the Aes, the latter joins with Odin and Hoenir in the creation of man; he wanders with these gods in quest of adventures; he brings the apples of Idun to the giants, and in the form of an eagle takes them away again; in the shape of a mayfly after he has won the stallion of the archchet of Asgard, he gives birth to Odin's eight-footed steed Sleipnir; he cuts off Bif's hair, and then brings hair of gold for her from the dwarfs; he accompanies Thor upon the expedition in which the latter recovered his hammer from the land of the giants, and also upon his journey to Utgard. But Loki never forgets the death of Balder, and it was on this account that Norse poetry fastened upon him
GODAVARI—GOETHE

the saga of the chained monster, telling how he was fettered by the Aas. Among the latter his wife is Sigyn, and their son Nari.

A consequence of destructive propensities, Loki became the enemy of the gods, and thus also the giant who at the head of the demonic powers has a share in bringing about the dissolution of the gods and the world. In this, the latest, phase of the myth, his wife is the giantess Angrboða, 'the worker of calamity,' while his children are the Fimrifi, gods of evil, the queen of the underworld (cf. A. Orlík, 'Loke i nyere folkeoverlevering,' in Danske Studier, v. (1906) 163 ff., vii. (1906) 60 ff.; Næstvedt til Selander, Loke mytiske opsyn, Upsala, 1911).

(f) Female deities.—In the Norse poetic literature, moreover, we find the names of numerous female beings, the gods, but in most cases the name is all we learn of them. In addition to Freyja, the sister of Frey (see above), the Norse peoples recognized Gefjon, who was at one time regarded as the goddess of the fruit-bearing earth, and was even worshipped as such (cf. A. Orlík, in Danske Studier, vii. (1910) 1 ff.), and to whom the Danes ascribed the present position of the Island of Zealand. She typified eternal youth, and was the guardian of the apples which rejuvenated the gods. Later tradition made her the wife of Bragi. Female deities having specific functions are found in Gna, the messenger of Frigg; Sága, the goddess of wisdom, who in company with Odin drank wine from vessels of gold at Békhrabeck; Snorra, who imparts wisdom to women; Sjofa, who unites lovers; Lofn, who acts as intermediary between gods and men; Hlin, protector of flocks; Ein, custodian of domestic peace; and Vor, guardian of oaths and treaties.


GODÁVARI (Skr. godávarti, 'granting water or kine'; but the name is more probably a Sanskritized form of the original Dravidian name Gods (Telugu gods), 'limit,' 'boundary,' in the sense that it divided two regions of the Dakkhin.)—The great river of the central part of India, rises near the Nalk (or), flows E., and joining the Krishna and the Godavari, forms the boundary between the British District of Ahmmednagar and the Dominions of the Nizam of Bhaiderabad; thence flowing W. and forming part of the latter territory, and finally falling into the Bay of Bengal in two branches—the G. or Gauami Godavarti, and the W. or Vasiga. Its total length is 936 miles.

The Gauami ranks high among the twelve sacred rivers of India, its chief rivals being the Ganges and the Nerbada. It is associated with the story of the wanderings of Rama, who is said to have lived for a long time at a place called Panchavati, which is by some identified with Nasik, but was probably lower down the course of the river. The chief sanctuary attaches to the G. or Gauami branch, built on a sand island. It was reached by boat from the Gauami branch, and was associated with the goddesses. Another story tells that it flows from the same source as the Ganges, and this connection is shown by its name, Praksha-ganga, 'old lady Ganges.' Every part of its course is sacred, and bathing in its waters washes away the foulest sin. Every twelve years the great Pushkara bathing-festival is held on its banks.

The chief holy places is Trimbak (Skr. Trimbakeshwar, 'three-eyed,' a title of Siva), which contains one of the great lingas of India. This is the reputed, but not the real, source. Here a place is shown under the name of Gauami. Here also, where the sun sets, there is said to be a cleft in a certain stone which, when the sun sets, the water drips from a lofty cliff through a stone cow's mouth, which the attendant priest decorates with leaves and flowers. Here the god is paraded in a litter every Monday; and every twelfth year, when the sun enters the sign of Leo, a great bathing-festival is held, the reputation of which is so great that the word 'godavarti' is commonly used in Gujrat to express the number twelve (BG viii. 840 ff.). Nasik, close by, is held to be one of the sacred places of India. Lower down the course of the river comes Bhadrachalam (Skr. bhadrachalam, 'lovely hill'), also known as Rámamah, the sacred ford where Rama is said to have crossed the river. It contains a famous temple dedicated to the god, which is a place of pilgrimage. As the river approaches the sea, the chief holy places are Rájamundry (Telugu Rájamundry, 'land of the king'), and, further down, the king Mahendravada of the Orissa dynasty, and the village of Kottipal on the left bank of the E. month of the river.

FEMALE DEITIES.—(see above.)

GOETHE.——1. Life.—Goethe was born at Frankfurt-on-the-Main on 28th August 1749. The place was good and the time was great. For his was the great time that the world goddess is common used in Gujarát to express the number twelve (BG viii. 840 ff.). Nasik, close by, is held to be one of the sacred places of India. Lower down the course of the river comes Bhadrachalam (Skr. bhadrachalam, 'lovely hill'), also known as Rámamah, the sacred ford where Rama is said to have crossed the river. It contains a famous temple dedicated to the god, which is a place of pilgrimage. As the river approaches the sea, the chief holy places are Rájamundry (Telugu Rájamundry, 'land of the king'), and, further down, the king Mahendravada of the Orissa dynasty, and the village of Kottipal on the left bank of the E. month of the river.

GODDESS.—See GOD, DES MATRES, FEMALE PRINCIPLE.

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his romances, earlier, with Lotte, and his Weimar relations with Franz von Steal, there is neither space nor call to speak here, as we are concerned with the all-inclusive developments. Amid multiplying cares and distractions, Goethe maintained his interest in literary activities and plastic art; his official duties deepened his spiritual isolation. Then the death of his beloved mother in 1788, wherein his life was made up of Italian sojournings, of which more will be said later.

After an absence of nearly two years in Italy, Goethe returned, and soon afterwards married a humble but winsome maiden, named Christiane Sophie Vulpius, in whose love he was happy. The year 1790 was crowned by the birth of his first child; and 1791 was a fruitful year. But, once an interesting start was gained, it remained faithful and fruitful to the end. Their desperate detractors they scorned in the tasks that they did to their name; and their. quality. Goethe wrote to Schiller that their first cordial intercourse had been an epoch in his life; Schiller wrote of Goethe to the Countess Schimmel that he was the first of his life. Their. lofty integrity and truth, together with the highest earnestness on behalf of what is right and good. Their correspondence shows how each was the complement of the other. When their union of hearts was broken by Schiller's death in May, 1805, it was an irreparable loss to Goethe, and his grief was great. A time of political troubles and domestic distress followed, until the peace that was concluded between France and Prussia in July 1807. Goethe's activities continued, but his literary work lay dormant; but, by the death of his son, August, in 1831, however, his harrassed literary industry was proceeding. When he had put the finishing touches to Faust, he said to Eckermann: 'Now Nature's all is as if it would make of my life a free gift. In the following year (12th March 1825) he gently passed away. His dust was laid to rest in the churchyard of St. James, where lay his father and mother; and to him is a supreme excellence. The real ground of the profound impression which he made as a literary figure we shall see later. Meantime, we take critical account of many of his more important literary efforts. His Götze von Berlichingen, a juvenile but captivating drama, attracted the attention of Scott, and was not without influence on French. It sets before us the ideal of freedom, in rude and natural forms of active and heroic will, battling against circumstance, and asserting its independence, under a native sense of justice. A like cry for freedom—the freedom of the artist—marks Goethe's Prometheus, which contains passages of living interest.

Goethe's superab power as a writer of ballads, instances are seen in his 'Bride of Corinth' ('Die Braut von Koriath'), 'The Erl-King' ('Der Erlkönig'), and 'The God and the Bawdies'), which witness to his wide-reaching insight and subtle charm of expression, and abound in elements of beauty and mystery. Goethe's sojourn in Italy and his contemplation of Art and Nature, developed in him the spectatorial attitude rather than that of practical activity. This attitude, with its own ethical conceptions of the world, is reflected in his exquisite
drama *Iphigenie*, his refined play *Tasso*—neither of which, however, proceeded from a Shakespeare—and in his serious work, *Wilhelm Meister*. Of the last we shall presently speak, hence the meagre time of his *Tasso* that he found had to complete this fine and penetrative piece of work. But he said to Eckermann that the play was born with the last breath of his life. The *Tasso* of the drama, it should be said, is in certain respects not at all like the *Tasso* of historic fame. In the former, *Tasso* differs in many respects from the Egmont of history, and is ruined by his inability to read hospitality where it exists. There is something not quite admirable in Goethe's treatment of *Tasso*. It is a figure admirable and pathetic, drawn by Goethe's Hellenism with characteristic Greek reserve. Not less clearly drawn are the figures in his *Hermit von Dorchas*, which, while truly individual, are significant of the typical, sedentary, young spirit they may be, but they remain genuinely German. Artistically, the piece is perfect.

Goethe's ethical attitude, to which reference has already been made, is a rather difficult subject, as is seen in his resolving morality into systematised self-expression and self-realisation, even in the case of the self-development of Faust, wherein are incidents not easily brought within the ethical sphere. But Goethe's own moments of aggressive paganism are not to be forgotten, and they cast a significant light on his rather absurd impatience with what he regarded as Christianity's ascetic chastisement of man. This is not to overlook the fact that he felt the force of Kant's thought with respect to practical problems of ethics. It was in one of his later stages that he took up Christianity, but his religion, though it be a religion, is an inescapable reverence in three kinds—for what is above us, for what is below us, and for equals—and this Neo-Christianism, if it may be so termed, consisted in the fusion of three elements. The artistic view of life finds expression in Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*, which has no lack of wealth of life and thought, though wanting in artistic finality. *Culture, or Bildung*, sums up his aim, and the work has been aptly styled an *Odyssey* of culture. The world is for him harmonised in cultivated society. In spirit and art the drawbacks not difficult to find, many have been able to learn much from it. It presents the world as a vast quarry of materials, which it is for us to reduce to an ideal form in virtue of the creative power within us. Thus a vague and formless idealism will be supplanted, under life's disciplinary processes, by definite and well-chosen activity. It is as a philosophical realist that Goethe so speaks, his own happiness being, in some sort, a religion to him. But the work insists that man shall develop his sentiments and perceptive powers, no less than his powers of moral culture, in order to the harmonious working of all the powers of his nature. All those teachings, as to the wisdom and strength of life, are set forth in a manner as far as possible removed from didactic or moralistic presentations, in the rich and varied guise, indeed, of animated description and thrilling romance. This is not to say, however, that the work is not dull and prosaic enough in places.

In *The Sufferings of Young Werther* (*Die Leiden des jungen Werther*), Goethe gave expression to that reaction against the domination of the understanding which marked the 18th century. He made the work expressive of the high sensibility, and the feeling for Nature, which were being in new ways developed. But his Werther was too given over to the sway of sensibility to have it, as in Goethe himself, controlled and regulated by a knowledge of himself. It is a little healthiness of tone, and it is infected with the melancholy of the age—the excessive sentimentality of the closing 18th century.

Goethe's *Egmont* (die Wahrheit in der Kunst) is a fine prose work, telling of the tragic significance of the relations which he calls *elektive Affinität*, or the given spiritual tendency. The book is marked by great feeling, high imagination, and deep knowledge of man and the world.

As in *Wilhelm Meister*, so in the *Poetry and Truth* (*Die Dichtung und Wahrheit*), the culture idea is emphasized. The work is an autobiographical record of somewhat unusual and informal character, but it presents, in light and graceful style, more of personal experiences of his early life; it even reflects the national currents of thought and feeling. Friend as Goethe was of world-literature, he here complains that national subjects and practical no treatment from the friends of his early days. It contains, too, in a noteworthy way, his scorn of the melancholy, mystical, and sublime, wherein Nature is viewed as more eternal and unaided movement of matter.

On the development of Faust we have already touched, but it remains to remark that *Faust*, as a work, is universally regarded, even in Germany itself, as an extraordinary work. *Faust* has been styled a world-epic, or Welt-epos, because of its vast range and wondrous universality. Great, however, as it is, it is scarcely the product of Goethe's genius, so marked by factual tendency and breadth, as of an inductive philosopher. But even in this work, knowledge of a true sort is used, direct, living, and wondering contemplation of Nature-looking "into the breast as into the bosom of a friend"—and not through dry thinking or analysis. To know life in its concrete variety, pressure, and fullness is to be able to appreciate *Faust*. Here Goethe's religion is the religion of the soul of the deed, which, in his pagan mood, he elsewhere describes as a kind of religion of healthy-mindedness, if that may be so termed, which consists in sheer absorption in the world and its joys. But his religious views are vague. In an advanced part of *Faust* we find the "religion of the deed" reappear, when it is announced that we have power to redeem "him who labours ceaselessly striving." It is to be noted that in *Faust* the problem of evil was what engrossed Goethe—whether to be regarded as an essential element of the universe or as a merely negative thing, a transient appearance to be overpassed. The attitude of Faust is that two souls dwell within his breast, the one fails to separate itself from the other. Should evil be destined to be overcome, Goethe would take Faust to represent the triumphant process. This is where the ethical worth of *Faust* is to be found, in its manner of typifying or embodying the modern spirit or tendency: Faust is set forth as the essential man—bold in aspiration, all-consuming in desire, hopeless in fallen condition and in ultimate resolution—so as to foreshadow the destiny of the human race. He expresses the desire to take him up himself what is portioned among the whole of humanity. The whole dramatic reason of the work has its source in practical experience. In its course the claims of the individual and the social spirit will mayhap be harmonized in an ideal of practical culture. His bald thought is that evil is not a positive power, but merely some-
thing negative—an interpretation of moral evil, it must be said, of too optimistic a character, and one which is not quite clearly and satisfactorily wrought out, so far as the Lessingweg (the purification or rectification) of Faust's character and development is concerned. The progress is wanting in inwardness of character. It is in the Second Part of Faust—only in the latter part of the poem, indeed, in its greater under-valued—that we see the triumph of humanity in Faust, mounting the heavens after his soaring ideal. The Second Part lacks, of course, the passion of the First; its erudite air is more felt; its philosophic intent and prolonged manipulation are more evident; its thought is less rapid and spontaneous; but, in spite of these and other defects, it has abundant genius, and does not fail to prove itself the completion of the First, as the present writer has elsewhere shown ('The Philosophy of Faust,' in Essays Literary and Philosophical). Goethe has contrived to introduce geology, optics, and chemistry into Faust; but such didactic attempts to combine science with poetry must always remain hazardous, if only because science cares nothing for the individual, while individuality is of the essence of art. Faust has, at any rate, given the world a supreme, unforgettable lesson as to progress and development being the essential mode whereby such conditioned beings as we are may hope to reach the ideal—the perfection of life.

The famous Zweigang, or dedication, now used as Introduction to Goethe's poems, is of unsurpassed loveliness in German literature, impressing one. It has been said, as a lofty vestibule, with the awe-inspiring grandeur of the temple to be entered. Its lovely message leads up to the self-revealing of the Divine form of poetic Truth, who gives him a vision of himself. Goethe's 'Italian Journey' (Italische Reise) was worked up thirty years after the journey itself, from journals and letters belonging to that time. The book presents, in a most vivid form, the features of delight and charm that mark Italian travel; but it is even more interesting for its personal experiences and reflections. On 6th September 1787 we find Goethe writing from Rome:

'Ve must be certain: the old artists had as great a knowledge of the ancients as we do. They knew perfectly (Begriff) of what can be represented, as Homer had.' And, further: 'These high works of art, so different, so strange, and as much mysterious works of Nature, produced by men according to their inner laws and the will of God, are a beautiful sight. Here is God' (Ital. Reise, ed. Dümmer, Berlin, 1877, p. 260).

The way to perfect Art, in form and content, seems to have lain for Goethe through looking into the deeps of Nature and Man. He held that in Art and Poesy personality is everything, and that the artist, to create something fit and capable, must be himself fit and capable. The comprehensive character of Goethe's interests and powers of observation needs no mention, but his strange limitations are not always clearly known and understood. His intense dislike of Byzantine and Gothic architecture; his huge indifference to the early art of Italy; his lack of interest in Medieval and Christian Rome; his supreme neglect of historical associations, as outside the realm of Geschmack, or intuition—all, in diverse ways, mark limitations due to a sense of form which kept from him the power of appreciation. Greek sculpture, Renaissance painting, architectural Rome—these were things that caught up, in significant fashion, his sense of artistic form. The Classicism to be found in Goethe was it seems warranteed to say, more the result of this Italian journey and his study of antique Art than of direct contact with the ancient Classical Literature. It is not meant, in saying this, that his Heiligenblatt had in it any thing of the nature of a literary pose. The chief result of his Italian sojourn on Goethe's work was the plastic quality imparted to it. When he says that Art and Nature are only one, that is because Art is for him the mystic manifestation of the working of Nature. Goethe's world is the world of the eye. His evoloutional instinct led him to view the single soul in the organic world, rather than to the organic whole. We find him writing to Herder from Naples on 17th May 1787, that the Urprünglichkeit—or grand type of all plants—is the most marvelous thing in the world, 'which Nature herself might envy me' (Ital. Reise, 260).

The 'West-Eastern Divan' (West-östlicher Diven) is concerned with the life of the East, and is not now to be dwelt upon; it must suffice to say that the work was largely a fruit of his study of the Persian poets, and is rich in its own varied metres, and wise, beautiful poems. It proved a well of inspiration to Rückert, Feuerbach, and other poets.

3. Influence.—We cannot now pursue the study of Goethe's works further, but must content to appraise his genius, work, and character in more general and comprehensive terms. The vitality of his ideas is very striking; the range of his activities was certainly extensive. His mind had been trained to a universal comprehension of man and universe. For he raised himself to comprehend the whole range and scope of man's existence, and pierced by his insight to the central core of reality. Thus he came to fashion the Weltanschauung which was his own (see the present writer, 'Goethe as Philosopher,' in Literary Essays). Single and discerning as a literary critic, prescient in genius and gifts as romancer, dramatist, and lyrical poet, Goethe yet did not escape originality in science, and in the criticism of Art. Emerson quaintly said of him that 'the old Eternal Genius who built the world has confided himself more to this man than to any other' (Works, vol. I., London, 1899, 'Goethe, or The Writer'). It seems to be just in the totality of his achievement that Goethe's power and fascination lie; his career embodied a deeper synthesis of life—more of his own ideal of life in the Whole, the Good, and the Beautiful—than men had before even dreamt of. The whole German nation, he exerts an influence hardly less strong on the cultivated classes of Britain and America. Still, his aims were too intellectualized; and his striving was really too restless. He thinks restless activity proves the man—neither restlos betätigt sich der Mann. One might almost apply to him what Marmontel said of Voltaire, that repose was unknown to him. Not even the calming power of Spinogism greatly helped him here. His will was not sufficiently invigorated by moral affections. He also lacked spiritualized unity of conception. But, in the sphere of intellect, he towers sublime, with amazing vigour and persistency in his intellectual performances. His ideal is reine Menschlichkeit or humanity purified of every hampering element. In his latest years, at any rate, he cherished a belief in immortality; and it seems to many, rather a fine thing that he declared the weightiest ground for that belief to be the fact that we cannot do without it.
GOKARN—GOLDEN RULE

and Literature, 1900; H. Dittrich, Life of Gatha, Eng.
tr., New York, 1894; H. H. Boyce, Gatha and Sutta, 2nd
ed., London, 1898; W. H. Hoyle and Literature
Land, 1877; E. Fischer, Gatha's Poets, Stuttgart, 1895;

JAMES LINDSAY.

GOKARN (Skr. gokarna, 'cow's ear').—A famous place of
pilgrimage on the W. coast of India, in the N. division of the
Presidency; lat. 14° 32' N., long. 74° 19' E. The name is
called on a legend that Brahma produced four sages to carry on the work of creation, which
they refused to undertake. He then formed Siva
from his forehead. Siva hesitated to create the
universe until he could devise measures to render it
imperishable. So he dived into the ocean and
remained for many ages in meditation. Brahma,
weary of the delay, moulded the earth and filled it
with life. When Siva, on the arrival of this creation, he
was wrathful, and, rising through the water, struck the
land. He attempted to force his way through it with his
trident, when the earth-goddess, taking the
form of a cow, begged the angry god, instead of
destroying her, to rise to the surface through her
ear. Siva accordingly passed through her ear,
and rose on the Gokarn beach, where a cave,
known as the Amrta-grotta, or 'Aurra's passage,'
marks the spot. A story of the same type tells
how the hero Parasurama, 'Rama with the ax,' by
his single stroke of his axe, destroyed the considera
tion of Varuna the sea-god and Bhumi Devi the earth-
god. Thus the sea's mouth was allowed to claim as its own as much land as could be
covered by his axe when flung from Gokarn,
which is then the Land's End, into the southern
ocean. Thus was created the land of Kerala,
reaching from Gokarn to Cape Comorin, which
now stands at the S. of the Peninsula. These
legends seem to embody a tradition of land eleva-
tion in pre-historic times, which is confirmed by
modern geological researches (Manual of Travers-
cors, 1906, i. 212 ff.).

The chief temple at Gokarn is that dedicated to
Siva under the title of Mahabaleshvara, 'the very
powerful Lord,' built of granite in the Dravidian
style. It contains the famous linga known as
Atma, or 'self,' which, in his wrath at the creation of
the world by Brahma, Siva created out of his
own essence, and long wore round his neck. There
are also numerous shrines named after various
gods and saints who visited the place and performed
austerities here, including Brahma, Vishnu, Siva,
the Agastya, Rama, and Viswamita. The place
is visited by hosts of pilgrims and religious mendic-
ants, as well as by those who bring the bones and
ashes of deceased relatives, which they consign to
the waters, believing that this ensures for them
eternal felicity. Bathing here cleanses from all sin,
even that of murdering a Brahman. The mention
of the place by Kalidasa carries back its sanctity to
the beginning of the 7th cent. A.D. (IGII. [1906]
17). It is also mentioned in the Mahabharata
and Ramayana (J. Muir, Original Sanskrit Texts, 3
73, iv. 205; E. T. H. Griffith, The Ramayana of
Valmiki, 1896, p. 64), the sacred books declaring
that he who spends three nights here and worships
Siva gains as much merit as if he performed the
horse-sacrifice; while he who remains twelve
nights becomes pure in heart. Dr. John Fryer,
one of the early travellers to India, visited Gokarn
in 1879, and has left an interesting account of the
place.

LITERATURE.—BG, vol. xii. pt. i. p. 285; J. Fryer, A New
Account of E. India and Ceylon, London, 1831, p. 192;
1912 (Hakluyt Society), ii. 62; W. CROOKE.

GOKUL (Skr. gokeula, 'a herd of kine,' 'a cow-
house').—A sacred town and place of pilgrimage
situated on the left bank of the river Jumna, in
the Muttara (Mathura) District of the United
Provinces of Agra and Oudh; lat. 27° 26' N., long.

77° 48' E.; sacred as the scene of many legends
connected with Krishna. It is in reality only the
water-side suburb of Mahabhan (q.v.), and all the
traditional sites of Krishna's adventures in the
Purânas are also shown at Mahabhan, which is the
place alluded to whenever Gokul is mentioned in
Skr. literature. But, as it retains its
ancient name, the suburb is considered as much
sacred as the original town. It is specially
important as the headquarters of the Vallabhâchârya
or Gokulâchârya Gosvine, the Emissaries of the East, who are not ashamed to avow
their belief that the ideal life consists rather in social enjoy-
ment than in solitude and mortifications. Such a creed is
naturally destructive of all self-restraint, even in matters where
indulgences are by common consent held criminal; and the
prophecy of which it has given rise is so notorious that the late
Mahârâja of Jaypur was moved to express from his capital the
ancient image of Gokul Chandrama, for which the cowherds
sacrificed a special veneration. He further conceived such a
prowess against Vaishnavas in general, that all his subjects
were compelled, before they appeared in his presence, to mark
their foreheads with the three horizontal lines that indicate a
votary of Siva. The mendicant practices of the Gosvin and the
unusual subserviency of the people in ministering to their
sacrifices raised a crushing appetite in a cause célèbre for
trial tried before the Supreme Court of Bombay in 1861 (Gowen, p. 294)

LITERATURE.—P. S. Growe, Mathura, a District Memoir 3,
Mathura, 1898, p. 205; J. A.S.I. xi. 212; A. Führer, Monumential Antiquities and Inscriptions of the
north-west Province and Oudh, 1891, p. 101. For the practices of the Vallabhacharya Gosvin, see Führer, E. M. Hist. of the
State of the Mâhârâja or Vallabhâchârya Gosevi in W. India, London, 1896, Report of the Mahârâja's Cem., and the Bhaktisôtra
Conspiracy Case connected with it, Bombay, 1892.

W. CROOKE.

GOLDEN AGE.—See AGES OF THE WORLD, Fall (Ethnic).

GOLDEN RULE.—The Golden Rule, as it is called, is found
in two different connections, and in slightly differing forms, in Mt. 7\(\frac{1}{2}\) and Lk. 6\(\frac{1}{2}\). In Mt. it occurs in the Sermon on the Mount in the
form: 'All things therefore whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do ye also unto them: for this is the law and the prophets.'

In Lk. the saying runs:

'As ye would that men should do unto you, do ye also to them likewise.'

While in Lk. the maxim is found in immediate connexion with other sayings bearing on conduct towards our neighbours, in Mt. this is not equally the case; it follows on directions relating to instancy in prayer and on the promise that God will give good things to those that ask Him. It has, therefore, been argued that, while it being formed part of the original Logia on which, in this portion of his Gospel, the Evangelist is drawing, St. Matthew must have wrongly inserted it in this particular connexion; and that it may have been appropriately found a place among the precepts relating to our conduct to our neighbour in 6\(\frac{1}{9}\); or should follow on vv. 1-2 and v. 4 of the 7th chapter. In the latter case it would, however, that the intermediate verses and not the saying itself have been wrongly inserted. The argument that the saying has not a wrong place in Mt. is not very convincing; the connexion between it and the immediately preceding verses is not really very forced or unnatural. The train of thought would seem to be that, as God gives good gifts to those who ask Him, so we as Christians ought to render to others the sort of service, the good things, which we should wish them to render to us. That this is the connexion of which the earlier translators recognized in the passage is made probable by the fact that most of the early Latin versions, though not the Vulgate, render: 'Whatever good things, therefore, you
wish that others should do unto you, even such do unto them: for this is the law and the prophets.'

We may observe that both St. Matthew and St.
GOLDEN RULE

Luke, though they differ as to the precise context in which the words occur, equally regard them as a summary of the principles by which the conduct of any man, no matter what his position with respect to his neighbours is to be governed. And this is the position which the maxim holds in the earliest quotations of it which are to be found in Christian literature outside the Gospels. The earliest of them occurs in the well-known passage in the Western (Cod. D) recension of the decree of the Council of Jerusalem, in A.D. 15. It runs as follows:

"It is seemed good to the holy Spirit and to us to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things: to abstain from meats offered to idols, and from blood, and from fornication; and whatsoever ye do not wish should be done unto you; for ye keep yourselves ye shall do well, being born again in the holy Spirit—" (Acts 15:28-29).

Now, there has arisen a considerable controversy between Blass and Harnack whether the Western or the text of other great uncial MSS represents the earlier form of text in the Acts, and the controversy has especially ranged itself about this particular passage. Blass holds that Cod. D, originally composed probably at Rome, represents the first rough draft of the Acts put forth by St. Luke, while the ordinary text gives us the more polished and elaborated recension which he ultimately dedicated to Theophilus. Harnack, on the other hand, maintains that the text preserved in the non-Western MSS embodies St. Luke's original recension, and that Cod. D represents a later and comparatively ignorable recension, dating probably from early in the 3rd century. This, on the whole, is the view taken also by W. M. Ramsay. The question, however answered, is not, for our present purpose, of first-rate importance; for those who regard the insertion of the Golden Rule in this passage as the work of a later editor still assign to that editor a very early date—not later than the opening years of the 2nd century. But, in any case, the appearance of the saying in this connexion is a proof of the wide acceptance which the Rule, in this negative form at least, obtained in the early Church. And that, in spite of its absence from the received text, it continued to hold a place in this passage of the Acts down to a comparatively late date, we have interesting evidence from the 'Doones of King Alfred.' One of them, quoting this passage, runs as follows:

"It is seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, that we should set no burdens upon you that which was needful for you to bear, now, that is, that you forbear from worshipping idols, and from blood, and from fornication, and that which ye do not wish should be done unto you; for ye keep yourselves ye shall do well, being born again in the holy Spirit—" (Acts 15:28-29)."

Thus emphatically, but reverently, does the king enforce our Lord's own comment on the principle: 'This is the Law and the Prophets' (see Ezek. 20:21, 25, 39:26 ff., Acts 15:40:21; and, for the reference to King Alfred's 'Dooms,' J. H. Carpenter and G. Harford's 'Composition of the Dooms,' ed. 1902, p. 10).

We observe, further, that in this earliest quotation the form in which the saying is presented is not the positive form in which it appears in both Mt. and Lk., but the negative form, i.e., as a prohibition, and not as a command: 'Do not do to others what you would not should be done to you.' We observe, also, that the same characteristic is observable also in the two earliest quotations in which the phrase is to be found in post-Biblical Christian writings. Thus, for the first of them is at the opening of 'The Way of Life' as presented in the Didache:

"First of all, thou shalt love the Lord thy God who made thee. Secondly, thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. All things, then, whatsoever thou wouldst not wish to be done to thee, do thou also not to another.'

The second reference occurs in the recently recovered Apology of Aristides, Towards the close (ch. 15), in giving a summary of Christian belief and practice, Aristides uses the following words:

"They [viz. the Christians] do not commit adultery, do not commit fornication, do not bear false witness, do not eat their neighbour's goods, honour their father and their mother, love their neighbour, judge justly, whatever they do to a man they also do to another; they seek those who injure them and make them friendly to them." (Aristides, Apology, 15).

Harnack considers that both these passages may very likely be taken from an early Christian catechism in wide use in different Churches; but, whether they are so or not, the appearance of the Golden Rule in two distinct summaries of Christian practice testifies to the importance attached to it in the early Church.

But the precept, at least in its negative form, is by no means confined to Christianity; it is to be found in the earlier Judaism, and on the lips of philosophers outside both Judaism and Christianity. For the first we may refer to the Teacher of Righteousness, who runs: 'Take heed to thyself, my child, in all thy works, and be discreet in all thy behaviour; and what thou shalt do, do not do so that when a stranger asks thee, do not do so that they shall say, it is better that he should have been elsewhere.' (cf. Bab. Shabb. 31a). For other parallels, see C. Taylor, 'Sayings of the Jewish Fathers,' Cambridge, 1897, p. 142 f., and cf. Hirsch, 'Golden Rule,' in J.B. v. (1904) 21 f.

Among the Greeks, Isocrates is mentioned as enunciating the maxim: 'Do not do to others that at which you would be angry if you suffered it from others' (Nicolaes, 616). Plato, in more than one passage in the Republic (e.g. iv. 443), lays down a rule of a similar purport. And, if we questioned how we should behave to our friends, it is quoted by Diog. Laert. (v. 21) as saying: 'Exactly as we would they should behave to us.' (cf. Nic. Eth. ix. 8). See also Epictetus, fr. 42.

In the wider world outside we find two further enunciations of the precept—one in a precise, the other in a less definite, form. Confucius, drawing, as he said, the maxim from the study of man's mental constitution, laid it down in the following terms: 'What you do not like if done to yourself, do not do to others' (cf. J. Legge, 'Confucius,' vol. i. 315, repr. Hongkong, 1881-72, i. 191 f.). This is the Golden Rule in its negative form, but he expressed it also in the positive shape of 'reciprocity' or 'as heart to heart.' This was embodied by him in a characteristically Chinese symbol, and is given in places as the ultimate rule of life ('EBr. ii. 4', art. 'Confucius,' p. 912). Something like the same thought appears in the writings of his elder contemporary Buddha; but here no precise words give expression to the apostrophe; his principle more nearly approaches to the maxim of St. Paul: 'Rejoice with them that rejoice; weep with them that weep' (Ro 12:15) and a certain self-centredness in his system, which makes the doing of kindnesses to others valuable mainly on account of the merit thus earned. To a man's self, makes it clear that such a principle as our Lord enjoins was not altogether cognate to his thought (Copleston, 'Buddhism: Principles and Present', London, 1929; but cf. A. J. Edmonds, 'Buddhist and Christian Gospels,' Philad., 1908, § 12).

It would appear, then, that as a negative or limiting principle, a principle of justice, man obtained a wide acceptance among the best and most enlightened intellects of the ancient world; but it was for them a restraining principle, a guide of what they ought not to do rather than of what they were to do.

jungle and sowing seed to the sabai— a process known as doyke—and collecting various kinds of jungle produce. All the seats are made in such a way that the people when they have not been corrupted by contact with the Hindus of the plains. Under British rule this practice has died out in the plains; in the old days, however, their chief seats, known as toris or shol, were usually situated on the backs of the allies, like the Majhwa and Koyis, the beliefs and usages are of a similar type (Crooke, TC, III, 415 ff.; Thurston, Caste and Tribes, iv, 37 ff.; Bilgrami-Watterson, Sketch of the Castes and Tribes of Bengal, ii, 230 f.; C. A. R. Revett, TC, 1891, i, 226 f.; Dalton, Descrip. Ethnol. of Bengal, 275 ff.).

5. Domestic rites.—The rites of birth, marriage, and death are of the normal Dravidian type. 

clay hearth, or axis, which is always placed at the front of each house. This is the point at which the fire is kept burning, and it is here that the sacrifices are made. The hearth is always kept clean and free from dirt. The fire is never allowed to go out, and it is the duty of the head of the household to see that it is kept burning day and night. The hearth is also used as a place for cooking food. The fire is lighted in the morning and kept burning all day, and the ashes are used as a fertilizer for the soil. The hearth is considered to be a sacred place, and it is never allowed to be trodden upon or stepped on.

Religious worship is also practised in the form of the worship of the sun and the moon, which are considered to be the chief deities of the people. The sun is worshipped at sunrise and at sunset, and the moon is worshipped at the new and full moon. The worship of these deities is accompanied by singing, dancing, and the blowing of trumpets.
GONGS AND BELLS

used in Egypt (HDB, art. 'Bell'). Then, too, there is evidence of the art of bell-making being practised in Japan during the 8th cent. B.C., at the time when large bronze castings were made for the temples of Buddha.

Such evidence, however, does not help us to find out the origin of these instruments of percussion, and we are not yet fully at sea. Quoit to boldly bells may date from the Iron Age. Fairies and witches were creatures belonging to the more ancient Stone Age which was passing away; and the new metal, iron, was considered hateful and harmful to them. The metal itself was a powerful prophylactic, but the sound of metal had even greater power for producing their evil influence. It would soon be found that by striking the edge of metal pots a more resonant note could be obtained than from an iron bar; and from this it is but a small advance to turn an iron basin upside down and fasten some sort of a clapper inside. Armed thus, man would feel himself fairly safe from the attacks of his spiritual foes. Such a possible explanation of the origin of bells and gongs has at least the merit of being simple and of complying with the stereotyped phrase, 'the origin of bells was lost in antiquity'.

3. Earliest use of bells.—Probably the earliest use of bells was, as has been said, prophylactic. Man, who believed the air to be crowded with demons eager to do him harm, used the most efficacious safeguards that came to hand. Among all peoples we find the bell used for this purpose, and even in the Christian era this superstition has survived.

The gong of Dodona mentioned by Aristotle (Suidas, s.v. κέλωνος ἄνθιστος) seems to have consisted of two pillars supporting respectively a dish (a kophina) and in the latter a large bronze vase with a spout, which was grasped by a tawny-coloured horse, and carried through the land ringing out a resonant sound which was considered to have oracular intent. Thucydides (ii. 86) refers to bronze as employed in all kinds of sacrificial ritual. Moreover, it was considered as itself potent, while the sound of it was an averter of pollution. From many Latin sources we know that bronze was beaten at eclipses to avert the evil. Bells were sometimes placed in tombs. A bell is mentioned in the Louvre (Fohrer, Cat. 545; S. Reinaich, Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine, Paris, 1897–1901, i. 101) represents the sacrifice of a ram offered to Jupiter, and the material is from an 11th cent. church, where some suspended two bells. A coin representing Cybele enthroned with Atis at her side shows two bells are seen in the foreground. P. Guzman (Pompei, Paris, 1899, p. 146) gives illustrations of many little bells found at Pompeii, and speaks of them as used as cone moyen de protection. The British Museum possesses a small bronze bell (Cat. 513, fig. 11) from the temple of the Kebir at Thebes. The attendants of Dionysus are frequently represented as carrying tympana edged with a row of small bells. A small bell of gold found on the Esquiline has an inscription referring to the evil eye. Moreover, to avert evil influences, bells were attached to the heads of horses used in a procession of criminals led to execution.

Possibly the gongs or bells attached to the façade of the second temple of Jupiter Capitolinus have this prophylactic object. Triumphant generals hung bells on the heads of their eyes. This is found not only in Greece but also on sculptures in Assyria. 1


2 Taylor, P.O.I. i. (1893) 169.

3 R. Cook, J.H.S. xi. (1901) pl. 1, p. 8 ff.

4 For further illustrations of such usage, see Smith's Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Ant. ii., London, 1900, s. v. 'Dithymbalbus.'

Among the Greeks a bell was used at funerals to keep off the crowd and warn the fames Diialei lest he be polluted by sight or sound of funeral music. But there is evidence of usage of a prophylactic. Bells were used for the opening of market or the baths, and by sentries on night duty. The priests of Proserpine at Athens rang bells when calling the Hesperides. They were hushed, and their ears were closed with a cloth. Nor were they similarly used in the mysteries of Bacchus. But for the most part the Greeks had wooden rattles, such as are now used by Muslims. The use of bells for summoning to worship was the sound of the trumpet. The precise purpose of the bells attached to high-priestly robes seems debatable. Arabian princes have bells on their garments to announce their movements and warn people to keep out of the way. No one was allowed to enter the Persian court without giving audible warning, and perhaps the bells on Aaron's robe were intended to announce his movements to Jehovah. An alternative suggestion is that the stillness of the Holy Place was full of peril to intruders. The air became charged, as it were, with the Divine influence, and this was dangerous to mortals. In order to dissipate this noxious condition, the high priest's robe was decked with bells, and, as the air is laden with tars, made it possible for man to enter the Holy Place. More obviously the jingles are explained as useful to let the people know how high the priest was progressing with his sacred duties. The horse-bells in Zac 14 are inscribed 'Holy unto the Lord.' The object is not clear. It may have been intended to add efficacy to any magical powers the bells possessed, or else the noise of the bells have been thought of as sending far and wide the message of holiness.

4. Christian use of bells.—At the dawn of the Christian era bells were used, but the Greek and Roman style of architecture did not readily lend itself to the use of large bells in buildings. During the first three centuries the use of bells for summoning the faithful to worship was impossible, owing to the certainty of persecution; but it is probable that soon after the Edict of Milan (A.D. 313) the Christian Church, or else the adopters of this obvious means of calling to worship. The introduction of large bells is attributed to Paulinus, Bishop of Nola in A.D. 440; but, whilst omits any reference to bells in his letter giving a very full description of his church, the claim made for him seems to be doubtful. St. Jerome (In Jost. 90) quotes a passage from a Latin bishop, but our own times. Gregory, Bishop of Tours (573), speaks of bells as signify. This takes us back to Sidonius Apollinaris. Rather later the Gregorian Sacramentary (590) contains a form of benediction which came from Rheims. The canzoniere give fairly strong evidence of the use of bells before the end of the 8th century. That of Ravenna dates from the 6th century.

Quite early in the Celtic Church bells were used by the bishops as a symbol of the episcopal insignia. In the Life of St. Patrick the office of campanarius is mentioned, and in an illustration, given by de Fournier, in Le Mesne, St. Patrick is depicted as

K. Stitt, Archäologie der Kunst, Munich, 1896, p. 366. A few small bells have been found at Dusseldorf, 1818.
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handing a bell in a box to a bishop consecrated by him. The probable object of the bell was to command silence when the bishop was about to speak. In the museum of the Royal Academy of Ireland a castellated bell with a fairy spout is attributed to St. Patrick. Small hand-bells were often engraved with the name of a saint, and in later years were reverenced as relics. Bede (c. 672) mentions that after the death of Hilda at Whitby (680), Adamnan (Vita S. Columbae) has references to a cloaca which was used bell the brethren to pray. Egbert, Archbishop of York (740), in his "Exceptions" ordered his clergy to toll bells at the hours of service. We first hear of a peal of bells at Croyland Abbey in 852; but, as Ingham shows, the idea of this with others, it seems clear that many other churches had more than a single bell for summoning to worship. Early in the reign of King Edgar (960) the new canons provided for bell-ringing as a preliminary to prayer in church, and the clergy of the Church of England are still required to toll a bell daily for services.

Another use for bells is indicated in the Bayeux tapestry. In the illustration of the funeral of Edward the Confessor the corpse is accompanied by the clergy and a large number of hand-bells. This was a practice taken from paganism, but with altered intentions. The ringing of bells at funerals was the faithful to pray for the departed soul. The obvious purpose of this, contrary to means of which a number of elaborate tunes could be played by one performer on the bells by hammering which strike the edge of the bell. In England bells are chimed in this way and also rung. The bell is made to swing round through a complete circle so that the clapper strikes twice in each revolution.

5. Non-Christian uses.—To the Far East we must look for the earliest use of bells, but there is little evidence before the 8th cent. B.C. At that time large bells and gongs are found to have a definite part in ceremonial. Change-ringing is confined to Great Britain; it is the carillon takes its place. It is a mechanical contrivance by which a number of elaborate tunes can be played by one performer on the bells by hammering which strike the edge of the bell. In England bells are chimed in this way and also rung. The bell is made to swing round through a complete circle so that the clapper strikes twice in each revolution.

Indisputably, during the Middle Ages bells were chiefly valued for their prophylactic powers in warding off the evil spirits from doing harm ghostly and bodily. Most widespread was the idea that bells could dispel storm and lightning. Originally the object was to call the people to church to pray for deliverance from the dangers. Then the devil was thought of as hating the sound of bells, because they called the faithful to prayer; and, later, the original idea was lost sight of, and the mere ringing of the bells was effective. Largely owing to their popularity, bells escaped the destruction of things Roman in the Reformation. In order to increase their appeal, bells were 'christened' with elaborate ceremonial. Originally the bells were thought of as heathen, and were baptised to make them convert; but, later, the object was clearly to strengthen their powers over the spirits in the air. Charlemagne in 786 protested against this 'baptism,' but the rite found a place in most pontificates until the Reformation, and is still used on the Continent.

In pre-Reformation times it was rare to find fewer than two or three bells in one tower. Frequently a small bell was hung in a bell-cote over the chancel and rung at the elevation of the Host. This 'sacring bell' gave intimation to sick folk of the consecration of the elements. Distinct from this was the sacristy bell, a small hand-bell tinkled within the church at the 'Off Santorum,' and necessary in large churches, where the musicians were at a distance from the high altar. In the Middle Ages bells were often embroidered on bed-curtains and other hangings, as well as on ecclesiastical vestments. The fundamental idea was probably superstitions. For the many other religious and quasi-religious uses reference should be made to some of the excellent books mentioned in the Literature. The same underlying ideas seem to have inspired the ceremonial use of bells, the real difference being the method of striking. Change-ringing is confined to Great Britain; it is a mechanical contrivance by which a number of elaborate tunes can be played by one performer on the bells by hammering which strike the edge of the bell. In England bells are chimed in this way and also rung. The bell is made to swing round through a complete circle so that the clapper strikes twice in each revolution.

The supposed influence of the bell on the spirit world is further illustrated by the attempts to expel the demon of the dead. In India we find these usages supplemented by others.


1 I. Bird (Mrs. Bishop), Umbrian Tribes in Japan, London, 1900.
According to the Brahmins, two things are indispensible to the sacrificial—a few lighted lamps and a bell to wake the divinity from sleep so that he may consume the offering, while the whole ghost is scared away by the same sound. 1 The potar priest in Mirzapur and many classes of ascetics carry bells and rattles of iron which move as they walk, the objects being to protect the wearer from evil spirits. The Gonds have elevated the bell into a deity, in the form of Ghaghrapen, or 'Lord.' Probably the special class of their devil-priests, the marma odyades, devote themselves to making bells; and they themselves wear them continually. The Toda of Madras worship Hiruya Della, whose representation is the sacred buffalo-bell which hangs from the neck of the finest buffalo of the herd (Crooke, l. 164). The goddess Paravati, as Durga (q.v.), has certain insignia which are invoked in this manner: 'O maa to the bell (gandam) striking terror by thy world-wide sound into our enemies. Drive out from us all our iniquities. Defend and bless us, O Lord.' In Burma great bells are found at most of the shrines. The worshippers take a large deer antler and strikes it first on the ground and then the bell, to summon as witnesses beings and animals around, and to further make them join in the act of worship. 2

In West Africa some witch-doctors have a custom, when going their rounds, of ringing a bell before the houses of the heathen. Bells are often hung over doorways, probably for prophylaxis. 3 Very few bells are found in the rest of Africa, except among the Aztecs and tribes of similar culture. They hang bells around the necks of animals, but there is no evidence to show that these were worshipped, or that the bells were used to scare evil spirits. In Egypt there is little evidence. The eunuch was invariably used in the worship of Isis. Possibly small ornamental jingles were attached. In later times these small bells had lost their ritualistic purpose, and they are very rarely found in Egyptian religious proper. The same may be said of bells among the Assyrians. They had no religious use and very little in magic. Clappers took the place of bells. Layard (Monuments of Nineveh, London, 1849-53) illustrates some horse-bells, possibly importations for magical purposes.

Bells and instruments of percussion are not found in New Zealand. In the Tongs and Fiji Islands a rali is used. It is a form of gong made out of a thunbrum. 4 It is a favourite instrument among the Tongs and is named in the same way that we give names to our bells. It is chiefly used to summon worshippers to their religious exercises. In many parts of the world babies are given rattles to which jingle bells are attached. The underling object is probably prophylactic.

Although the religious value of bells varies considerably in different parts of the world, in Turkey alone there is found an aversion to their sound. The Mohammedans do not use them, because of their associations with Christianity, and the Pahja Muslims have a prejudice against gongs, as they are supposed to disturb the dead, who awake, thinking the Day of Judgment has arrived.


6. American bells.—(1) Bells of metal were used in use in certain regions of America long before the Columbian discovery. They were natural developments from, or modifications of, previously existing rings and like implements of clay best ornaments, and other materials. According to W. H. Holmes (Bull. & BE 22-24), metal bells were in common use in Middle America in pre-Columbian times, but they are rarely found north of the Rio Grande, either in possession of the tribes or on ancient sites; but bells were certainly known to the Pueblos and possibly to the mound-builders before the arrival of the Whites. The copper bells occasionally found in the south-eastern part of the United States may, some of them at least, have been introduced by the Aztecs or Mixtecs, and may be incidents of inter-tribal commerce or the like. Metal bells are also known in large numbers from the remains of the civilizations of the Pacific coast of South America and from the area of so-called 'Cahouqui culture' in the Catamarcan country of Argentina, etc. Bells of other materials, such as clay, are, of course, more widely distributed among aborigines of the South Plains than the Aztecs, Mayas, Peruvians, and others very close to them in matters of art and religion. Many wooden bells have also been found, e.g., in the Atacama region of Pacific South America (Boman, Antig.).

(2) Some investigators were formerly of the opinion that the bells found in the New World were all imitations of European models, and that no such thing as a genuine pre-Columbian bell of aboriginal manufacture existed. But both Mexican, Peruvian, and South American, the existence of bells of Indian make long prior to the coming of the Whites has been demonstrated. The variety in the forms of the bells of primitive America, their presence as ornaments on statues, figures of the gods (Mayan MIss and monuments; Aztec deities, etc.), their utilization as decorative motifs (e.g., eyes in the golden figures of reptiles from ancient Chiriqui), the situation and circumstances of their discovery in ruins of great age in different parts of the continent—all these facts make the theory of European origins impossible, and it has now been abandoned by the best authorities. The existence of bells of wood, clay, copper, and other materials led the evolution of a bell in primitive America from the rattle. According to Holmes, the genealogy of the bell is first a nut-shell or gourd, then a clay model, and finally, metal bells upon models, like those of the ancient Chiriquians. Doubtless some of the less civilized tribes imitated in clay or wood the metal bells of their neighbours of higher culture, which came to them in the way of trade, or in some other incidental fashion. The more or less civilized peoples, upon whom the Europeans intruded, may have also, at times, imitated bells of
Old World origin. There seems no doubt, however, that bells, used for several different purposes, were in existence in pre-historic times in various regions of North, Central, and South America.

(3) Both metal and clay bells were known in several parts of the ancient Pueblo region of New Mexico and Arizona. The small copper bells found in the old clothed ruins in the south are said by Fowkes to be 'identical in form and make with those used by the ancient Nahua Hale [Aztec] people' (47 REV., p. 2, p. 699). A clay clay bell was found in the clothed ruins of the old Pueblo of Awatobi, and in all probability pre-historic, is reported by Fowkes as 'made in exact imitation of one of the copper bells that have been reported from several southern ruins' (op. cit. p. 699). In this case the Pueblo clay bell would be modelled on the copper bell, and not vice versa. In Awatobi was also discovered a fragment of a copper bell of Spanish origin, such objects coming into the Pueblo country with the Catholic priests and their churches. In the Tusanay ruins immediately about the inhabited town, Fowkes found no copper bells of such great age that they could be called pre-historic. A fragment of one of the Spanish or Mexican church-bells was used for marking the诊断 point of the alpaca Indian priest (op. cit. p. 609). Hough found that bells of clay, like those from Awatobi described by Fowkes, were used in the great ruin of Kawahuk. They are undoubtedly pre-historic, and earlier than the bells, similar in form, used in trade. In ancient Mexico bells (txalinas) of the same general type were also used by the Indians to attach to the domestic llamas, or to suspend from their clothes or belts in dances and ceremonies, as the Indians of the Gran Chaco still do with fruit-sockets, the ancients did with the bell. In the pre-historic necropolis of Calima (Chilcan province of Antofagasta), in the area of Atacama culture, Count G. de Créqui-Montfort discovered in 1904 a wooden bell similar in form and peculiarity of style to the copper bells of the first sort described above (Boman, op. cit.).

(4) The uses to which bells were put in aboriginal America were various. Concerning the Pueblo Indians, Fowkes informs us: 'Copper bells are said to be used in the secret ceremonies of the modern Tusayan villages, and in certain of the ceremonial foot races metal bells of great age and antique pattern are sometimes tied about the wrists of the runners' (op. cit. p. 628). Many of the small clay bells from the Pueblo region were also used as pendant ornaments of some sort, as were doubtless also some of the smaller metal bells from various parts of the country. The majority of many of these, which are provided with holes or with perforated tongs, indicates their suspension to a cord or some similar object, and their attachment to articles of dress or ornament. One of the clay bells from Pueblo ruins still contained its pellet of clay, and 'on being shaken, produced an agreeable tinkling sound'; it was evidently used as a bell to produce musical sounds—a purpose likewise served by many other bells of metal and clay in ancient America. Here the bell lies close to the rattle. At ancient sites in New Mexico and Arizona, besides clay bells of this sort, copper bells with stone tinklers have been discovered. In various parts of Mexico and Central America little bells of gold were employed as ornaments, and as devices for suspension and attachment prove. In ancient Mexico such bells were attached to the ankles of important warriors and other important participants in ceremonial dances. They were also attached to the feet and wrists of victims of sacrifice, those who represented deities, etc. The gods Tezcatlipoca, Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli, in particular, were represented with little golden bells at their ankles (in the case of the first, at the number of twenty). According to Cogolludo, copper bells were to be found in the houses of the
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GOOD AND EVIL.—I. GENERAL DEFINITION.—When we collate instances of usage, we find that the meaning and implications of 'good' and its opposites are most varied. Let us take at random,'good measure,' 'a good beating,' (which, curiously, is synonymous with a bad beating), 'a good dinner,' 'good music,' 'a good knife,' 'a good soldier,' 'a good intention,' 'a good man.' In the series scarcely two will be found wherein 'good' means in the one precisely what it means in the other. In all cases, in pronouncing a thing good we are judging its value, and the meaning of 'good' is opposite in any particular case depends on the point of view from which we judge. It may be almost a purely quantitative judgment, e.g. 'good tea.' It may be a judgment of sensuous value, in which case 'good' is 'pleasant' or 'agreeable,' e.g. 'it tastes good,' 'a vile odour.' It may be an aesthetic judgment, e.g. 'a good view,' 'a good piece of music.' It may be expressive of the suitability or efficiency of tools, instruments, implements, etc., as means to particular ends, e.g. 'a good knife.' It may be a judgment of skill, e.g. 'a good markman.' Then come the senses of 'good' and 'evil' of most importance, and almost exclusive importance for our present purpose, good as well-being, good as well-doing, evil as the opposite of both.

It is possible to frame a broad general definition of 'good' and 'evil' which shall include all the above. Such a definition is given by Naville (Problem of Evil, ch. 1), who puts it: 'Good is what ought to be, evil what ought not to be.' To this two objections may be raised. (1) There is no thought of unthinking non-moral objects. In strictness of language, to say that an instrument such as a pen ought to be of a particular quality is absurd. (2) 'What ought to be' seems to imply better as a description of what is right. And, though the good and the right may largely be identical, the implications of the two are different, and the difference is worth marking and conserving. 'Right' means according to rule. 'Good' means valuable for some end, therefore desirable. Both in 'right' and in 'good' there is reference to a standard or ideal; but, while 'right' emphasizes the compelling, persuasive power of that ideal, 'good' emphasizes its attractive power. Hence, if we wish such a broad general definition, we should say that the good is desirable, the evil is undesirable (cf. Sidgwick, Methods of Ethics, London, 1901, p. 110 f.). This seems to be the summary of Royce's statement: 'By good, as we most often use it, we mean something that, when it comes or is expected, we sortively welcome, try to attain or keep, and regard with content. By evil in general as it is in our experience, we mean whatever we find in any sense repugnant and intolerable. . . . We mean [by evil] precisely whatever we regard as hostile, as to be resisted, as a thing to be gotten rid of, shunned from, put out of sight, of hearing, of memory, excoriated, expelled, damned, or otherwise directly or indirectly rejected. By good we mean whatever we regard as something to be welcomed, pursued, won, grasped, held, persisted in and possessed. And we show all this in our acts in presence of any grade of good or evil, some thing being esteemed ideal, or one grade of good as higher or lower than another, or as resembling or being dissimilar. Whether you regard us as animals or as moral beings, whether it is a sweet taste, a poem, a virtue or God that we take to be good; or whether it is a form or a temptation, an outward physical foe or a steadfast inward ideal enemy that we regard as evil' (Studies of Good and Evil, 16).

It may be noted that, in defining the good as the desirable and the evil as the undesirable, we are not committing a moral sleight of hand. The false psychology which maintains that the only object of desire, therefore the only desirable, is pleasure.

II. GOOD AND EVIL ACTIVE AND PASSIVE.—While the definition of good and evil as the desirable and the undesirable respectively would probably be universally accepted, it is certain that, as soon as individuals begin to fill in the immanent content of the general notion, there will be nothing approaching unanimity; and this fact constitutes one problem with which we must deal. When we come to the question of what it is to be a good or an evil act, and how approaching it, it is best to draw a distinction between two kinds of good and evil. There is good which comes to us, and good which starts from us. There is evil which befals us, which befalls us as the result of our conduct and to us as individuals; and on the other hand, there is evil which we do. This is not represented as an absolute distinction; the two kinds are inter-related in a variety of ways; still it is a convenient distinction. It is not easy to find appropriate names for the two kinds. Fairbairn designates them physical and moral (Philo., of Christian Religion, 134), but 'physical' must be used in a somewhat unusual and perhaps scarcely justifiable sense.

Physical evil is at the sufferings he may have to endure, whether bodily or mental, nervous or sympathetic, alike as a distinct individual and a social unit, alike as a natural being, fleshly and mortal, and alike as a member of the human family, as a part of the history of the race' (op. cit. 184 f.).

Now, as regards the good and evil that befall men there will be little lack of unanimity. Health, strength, abundance of friends, and a multitude of such like things will be classed as good universally. Sickness, accident, death, penury, destructive forces of Nature, and a host of other ills to which men are exposed will be classed as universally acknowledged to be ills. With regard to this kind of good and evil, men differ only in the number of goods and ills they know, and in the degree of importance which they attach to this or that particular good or ill. When we turn, however, to consider moral good and evil, the good or evil that men are and find altogether different in their situation. Here we find endless variety in the beliefs of men as to what is good and what evil. It does not lie within the scope of this article to set forth and discuss the various ways in which at different times and by different individuals the good has been more particularly defined. For that the art. Ethics and articles dealing with various schools of ethical speculation must be consulted. But here it is necessary to try to gather the signifi-

noblest among the Mayas. The Mayas also used bells as ornaments for their gods, etc., represented in the hieroglyphic writings. Brinton mentions that the god of death, whose body is propelled, presides over the river of that ideal, 'good' emphasizes its attractive power. Hence, if we wish such a broad general definition, we should say that the good is desirable, the evil is undesirable (cf. Sidgwick, Methods of Ethics, London, 1901, p. 110 f.). This seems to be the summary of Royce's statement: 'By good, as we most often use it, we mean something that, when it comes or is expected, we sortively welcome, try to attain or keep, and regard with content. By evil in general as it is in our experience, we mean whatever we find in any sense repugnant and intolerable. . . . We mean [by evil] precisely whatever we regard as something to be resisted, as a thing to be gotten rid of, shunned from, put out of sight, of hearing, of memory, excoriated, expelled, damned, or otherwise directly or indirectly rejected. By good we mean whatever we regard as something to be welcomed, pursued, won, grasped, held, persisted in and possessed. And we show all this in our acts in presence of any grade of good or evil, some thing being esteemed ideal, or one grade of good as higher or lower than another, or as resembling or being dissimilar. Whether you regard us as animals or as moral beings, whether it is a sweet taste, a poem, a virtue or God that we take to be good; or whether it is a form or a temptation, an outward physical foe or a steadfast inward ideal enemy that we regard as evil' (Studies of Good and Evil, 16).

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... and ideals; between the two differences may be no relation of strict proportion. Or, again, customs and institutions may be regarded as means to moral ends, means of realizing ideas. And, plainly, difference of view as to appropriateness of means does not necessarily imply divergence of ends or, in general, that one may identify themselves with the same end; but, because one has more power of insight and foresight, they may differ to any degree in their choice of means. Through lack of insight or foresight, one may adopt means which in reality more or less defeat the end in view—a fact of which all are painfully aware from their own experience. This is shown, too, by the degree to which, and the facility with which, individuals fall in with a more excellent way when it is represented to them. After all, there is so much ground, as it were, which constitutes goodness common to the South Sea Islander and the missionary of a vastly higher morality.

It is not here being argued that moral ideas and ideals as actually held by men do not vary after all. The point is that, in considering the significance of the manifold variety of moral belief and practice on which the ultimate good and evil bases itself, we have to bear in mind such considerations as have been adduced, which go to show that great varieties are possible without anything like the same divergence of ideas or ideal.

Coming now to differences as to moral idea and ideal, the existence of which we have no concern to deny, we may hold that a sufficient explanation of them also has been indicated above. The fact that men differ in power of insight and foresight explains not only why they adopt different means as appropriate to the like ends, but also why they identify themselves with quite different ends, and define their desirable in very different ways. This is just what truth there is in the Socratic identification of virtue with knowledge, and vice with ignorance. It does not require the genius of an Aristotle to perceive that the good man is not merely one who knows what is good, or that the problem of moral evil is far from solution when ignorance is abolished. The statement of Socrates is no adequate explanation of the fact that men do evil, but it is an explanation of the fact that they differ in their views as to what goodness is. To know what is really desirable requires insight and foresight, and men differ in their conception of what is desirable because they possess these powers in varying degree.

If thus the relativity of moral conceptions resolves itself into a relativity of moral knowledge, it may seem that the problem of the relativity of morality is on all fours with, is indeed simply part of, the problem of the relativity of knowledge, into which it is not our place to enter. There appears, indeed, to be an important difference between the two questions. A moral ideal, it may be argued, is not a real thing in the way that the world of fact with which physical science deals is real. It seems easy to hold that a certain scientific fact is true, whether any individual or any number of individuals deny it or not. About a moral ideal there is not the same objective constraint. On the other hand, it may be replied that the scientist will be puzzled to give an account of any of the 'real world, of a fact which is anything save a fact for his mind, of a correspondence between experience and a Reality whose case is something other than to be experienced or to be known. The stages on the path of progress of science are marked by the derelicts of abandoned—because, as advancing knowledge proved, erroneous—hypotheses, views which were held for truth at the time and served their purpose for a time. There lie,
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with all reality now denied them, "caloric," "epicycles," "corpuscles," and "vortices," and the like. Yet their V is a truth does not daunt the scien-
tist in his pursuit of truth. But it is as easy for a sceptic, by adstringing them, to adopt homo meusere as a question to the claim, What is truth? as it is for another to argue the pure relativity of moral conceptions from a comparison and contrast of views held in various quarters. To Homo meusere we reply: Beyond the truth and the good so regarded by any individual there is Truth and Good abso-
late; otherwise there is no meaning in speaking of progress; what you call progress is but change, and you will have difficulty in adding any rational ground for any one desiring to change the views in virtue of which he is already the standard of true and good for himself.

We come back to the psychological fact already referred to, viz., that we have an idea that an un-
conditional objectively valid moral Law or ideal exists. We must ask, Is this idea capable of justi-
fication? What are its implications?

IV. IMPLICATIONS. 1. God as Mind.—We have the idea that an absolute moral ideal exists. Where does it exist? Very simply, a moral ideal can exist only in some mind. It is as plain also that it is to be found complete in no human mind. We admit, with whatever criticisms we illus on a tendency which we think exists to exaggerate the facts or their significance, that men do think differently on moral questions. We may also admit with Raah-
dall that "there is no empirical reason for suppos-
ing that they will ever do otherwise." (loc. cit.). The conclusion to which we are led, then, is that we must postulate a Mind in which the absolute Moral Law or ideal exists.

"Only if we believe in the existence of a Mind for which the true moral ideal is already in some sense real, a Mind which is the source of whatever is true in our own moral judgments, can we really think of the moral ideal as no less real than the world itself. Only so can we believe in an absolute standard of right and wrong, which is independent of this or that man's actual idea and act and desires as the facts of material nature .... Our moral ideal can only claim objective validity in so far as it can be rationalized as the revelation of a moral ideal eternally existing in the mind of God .... The existence of God is essential to that belief which vaguely and implicitly underlies all moral beliefs, and which forms the very heart of Morality in its highest forms .... Moral obligation means moral objectivity. That at least seems to be implied in any legitimate use of the term .... Such a belief we have imperfectly to distinguish from that of the Universe and which which recognize the existence of a Mind whose thoughts are the standard of righteousness. That belief is involved in the conception of God and Man .... The belief in God is .... is still a postulate of a belief which shall be able to satisfy the demands of the moral consciousness" (Rashdall, op. cit. II. 212).

An alternative to this view is, of course, possible. It is to deny the validity of the idea of an absolute moral distinction. This is the only course open to those holding materialistic and naturalistic views of the Universe. The idea in question must be classed as an illusion, or set down as meaningless and inexplicable, the mere freak of a mindless, purposeless Nature, which somehow has superim-
posed on material phenomena consciousness as an epiphenomenon. This is not the place to offer a criticism of Materialism (p. e.) or Naturalism (p. e.). We must hold it sufficient to say that, in our view, the Universe and morality require far other theories adequately to account for and explain them. It is a short and easy way with ideas to set them aside as illusions. But, if one thinks the matter out, one will find that, after all, it is not an easy way to accept the idea, and though it is implicit in every moral judgment. Hence we hold that it is not to be set aside, but accepted with all its implications, all the postulates it can be shown to require. There exists, in the universe, a reality in the

2. God as Will.—This is not a postulate in the

same immediate sense as that of God as Thought. It is not at once apparent that, if there be an absolute idea, to be Willed and in realizing it. As we shall soon see, when one con-
templates the world, one might be excused for resting, before coming to the sentence I know what is to be Willed, in the realization that there is no superhuman Will active in realizing an Ideal of absolute Good. Nevertheless we hold that God as Will is an implication of our first postulate, God as Thought—and for this reason, that thought apart from will does not seem to be a thinkable conception. To distinguish between Thought and Will is convenient and neces-
sary enough. "To regard them as really separate or separable is a very different matter. As we know them, the one always involves the other. To suppose that anywhere there exists Thought without Will is to hypostatize an abstraction. So, if we are to postulate a Mind in and for which the absolute Law or Ideal exists, it must be a Mind which wills as we think; as nothing can be said to be willed which is not thought of as good, it follows that God must will the absolute Good, the Ideal of which exists in His Mind; and the Universe must have a purpose, an end con-
ceived of as good by the Mind which wills it.

It may be noted in passing that we do not re-
gard the above as a definition of a Theistic position or set them forth with that aim. It is possible for one to hold that there is a rational principle in or behind Nature, a funda-
mental rationalism, which is more or less short of Theism. Thus in Buddhism we find a profound belief in Samsara (q.v.), an in-
exorable, intelligible, impersonal principle, combined with an explicit denial of a will and in Theism. We are not concerned here to justify Theism. We justify our use of terms which seem to have theistic implications, by saying that they seem the best terms to use, if not, indeed, the only terms that can be used. We are not coming nearer adequate expression of the truth of things in as much as our thought and language become vague.

Now, if there be a superhuman Mind which thinks and wills absolute Good, the question arises, is that God realized? If we admit that such a Good must be realized—and we cannot do otherwise—we are immediately confronted with some of the most perplexing and painful problems that have occupied the mind of man, and we must now consider them.

V. PROBLEM OF EVIL.—It is common to speak of the problem of evil, and there is no objection to that, provided we understand that under the name are grouped a number of separable problems; for evils are of different kinds and raise different questions; and of all kinds two questions may be asked, What is the terminus a quo, and what the terminus ad quem?

It is to be noted that the problem of evil of any kind exists in most acute perplexing form only for those holding a Theistic view. Just in proportion as God is held to be omnipotent, all-wise, all-loving, the blessed and only Potentate, the

Creator, the Disposer of events, and so on, does the existence of evil become an ever deeper mys-
tery. Only if there be a God, and a God in some sense outside of, superior to, or for the world, can any complaint against what is to be entertained. It is meaningless to criticize and protest against the scheme of things as we find it, if there is no One responsible for it, who, we con-
template rightly or wrongly, might or should have made it other than it is. Of this God, to whom the problem of evil with us, has clung:

'0 that I knew where I might find him; that I might come even to his seat! I would order my
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cause before him, and fill my mouth with arguments. I would know the words which he would answer me, and understand what he would say unto me." John xxxvii. 5. In this way, indeed, all problems of evil merge into one—the problem of theology; "Is there a bonus eat, unde malum?"

A REALITY OF EVIL.—As men survey the facts of experience and the world about them, they come to varied views as to the extent of evil. So little do ill and evil bulk in the view of one that he regards all the talk of evil as a gross exaggeration, and for the evils that he is compelled to admit he finds simple and adequate explanation lying on the very surface; and he is prepared to pronounce all things very good. Another finds everywhere evil in one or other of its manifold forms triumphant: the world is full of misery; Nature is blind, reckless, indiscriminating; human life with all its pains, sorrows, defeated hopes, thwarted aims, and brief span, which indeed is, after all, too long considering what it brings, seems not worth the living.

"Life which ye prize is long-drawn agony."

To the optimist who says "no world could be better," the pessimist replies "no world would be better light over all because of personal evil; and that there should be such a world as we have, is the question as to the extent of evil, men will give different answers. Something has to be added to this temperamental and personal experience. But it is clear that, if any one takes anything more than the merest superficial and the most contracted view, it will be impossible for him to take the optimist's view that, as a matter of fact, all things are very good and quite as they should be. Take no more than external Nature as we find it. We have Wordsworth's stanzas:

"One impulse from a vernal wood
May lead the young to manhood;
Of evil and of good
Than all the sage can.

On the other hand, we have J. S. Mill's violent indictment of Nature:

"In sober truth, nearly all the things which are hanged or imprisioned for doing to one another, are Nature's everyday performances. . . . Nature impales men, and has hundreds of other hideous deaths in reserve, such as the cruelty of a ... Domitian never surpassed. All this, Nature does with the most supercilious disregard both of mercy and of justice." (Autobiography.)

In Mill's statement there is an element of rhetorical exaggeration, but for all that we may feel that it does more justice to the facts as we know them than the verse quoted. Pessimism is an advance on optimism, and is nearer truth, since it recognizes the facts of the case, that there is disorder in Nature, and that there are serious contradictions in the external world, and in human experience ill which, by their number and the extent to which they can blight happiness and mar and stunt life, constitute an almost overwhelming perplexity. Reviewing the facts of life, we may say with Schopenhauer:

"To me optimism, when it is not merely the thoughtless talk of such as harbour nothing but words under their low foreheads, appears not merely as an absurdity, but also as a really wicked conception in the view of the unavoidable suffering of humanity. "(The World as Will and Idea, Eng. tr., i. 21.)

Yet it has to be observed that, as there may be a shallow, self-centred optimism, which spreads a rosy light over all because of personal well-being, so there is such a thing as a no less shallow, in-sincere pessimism, a megalomania not unknown to youth, a pose deliberately adopted, a morbid sentiment for gloom and pestilence. And this is certainly as absurd as, and probably more wicked than, the optimism referred to. The Weltanschers, so frequent at the stage of adolescence and not uncommon with physical changes, represents only the difficulty felt by an individuality taking

its first independent steps, and normally soon passes.

Optimism and Pessimism, however, are not merely estimates of the extent to which evil exist; they are theories of the origin, significance, and final issue of evil. One who can adopt the pessimist's estimate of the extent of evil may yet be an optimist as holding that "Good is the final goal of ill"; that

"Good shall fall
At last, far off, at last to all,
And every winter change to Spring."

To accept the pessimist's estimate of the magnitude of the problem does not involve the acceptance of a pessimistic solution of the problem.

The problem as noted is, If God is good, whence comes evil? and we must consider—

VII. THE MAIN THEOLOGICAL SOLUTION THAT HAVE BEEN OFFERED. —It is easy to see how one might adopt the position: the world and life being what they are, either (1) God is not good; or (2) He is not omnipotent; or else (3) evil is not what it seems to be, it cannot be anything but good, and we must try so to interpret it. Each of those positions has been adopted as an explanation of evil, and we may group the theories we consider.

X. The view that God is not good.—This is a convenient way of grouping some theories which have little enough in common save that all hold that God (using the term in a wider than the Theistic sense, to denote the fundamental Principle of the Universe, the World-ground, or however else He or it may be named) is not good, or, what comes to the same thing, that the goodness of God is something essentially different from what we in every other case understand by goodness.

(1) First we consider Pessimism. Its estimate of the extent of evil we have seen to be not unjustifiable. We must now look at its general account of evil. In brief, Pessimism holds that existence itself is evil, that non-existence is preferable to existence, that the root of all evil is the desire for existence. Pessimism, both as a temperamental attitude of mind towards the world and as a philosophy, is native to the East rather than to the West. In modern times, however, there has appeared in the West a popular and more or less vague pessimism in poetry, and even in the philosophy of the street-corner; a political pessimism (Nihilism); and, what we are concerned with, a pessimistic philosophy.

(2) Eastern (or ancient) Pessimism has its best known and fullest expression in philosophic Buddhism. Buddhism grew out of the current Brahmanism, and so far accepted its teaching. In that system the old simple Theistic Aryan faith had given way to a belief in an impersonal Neuter (Brahma, Atman, or Paramatman), the source and goal of all existence, which in some dim way had willed existence in order to realize itself. A vast interval separates source and goal, and through it the wheel of existence turns, involving for souls innumerable changes till at last they escape back into Brahma whence they sprung. The soul passes through one incarnation after another, each state of being with its conditions being determined by merit or demerit acquired in the preceding state. It is easy to see how to Buddha it was only a making explicit of what was already implied to say that the wheel of existence itself is an evil, the evil. The soul craves for rest, and will never find it so long as it is turning with the wheel. Rest means escape from the wheel. And even a thong which binds the soul to the wheel. Hence a good deed is only a less evil for the soul from a bad one, for it maintains the soul in being. Existence, then, seemed to Buddha to be evil. Life means sorrow, and the only escape from

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Sorrow is to escape from life. There is no God, only an impersonal inexorable Law (karma), which attaches to things and persons to merit and demerit. Escape from evil is possible just in proportion as we retire from the world and suppress the very desire to live, and stifle that will to act which by impelling us to action binds us, not by merit or demerit, to the wheel of existence. When we have ceased to desire, we shall escape and attain Nirvana.

In thus holding that escape is possible, Buddhism may be said to be, after all, an optimism. At the best it is a negative optimism. The final Good is one ever to be desired, never to be enjoyed; though it may be attained, never to be possessed and enjoyed. We are not concerned with practical Buddhism, which on the whole may be as optimistic a system as Christianity, or at least comparable with it (see the art. on NIRVANA and KARMA).

(b) Western (or modern) Pessimism is represented in the systems of Schopenhauer and von Hartmann.

Schopenhauer (1778-1860) was a student of Oriental philosophy, and his pessimism is largely influenced by, if not borrowed from, Buddhism as we have outlined it. We find in his Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung the same estimate of life and existence as evil, and the same doctrine that the desire to live must be mastered and destroyed by working towards as we find it in Buddhism. Instead of karma, Schopenhauer finds behind and causative of all existence Will. Will is the Ding an sich which is absolute, unconditioned, unknowable, and is the innermost essence of everything and of the totality of things. This Will is blind, stupid, and goading; hence a world of such misery as we find.

If we know that life is so, we have the work of a conscious Creator, 'he would be the greatest of all wrong-doers. He must have been an ill-advised god, who could make no better sport than to cheat mankind out of the happiness of man.' Hence Schopenhauer rejects Theism, and finds in the transition from Theism to Pantheism a process from what is indemonstrable to what is absurd. In his view the world is so bad that non-existence would be preferable (The World as Will and Idea, Eng. tr., l. 488, et al.).

Von Hartmann is so far a disciple of Schopenhauer, though his originality is conspicuous. He develops more fully the a posteriori argument for the universal extent of evil. He comes to an 'inscription of the possible pain and evil' as existing, even in the case of the most fortunately situated individuals. Nor is there any prospect of anything better in the future. Due to the development of human intelligence and sympathy there will come an ever keener sense of the preponderance of pain. The practical conclusion is that we must aim at the extinction of the will to live, must work towards the end of the world-process. But von Hartmann's view is neither so simple nor so intelligible as that. Like Schopenhauer, he posits an unconscious Principle, but he differs from his predecessor in making it a Principle in which a dualism is inherent. There is not merely unconscious Will from which all existence with its miseries has sprung; there is an unconscious Intelligence which is striving to undo the mischief wrought by unconscious Will. The Universe then becomes a game of the intellect in which the Absolute is good as seeking to realize it. And this end must be the end for us also. We are told that the only right course for us in the present time is to retire from the world and suppress the desire to live, to reduce all its arts, and not through cowardly renunciation, can we play our part in the world-process (Philosophy of the Unconscious, t. 488). That source of universal suicide which seemed the only rational thing must be postponed, indefinitely it would seem. For, if it took place, the Absolute which has produced the existing number of men would immediately produce another place (Das sittliche Bewusstsein, Berlin, 1879, p. 470). Hence von Hartmann's pessimism is the most absolute of all.

(ii) The view has been expressed that evil largely at least disappears as a problem, if we hold that the distinction of good and evil is different from God to from what it is to us. In various forms this view has been held by, e.g., H. L. Mansel, F. H. Bradley, A. E. Taylor, and in a sense by von Hartmann. And it has become a kind of fashion to talk of a super-moral sphere. This view is quite well worked out in Bradley's Appearance and Reality (London, 1897), and Taylor's Problem of Conduct (do. 1801). (It has to be noted of the latter that to a great extent it has been disowned by the author.)

Without entering into detail, we may state the position shortly. The view is that the distinction of Religion and Morality are distinct. Morality, the lower, is concerned with human action alone. Moral distinctions applicable enough to men are inapplicable to God. Owing to the limitations of human nature we present some things to ourselves as bad. Religious faith reveals a perfect world. There is ultimately nothing which ought not to be. Acts and principles of action which seem to us immoral are in God perfectly good. To some extent the human mind can see that it is so already, and, what is the task of faith to trust in that in all cases it is so.

Now there is considerable plausibility in such a view. It may seem to humble piety to be simply a comment on the text 'the heavens take their higher place' (Is 55). We all realize that God's view of good and evil must differ in great measure from our own. Hence Schopenhauer rejects Theism, and finds in the transition from Theism to Pantheism a process from what is indemonstrable to what is absurd. In his view the world is so bad that non-existence would be preferable (The World as Will and Idea, Eng. tr., l. 488, et al.). In his view the world is so bad that non-existence would be preferable (The World as Will and Idea, Eng. tr., l. 488, et al.).

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2. The view that God is not omnipotent.—The second is a God who creates, but who is helpless in various ways to make God omnipotent. They hold that God is absolutely good and means good, but cannot carry out His purpose of good immediately. There are obstacles that thwart and retard His purpose.

(a) Those which postulate two equally original and eternal Principles which have been in rivalry, and con God. The evil principle can create, and throws his works among the creations of the Good Principle: hence all evil (Iranian dualism).

(b) Those which postulate the eternity of matter. God did not create matter. He made the world out of matter He found, and He made it as perfect as the intricable material would allow (e.g., Theophrastus of Plato). What imperfection exists, therefore, is due to the matter, not to the Maker, of the world. In various quarters this belief developed into the view that matter is inherently evil. In some Gnostic systems the world was represented as the outcome of the evil, originally subsisting in chaotic matter, organizing itself into a Kingdom. And man is a microcosm: the enemy of the highest principle within him is the material, sensual element, which is not merely, as we all hold, often the occasion or instrument of sin, but in itself is inherently evil. Cf. art. Gnosticism.

(c) Those which postulate the original dualism in God. We have noted this in von Hartmann’s system. It appears also in the view of Boehme (1608-1684). God must have two constitutive elements, a soul that is in God which is not God, if we understand God love only. Yet it is a Divine element, broken away from the original harmony to become the world (Boehme, xiv. 70). It appears also in certain Gnostic systems in which we have a representation of a fall within the Pleroma. A product of this fall is a Demiurge who is in other ignorant of or hostile to the supreme God.

Dualism of type (a) is on the whole optimistic in outlook. The evil principle is destined to be at last vanquished and destroyed. Type (b), on the other hand, tends towards a pessimistic or at any rate a gloomy view. Existence in this world is evil, and we must seek deliverance through asceticism (so notably the Essence, Plotinus, many Gnostics), or vindicate it by antinomianism (Opitien and other Gnostics).

Dualism is just the assertion that what we find now in the world has been there all along. The world is dualist for each of us as we find it. Two streams of influence beat upon us. We feel the conflict of two tendencies within us. And Dualism explains the conflict by saying that it has always been so. It is an ultimate fact. Dualism in any of its forms cannot be expressive of the final truth of things, and thought cannot rest satisfied with it.

(lt.) We have next Pluralism, a philosophy which has in recent times come into great prominence, expanded by, e.g., W. James, Howison, and F. C. Bache. Pluralism, when thoroughgoing, asserts that God is limited ab initio by other beings, among whom He is only primus inter parnas. Souls are uncreated, eternally pre-existent. In the world we find no trace of the souls that in this case belong to the soul of God. Thus God is in no way, near or remote, responsible for evil. Pluralism (q.v.) is a Weltanschauung, not a name given in a sentence. As to pre-existence (q.v.), if we are Pluralists,

*For one difficulty which the theory of Pre-existence removes is creates a hundred. . . . The theory is certainly not capable of positive disproof, but it is unsupported by the obvious and strong evidence of experience. It is impossible to disguise by some mythological structure which itself is the greatest difficulty of all (see ed. H. Buxtorf.

The Pluralist may reply in Ward’s terms: "The theory of pre-existence involves a "mutation" of assumptions unquestionably; but it is "certainly not capable of positive disproof," the objector is bound to show, because the assumption of the whole is worthless. As regards this particular hypothesis of pre-existence, its complexity is no advantage to it; but even so the disadvantage is reduced in proportion as the separate assumptions are analogous with actual experience and consistent with each other (The Realm of Being, 'Pluralism and Theism,' p. 185.)

It is, however, a strange doctrine that the burden brought with any theory should be primarily a burden of disproof for the objector. The existence of a race of intelligent beings in the interior of the moon is a hypothesis not capable of positive disproof, its assumptions are all analogous with actual experience and quite consistent with each other, and the objector may be unable to show that the result of the whole is worthless. In spite of all that, the hypothesis is still in want of a singlejustifying consideration.

The theory of pre-existence must certainly be treated with respect. It is the belief of a large proportion of mankind. It has ever appealed to those who grapple with the problem of evil, and many names may be mentioned in support of the mountains: Pythagoras, Plato, and Origen, to Kant and J. Müller. Admittedly no theory of the origin of souls is free from difficulty, but, obviously, to explain the faint of soul in this life, to create or emanated souls in a former life leaves the problem of evil exactly where it was. To gain anything we must hold our own soul, and the soul that is in God which is not God, if we understand God love only. Yet it is a Divine element, broken away from the original harmony to become the world (Boehme, xiv. 70). It appears also in certain Gnostic systems in which we have a representation of a fall within the Pleroma. A product of this fall is a Demiurge who is in other ignorant of or hostile to the supreme God.

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The metaphysical difficulty of Pluralism may be put thus: if the monads are absolutely separate, it is not obvious how a cosmos can arise; while, if they are inter-related, there is no intelligible sense in which they can be ultimate.

(iit.) That the omnipotence of God is inherently limited is implied in all theories which represent evil as necessary. In some sense the necessity of evil must be an element in every attempted solution of the problem; and hence in some sense it is true that evil exists because God, though perfectly good, is not omnipotent. What kind of limitation of omnipotence is compatible with an adequate Theism? Only the limitations necessary to make omnipotence a thinkable conception—limitations without which omnipotence is a totally absurd notion, meaning power not only to do all possible things, but to determine what is possible; an omnipotence which absolutely excludes impossibility. This is the foolish notion of omnipotence argued upon by, e.g., Schopenhauer and J. S. Mill.

The Creator is the author not merely of the world, but of possibility too. He might accordingly have devised this such a way as to admit of a better world (Schopenhauer, Parerga, ii. 189; cf. Mill, Theism).

This meaningless omnipotence is denied as soon as God is conceived of as a definite Being at all, with any stability of intelligence or will. Omnis determinatio est negatio. To find that derogatory to God is to abuse language.

Plainly God is limited by His own Being (He cannot deny Himself), by His own purpose, and by His own works. It cannot be otherwise. We should else have a Being whose possibility could be attached, of whom nothing could be firmly hoped.

Hence in many quarters evil is represented as necessary; and, as noted, it must in some sense be so. The thought is not free from difficulty. For, if evil be necessary, is it not justifiable? Can we
condemn what must be? If a thing is necessary, is it not in a sense good? Even if we say, 'Evil must be, not in order that it may be for its own sake, but in order to be thwarted, fought with, destroyed, and made as good as possible,' the evil-doer may still justify himself. If we say to him, with Royce,

'Man's will is your will. Yes, but it is your will thwarted, snubbed, overthrown, defeated... And that is the use of the world... to be willed down in the very life of which you are a part' (Studies, p. 268), he may reply, 'Your argument is irrelevant. It remains true that on your own showing I am fulfilling a useful and necessary function in the scheme of things. Without me you can do nothing; your goodness were impossible without me to contend with. In your interest it is necessary for me to exist, and it is goodness in me to choose to constitute myself a round in the ladder of your ascent. Evil if justifiable in the abstract is justifiable in the concrete; in the abstract it does not exist. If there must be evil, there must be evil-doers.'

The possibility of evil is clearly necessary; it is no true limitation of omnipotence to affirm that.

And, as Royce himself shows the possibility of evil (Studies, iv.), the presentation of moral choice is all we need for knowledge of good and evil. It is a delusion that we have more knowledge by yielding to temptation than we have in resisting it. Hence the difficulty remains, why did not God prevent the actualization of evil? It is not an adequate answer to say, God cannot prevent moral beings from choosing evil rather than good. For, if God can govern moral beings now, as it must be admitted He can and does, He could have done so all along without depriving them of their moral freedom. Besides, the other difficulty remains as to why moral beings should will evil. After all, there is much to be said for Lotze's view:

'Of all imaginable assertions the most indescribable is that the evil of the world is due to the validity of eternal truth; on the contrary, to any unprejudiced view of Nature it appears to depend upon the definite arrangements of reality, besides which other arrangements are thinkable, also based upon the same eternal truth. If there were retained the separation... between necessary laws and the creative activity of God, in a non-evil world would undoubtedly belong not to that which must be, but to that which is freely created. Let us therefore... say that whereas there is not an irreconcilable contradiction between the omnipotence and the goodness of God, there our finite wisdom has come to the end of its tether, and that we do not understand the solution which yet we believe in.' (International Ed., 1860, p. 717).

The view that evil is not really evil.—The view that what is to us evil is not evil to God we have discussed above. Here we deal with various arguments which attempt to show that what at first sight appears evil are not, when better examined, evils to us. The characteristic formula of all such theories is, 'Partial evil is universal good.' The most familiar expression of it is in Pope's Essay on Man, which is a summary of Deistic optimism as represented by, e.g., Bolingbroke. The view is, 'Whatever is is right,' i.e., there is really no evil. Suffering is to be borne with content because the evil suffered is serving a great universal end. Nature is not to be rebuked for enforcing her laws at the expense of an individual.

'Respecting man, whatever wrong we call, bad to the relation to all.'

A similar view was to some extent accepted by the Stoics, who grasped earnestly with the problem of evil—not in Pope's dilettante manner—and in regard to the bearing of evil and the good that comes out of evil said nearly all that can be said. The Stoics, too, regarded the world as perfect. 'The nature of evil exists not in the Universe' (Epictetus). Evil is conducive to the best of the whole. Chrysippus and M. Aurelius compare evil to the coarse jest in the comedy, which, though offensive by itself, improves the piece as a whole (Aur. Med. vi. 49). 'God has fitted all, evil with good, in a whole great, so that in all things reigns one reason everlasting.' (Cleanthes, Hymns to Zeus). In reply to this position that partial evil is universal good, we say that it does not make the evil any less or any less real. The individual afflicted for the good of the whole may well ask, Why select me? As Voltaire in Cato says, Why should Libanon perish while Paris escaped? Was not Paris sunk in evil too? However true it be that evil leads to good and to greater good, the problem remains as to its distribution. And, whatever its effects, near or remote, evil is still evil.

'It may be said that evil appears only in particular, but that when we take a comprehensive view of the great whole it disappears; but of what use is a conclusion the power of which depends on what happens to the individual? For what becomes of our conclusion if we convert the sentence which contains it thus—'The world is filled with harmonious as a whole, but if we look nearer it is full of misery?' (Lotze, Micronessis, ii, 750).

Another point emphasized by the Stoics, and in many quarters since, is that evil is good as a disciplinary agent. On this point Seneca writes in almost a Christian strain in his De Providence: 'Fragile are the plants that grow in a sunny valley.' And so Epictetus (Disc. iii. 24): 'God sends me thither and thither, shows me men as poor, without a remedy, an enemy, and not because He hates me... but with the view of exercising me and of using me as a witness to others.' This is all fine and true, but the problem of evil remains.

For this does not explain the suffering of the innocent, that stirs the very possibility of moral improvement, e.g., by reducing a mind to imbecility, or the fact that the evil of others is a great distraction; the old question is, in fact, raised in acute form, Is God not good to His own, or is He powerless, that this is the only way in which He can educate them?

Still another consideration is urged by the Stoics which has also played a great part in explanations of evil, viz. Evil is the necessary condition, the correlate, without which good and evil are not discernible. 'No evil, no good.' This gives rise to different views. (a) Evil is a merely negative or privative conception, meaning only the absence of good; (b) evil is the condition of knowing or doing good. In answer it is easy to point out that evil is no mere negative. It is something quite positive which attempts to usurp good. Evil is not merely good-less, but anti-good, if we may use the words. A man may fail to exhibit a virtue without being guilty of the contrary vice, or, as we say, have only negative virtues. As to our knowledge of good:

'Things are known to us only in relation to their opposites. But the law used not be so interpreted as to require that these opposites must be absolute contrasts. In order to consciousness, we must have changes... But which does not necessarily mean transition to the entirely opposite state... We should be conscious of good without experience of the positive sin or evil. If there were within good itself changes from one degree to another, if there were varieties of good' (Davidson, Ethics, p. 377).

The position that evil is necessary if moral beings are to be good and do good has been in our view already.

VIII. Conclusions.—We have seen that every proposed solution either leaves the old question unanswered or raises new ones. The problem is a problem for the human mind insoluble. However far we may get with an answer, ultimately 'There is a thing which we cannot see;' and the final and complete answer to 'Si Deus bonus, unde malum?' lies within. There are, however, considerations which so far lighten the problem.

1. Metaphysical evil (the fact that we are finite) is no evil at all. 'To be finite is unsatisfactory,' says Royce, but it is scarcely a thing to complain
GOOD AND EVIL

about, if, as we actually find, the finitude is capa-
cable of indefinite expansion, and if, as we have
ground for hoping, this is destined to be immortal.
As I have pointed out, when possi-
bilities of discovery and invention have been
exhausted, it may be time to find our finitude an
evil. When our world is conquered, we may
weep.

2. Physical evil, the evil we suffer. (a) If one
argues, We can conceive the world and the con-
ditions of life as better than they are, why are
they not better? The answer is: As a matter of
fact they are becoming better, our demand for a
better world is God's demand, our purpose to make
it better is His purpose, and in improving it is
His task. To demand from God a better world,
to complain that it is so imperfect, is to demand
for man an easier task, that there shall be less
which man has any share in producing. The
demand for a perfect world is the demand
that man shall have no task, no function in the
world at all, and makes the creation of a world needless
and unintelligible. As Iversen says, 'the
world is not yet made, it is only in the making' (see
also Fairbairn, The Philosophy of the Christian
Apostles). A man is called to play a part in the making
of it. He is not at home in the world as he finds it; by his labour he
has to make it more of a home. Hence it seems
inexplicable that there should be so much
indifference and want of interest in various
forms for him. Which is preferable—a world in
which man has nothing to do in making it a better
world, or a world which calls him to be a worker
along with God?

(b) Physical evil has been the good which has
impelled men to most of those achievements which
make the history of man so wonderful. Hardship
is the stern but fecund parent of invention. Where
life is easy, because physical ills are at a minimum,
we find men degenerating in body, mind, and char-
acter. Better to fight for our life; better in impres-
sion, being different from man as we know him, i.e. not
man.

(c) This indicates that the demand that the
world should be other than it is in this or that
particular leads us whither we know not. It is
not one thing which has to be changed when one
change is proposed, but ultimately all things;
and a world totally different from the world we
know cannot be thought out. It is not possible to
foresee all the changes necessitated by one change
made, or appreciated how it would be for
us. It is conceivable that we should find the last
state worse than the first. Leibniz's formula, 'this
is the best of all possible worlds,' does not admit of
demonstration, but neither does its denial. We
cannot prove that there is no more suffering in the
world than is necessary for any good purpose,
neither can we prove that there is more. And the
burden of proof seems fairly to rest on the critic of
Providence.

3. Moral evil.—There are ultimate questions
that cannot be answered, e.g. the origin of sin,
and its universality (see art. Sin). Here it is in
place to state that we may hold that it was God's
purpose that man in man not merely an intelligent
follower, but a moral being who should be
partly the architect of his own character and
worth. Again we ask which is preferable—a
being who cannot do evil, or a being who with full
power to do evil abates? A non posse peccare, or a
posses non peccare? We note that Huxley answers
that he would prefer the former:

When knowledge cannot be extended, when pos-
ses non peccare, or a non posse peccare? We note that Huxley answers
that he would prefer the former:

If some great Power would agree to make me
always think what is true and do what is right, on condition of baring
me from ever attempting to do anything with the office ("Method and Remulla,") Collected Essays, Lond.
1883-84, i. 193.

But it may be doubted if many will agree with
him. Once again it is a demand for no task, no battle;
and what is the worth of such a char-
acter? The wine of life would be drawn under
such conditions; man would have no share in
working out God's plan. Which is preferable—a
grim fight, with the possibility of splendid triumph,
or no battle at all?

The possibility of evil is necessary for a moral
being. And the actuality of evil is the only
ground we can see on which there arises any need or
any possibility for the manifestation and de-
velopment of some human virtues, and the revela-
tion of some Divine excellences, which we regard
as among the best. Nor, though we might have
knowledge of evil, could we have knowledge of the
consequences of evil, were evil not actual.

It will appear that we might go on to say that
God wills not merely the possibility, but the actu-
ality of evil. If we admit that He has perfect
foreknowledge and wills a possibility which He
knows will be realized, manifestly it might seem
His responsibility is not different from that of
willing its realization (cf. Rashdall, ii. 94). We
prefer to say that here we are in a difficulty which
shows, in Lotze's phrase, that our thought is at the
end of its tether.

4. Connexion of physical with moral evil.—The
problem of evil would be far less acute if we saw
that suffering was proportionate to wrong-doing.
The greatest problem of all is why suffering is not
proportionate. The apprehension of the un-
discriminat with which good and evil fortune are
assigned. Three considerations must be regarded.

(a) We see but in part. Could we see the whole,
it is not inconceivable, to say the least, that the
apparent disproportion would wear a very different
aspect. As Royce puts it, we see things in the
temporal series; the problem may be quite another
sub specie aeternitatis (World and Individual, ii. 338 ff.).

(b) For then, in particular, we should see how
God's government of the world is a demand of
the individual. God has the race to
govern, and the race can be disciplined only in
individuals. Hence there is vicarious suffering,
and it is difficult to hold that what is reasonable
in man, who in various circumstances must and
dare punish, causing vicarious suffering, is unreasonable
in God.

(c) If we believe in immortality, the whole
problem of evil, and this one in particular, is
profoundly modified. And this problem is one
point of view from which it is shown that
immortality is a postulate of morality. If we
believe that the conflict with evil shall result in
final victory for good, that evil shall at last find
its place in Reality only as trampled on and
triumphed over, and further, that we who have
striven and suffered and been perplexed shall see
the triumph of what we fought for, and the good
meaning of our burdens, and the explanation of our
problems, then at the worst life is full of interest;
it is good to be, worth while to suffer and to
fight.

In brief, our view is: God is good and means
only good, but His purpose is to realize His ends
with our co-operation; and in some some evil is
necessary that they may be revealed to us, and
striven after by us.
GOOD NATURE—GOODNESS


GOOD NATURE.—That quality of temperamant which is evinced, outwardly, in easy and agreeable accommodation to the social environment, and, inwardly, in aptness for adaptation without irritation or undue disturbance. Two types of good nature are to be distinguished.

(1) The first and more austere type consists in an attained orderliness of the sensibilities and a consciousness of harmony with nature. In its pagan interpretation it is the virtue of temperament sought in the Stoic ideal of wisdom as pious accord with nature, and can be attained by reasoned self-discipline; psychologically it is marked by evenness of mood, avoiding both exuberance and depression, and it is generalized as right feeling (sôraùés), at finer fortune than mere patient endurance. In its Christian interpretation good nature is the innate innocence and right inclination which are conceived to have been the original endowment of man (Paul, Rom. 7: 19; 1 Pet. 3: 2), and is therefore a relict of the shipwreck which Adam made, or, more precisely, the proper and immediate disposition of the soul. Hence it is the source of natural morality and innate apprehension of the good.

(2) A second type of good nature, more lively and spontaneous, is the element of pleasing, genial, and genial—no sense a product of discipline. Kindliness and easiness are its salient traits, health and sound nerves its primary conditions. Over and above these is implied a mental constitution mobile and powerful enough to meet change without friction or strain (ill nature is as likely to be a result of lax and somnolent as of hyper-sensitive nerves). It is to be noted that such good nature is susceptible of cultivation, suggestion, and auto-suggestion being apt agents for its induction, and that it usually results in physical benefit. Many of the cures of ‘Christian Science,’ ‘Mental Science,’ etc., are of its nature, the result is probably attained by inhibition (through suggestion) of irritations arising from local strains, and the process is, in effect, a centrally induced rest cure.

In its moral aspects good nature favours certain perils, such as over-readiness to be persuaded, or too facile a readiness in abstaining or concurring what should be morally repugnant. ‘Weak good nature’ is a manifestation of deficient will (cf. Aroula), shown either in extreme susceptibility to suggestion or to that temptation which appears in disinclination to fortify moral resolution in leisirious directions. It is this aspect of good nature which has chiefly impressed itself upon the modern use of the term, where it is largely given a derogatory turn, as implying what is morally slack. As a social virtue it should properly be cultivated between individuals and in the social consciences scrape on the one hand and lax compliance with social expediency on the other.

H. B. ALEXANDER.

GOODNESS.—The story of the Fall has a profound truth embedded in it. Science regards it as the legend of the awakening of man from a merely animal to the consciousness of good and evil, his transgression of temporality the result of a purpose virtual or deliberate vise, of the introduction of a new sense into the world, the sense which is named conscience. ‘A fall it might seem, just as a vicious man sometimes seems degraded below the beasts, but in promise and potency a rise it really was’ (O. Lodge, Man and Nature, London, 1900, p. 91). Later, for all that, people of history, there has somehow or other, come a time of reflection, and with it there has arisen a conception of good things of the soul, as having a value distinct from and independent of the good things of the body, if not as the only things truly good, to which other goodness is merely relative” (F. H. Green, Prolegomena to Ethics, Oxford, 1884, p. 261).

1. The Greek conception.—The good (δόσις) was made the subject of reflection in all the philosophical schools of Greece, and it is to Socrates and his successors that we owe our chief moral categories. The Platonic and Aristotelian conception of virtue is final in so far as it defines the good as goodness.

‘It marks the great transition, whenever and however achieved, in the development of the powers of the human mind in which it is conceived as a well-being more or less independent of what a man is in himself, to that in which it is conceived as a well-being constituted by and seen (Green, op. cit. p. 80).

As a concrete idea, however, the Greek conception of virtue, limited as it necessarily was by the moral progress of the nation, is inadequate. For us, as for Aristotle, the good is the realization of the powers of the human nature of the individual as the good of man; for us, as for him, the good for the individual is to be good; but the idea of human brotherhood, which no meaning for the philosophers of Greece has achieved, and is destined to achieve, results of which they did not dream.

In opposition to the moral asceticism of the Sophists, some of the most radical elements of ethics are brought to a matter of private caprice. Socrates held that virtue is one and may be taught. Following out
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this thought consistently, Plato was led to 'the Absolute Good,' or 'the Idea of Good' (τὸ ἀποκεκαλυμμένον), which is the source of all truth, and the ultimate end of all human knowledge and action. The ethical code whose doctrine he adopted was the Pythagorean, and he is sometimes referred to as a Pythagorean philosopher. He was also influenced by the work of Socrates, who taught that knowledge is innate and that the soul is perfect and eternal. Plato was the first to articulate the idea of a perfect ethical ideal, which he called the Good, and he argued that it is the ultimate goal of human endeavor. This thought was later developed by Aristotle, who coined the term 'virtue.'

Socrates further taught that 'virtue is knowledge.' Himself blessed with a will which obeyed all the behests of reason, he fell into the error of ignoring its operations. Assuming that all motives are rational, he held that practical wisdom (σοφία) is the sole condition of well-doing. No man, he was wont to say, knowingly chooses the evil and rejects the good—a statement which owed its plausibility to the double meaning of the word 'good,' virtue and interest. He taught that the various forms of goodness are wisdom in different spheres of action: to be pious is to know what is due to god; to be just is to know what is due to men; to be courageous is to know what is due to be feared and what is not; to be temperate is to know how to distribute what is due to the one and what is due to the other. The principle that wisdom is the sole good and ignorance the sole evil became the basis of all subsequent discussions of the ethical problem. For Plato, the philosopher was a statesman, and the good man, Plato was, indeed, too clear-sighted and fair-minded to suppose that virtue is the exclusive possession of a few choice spirits. He admits that there is much to good, whether in men or in things. He believed that men are not philosophers. Ordinary citizens who are brave, temperate, and just must have certain true notions of good and evil; their right opinion comes partly from nature or 'divine allotment,' and partly from custom and practice. But for the perfecting of character and conduct, for the adequate preparation of men for good citizenship and especially good government, there is needed the discipline of philosophy. True knowledge, and with it true virtue, can be imparted only to the soul that has undergone a long course of training. Practical excellence of character is the finished product of a liberal education.

Aristotle's famous formula that virtue is a mean, or a choice middle course, between two vices which are related to it as excess and defect makes goodness synonymous with prudence. The Epicurean sage, for whom pleasure was the sole good and pain the sole evil, counted all virtues conduct empty and useless except in so far as it ministered to his happiness. He determined the only real (or reasonable) goodness by a careful measurement of the pleasant or painful consequences of men's actions. The Stoical wise man was free from passion, unmoved by joy or grief, sufficient unto himself (εὐχάριστος), living in harmony with the all-controlling law of nature. The strength of Stoicism lay in the heroic severance of virtue from interest. This stern creed had a natural affinity with the Roman mind, and under the Empire almost every noble character, every effort in the cause of freedom, emanated from the rank of the commons. But all the latter days have not hitherto been of great the gulf between the ideal sage and the actual philosopher. 'Ah, show me a Stoic!' says Epicurus. 'By the gods, I long to see one. Show me at least one who lies in the cradle in order to be cast. Pray do me this kindness. Pray refuse not to an old man, from ill-will, the sight of a spectacle that I have not seen new' (Diotrib, II xix. 24 ff.). Experience proved that this type of goodness could not be realised. It was too violently opposed to nature, and the passionate sage was nowhere to be found. The ethical code whose doctrine it adopted was the Pythagorean, and he is sometimes referred to as a Pythagorean philosopher. He was also influenced by the work of Socrates, who taught that knowledge is innate and that the soul is perfect and eternal. Plato was the first to articulate the idea of a perfect ethical ideal, which he called the Good, and he argued that it is the ultimate goal of human endeavor. This thought was later developed by Aristotle, who coined the term 'virtue.'

2. In the Old Testament.—The Hebrew prophets and poets do not analyze abstract ideas, but give unimpassioned utterance to the spiritual truths by which the moral life is generated, fostered, and perfected. For them the energy of goodness lies in the will behind which stands the character, of God. They teach, exhort, and rebuke their nation with an authority which is justified by their inner assurance of being called to speak for a God of absolute righteousness and uprightness. Isaiah says (Isaiah 59), requiring men to depart from evil and do good (34), condemning all who obliterate moral distinctions (Isaiah 59), and requiring men to depart from evil and do good (34), condemning all who obliterate moral distinctions (Isaiah 59). He is good to all (147), and the moral ideal which He sets before men is beautifully simple: 'Trust in Jehovah, and do good (37):' 'He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth Jehovah require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God' (Micah 6).

The Old Testament conception of goodness is vital and therefore progressive; dynamic, and not still after the Exile merely static. The morality of the Hebrews, like their religion, had a history. The ideal of conduct cherished by the prophets was very different from that of the rude nomad who swarmed from the desert into the land of the Canaanites. Under the discipline of events, interpreted by the genius of spiritual leaders, less and less importance came to be attached to outward righteousness, more and more attention was directed to the hidden springs of action in the soul. But the prophetic sense of the weakness of human nature stirred a longing for the inspiration of a new supernatural power. Jeremiah's hope of the triumph of goodness lay not in the self-amendment of Israel and Judah, but in Jehovah's making a new covenant with them, putting His law in men's inward parts, and writing it in their heart (Jeremiah 31:31-33).

3. In the New Testament.—Jesus both extends and deepens the prophetic conception of goodness. Absolute faith in the goodness of God is the keynote of all His teaching. He refuses to be lightly called good (Mt 108), not because He is conscious of any evil in Himself, but because He has to be perfected by struggle and temptation. He has a sense of the immeasurable contents of human, as well as of Divine, goodness. For Him no action has value apart from motives and dispositions; He seeks the source of morality in the inner spirit of conduct; He goes back beyond the legality of His time to the fundamental moral ideas of the Law and the Prophets, disengaging the principle upon
GOODWILL—GORAKHNATH

which they rest. To Him the only real good is the good self: make the tree good and the fruit will be good (Mt 7:21). He has an optimistic assurance of the triumph of good over evil, rejoicing even in revilings and persecutions as part of the process through which evil is to be vanquished. In His view nothing can permanently withstand the power of love. Man’s soul, or virtue—involved through which, in all respects, is opposed to that which leads to success in the cosmic struggle for existence; he in fact denied the possibility of identifying the power which makes for righteousness with the power behind natural evolution (Evolution and Ethics, London, 1893, pp. 12, 33). Nietzsche, on the other hand, hailed the ethics of evolution as a kind of new gospel; he glorified brute strength, superior cunning, and all the qualities that secure success in the struggle for life; he demanded, in the name of development, a revaluation of all moral values, a demoralization of all ordinary current morality; and he thought he foresaw, as a new Messiah, the "superman who is jenesis of our own"

It is possible that there is much more real goodness in nature than either Huxley or Nietzsche allowed; that she is not so red in tooth and claw as she has been painted; that there has, since the very beginning of life in our planet, been a principle of altruism (p.e.), a struggle for the life of others (R. Drummond, The Ascend of Man, London, 1894, p. 39 f.). Science cannot disregard the principle of continuity, and the future evolution of humanity will be as much a part of the cosmic process as the past. But that which is natural is first, and afterward that which is spiritual. We are allied to that which is above us as well as to that which is beneath us. Nature is so imperfect that the Bioclical doctrine of life in conformity with her—sentimentally accepted by Rousseau and fiercely by Nietzsche—is not enough for the moral guidance of man. As Matthew Arnold says in his sonnet: 'In Harmony with Nature':

Know, man hath all which Nature hath, but more,
And in that more lie all his hopes of good.


GOODWILL and its opposite, illwill, denote by their etymological roots, qualities formed by voluntary effort in contrast to the instinctive disposition or temperament described as good nature or ill nature. But the latter is fluidity in the use of the terms, so that, like their Latin equivalents, benevolence and malevolence, they are readily applied to the instinctive impulses of nature as well as to creations of will. Thus good will expresses one side of amiability (p.e.). It is the disposition or willingness to love, though it does not, like amiability, suggest that this is calculated to evoke a return of love in good will.

GOOD WORKS.—See MIRTH.

GORAKHNATH.—The traditional founder of the Indian sect of Kānpāṭha, or split-sacred, Yogis (see Yogī). The name is a corruption of the old Indian Sūrya, 'the sun', Sūrya standing for 'the Jacob's ladder', or, possibly, 'Lord of Gorakṣa' (see below). His date is unknown, the three most circumstantial legends concerning him being so contradictory that nothing certain can be derived from them. In Nepal he is associated with King
GORAKHNATH

Narendra Deva, who reigned in the 7th cent. A.D.; in Northern India he is represented as a contemporary and opponent of the reformer Kabir, who flourished in the 15th cent. In Western India, one Dharmnath, who is said to have been his fellow-disciple, appears to have introduced the Kāṇṭha philosophy into Kāśi at the end of the 14th century. The relationship between Dharmnath and Gorakhnath can be established as a fact, the last-mentioned date is the most probable one.

The Kāṇṭha Yogis trace the origin of their tenets far beyond Gorakhnath. All authorities agree in making him one of the twelve (or, according to some, twenty-two) disciples of Maheśvarachārya, a disciple of Adinātha and a Yogi saint whom the Nepalese identify as none other than the Buddhist deity Aryan Avatārā. Some make Adinātha the founder of the Yogas, while others carry the list much further back. All traditions state that the disciple Gorakhnath was greater than his master, and that it was he who introduced the custom of splitting the ears of disciples and founded the sub-sect of the Kāṇṭha. The Kāṇṭhas themselves fall into two groups—those of Hindu-station, who trace their descent directly from Gorakhnath, and those of Western India, who refer their immediate origin to his fellow-disciple Dhrāmānath. Several Sanskrit works are attributed to these latter, which may not be genuine; but the most authentic account of the tenets of the sub-sect will be found in the Gorakhnath-kī Goyāṭā, a kind of Hindu work reporting a controversy between him and Kabir, and written by a partisan of the latter. These do not differ from those of other Sāiva ascetics; for an account of them, see the last-mentioned date is the most probable one.

In Indian legend Gorakhnath is ubiquitous and all-powerful. He was the patron saint of the State of Gorākh (Sk. Gaurīk), for many years the rival of and containing the State of Nepal, of which the protector was Mātayāndrāk. It is from Gorākh that we "Gurkha" soldiers take their name. Tibetan tradition claims Gorakhnath as a Buddhist magician, and states that his Kāṇṭha disciples were also originally Buddhists, but became followers of Siva (i.e. Śiva) in the fall of the Sog dynasty, and at the end of the 12th cent., as they did not wish to oppose the Muslim conquerors. Another Nepalese legend makes Gorakhnath cause a drought lasting twelve years, by the simple expedient of collecting all the sources of water and sitting on them. Buddhist and Brahmanical traditions differ as to the method by which the water was released, but the episode is one of the most important in the cycle of old stories which forms a prelude to the sober historical notices of the country.

Gorakhnath has long been deified in India proper, and legend gives him omnipotence. He can cure evil, make men mad, turn the god of Fate, and command him to alter a person's destiny. Sometimes he is shown as greater even than Siva himself. His principal shrine is at Gorakhnath in the district of Gorkhpur in the United Provinces. The best account of this is given by Buchanan-Hamilton. The local tradition is that Gorakhnath is identical with the Supreme Being. In the Satya Yuga (or Golden Age) he lived in the Panth, in the Treta Yuga (or Silver Age) at Gorakhnath, in the Dvapara (or Iron Age) at Harmajun (I Hormus), and in the Kali Yuga (or present Age) at Gorakhnath in Kāśi. He also for some time resided in Nepal.

In a cyclic poem, entitled The Song of King同心 Chandra, current in the Rāngpur District of Bengal, his immediate disciple, the Hāḍi Siddha, a magician of great power, was a kind of domestic chaplain to the terrible queen Mayānā, and induced her son, King Gopachandra, to abandon his kingdom and to become an ascetic for twelve years. During this time Gopachandra had to sink to the lowest depths and perform menial offices to a common harlot. The Hāḍi Siddha was himself a deeper by caste—a fact which, in the locality in which the poem is current, implies nameless abomination. Rāngpur lies outside the traditional Aryan pale, and the whole group of circumstances points to non-Aryan traits. The poem, when read over, contains numerous traces of Buddhist influence.

The legend of Gopachandra is also met with in other parts of India. A popular, and widely spread, version makes Gorakhnath himself convert the famous King Bṛhtrihari and induce him to adopt an ascetic career. According to others, the name of the hero is Gopachand, and sometimes Gopachand-Bṛhtrihari. Indeed, the association of Gorakhnath and Bṛhtrihari forms the theme of a drama by Harilala, the Bṛhtrihari-sundara (tr. Gray, J.A.S. xv. (1904) 187-230).

3 According to D. Dobson, Outlines of Pandit's Ethnography, Calcutta, 1893, § 126, the Kāṇṭha Yogas are specially strong in the higher Pandit Himalaya, where Siva is worshipped. There they perform semi-medicinal functions.
4 Cf. 8th (1804) 164, 454 ff.
6 So, Gorakhnath slants up the rain for twelve years, and was one of the twelve disciples of Mātayāndrāk.
7 Cf. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Hist. of Bengali Language and Literature, Calcutta, 1911, p. 56 ff.
8 Cf. 8th (1892) 11, 154 ff.
9 Cf. 8th (1899) I. 247 ff.
10 Cf. 8th (1899) I. 247 ff.
11 This is a Buddhist story, see D. Wright, History of Nepal, Cambridge, 1877, p. 149 ff. and, for both, Levi, i. 243 ff., 261 ff. 12 W. Crooke's note to the story of Gogā, JA xxiv. (1896) 81.
It is difficult to sift any grains of truth from this heterogeneous mass of fable. If Gorakhnāth is not a purely mythical personage—a reflection in the popular mind of the great Šaiva doctor Saṅkarācārya—it is probable that the literary account of him is correct, and that he did convert Nepal from Mahāyāna Buddhism to Saṅkayān. He may himself have been a native of the Himalayas, where, alongside or in spite of Buddhism, the worship of Śiva has always been prevalent. We have seen that in the western Himalaya, north of the Panjāb, his followers, the Kānphaṭa Yogi, still perform sacerdotal functions. If, on the other hand, his name merely means the ‘Lord of Gorakṣa,’ it may simply represent Śiva as the guardian deity of that State; and the conversion of Nepal may refer to the historical fact of the Gorkha conquest of the country, which was under the protection of the Buddhist Ārya Avalo-

GORGON (from Gr. Ἴγόργων, ‘terrible,’ ‘wild,’ ‘fierce’; cf. O.Ir. gorg, ‘wild,’ ‘rough’; M.H.G. hserc, ‘strong,’ ‘violent’; Russ. огнй., ‘angry,’ ‘quarrelsome’; Slav. гроза, ‘horrid’; It. grida, ‘agile’; see Prellwitz, Etymol. Worterbuch, Göttingen, 1896, and Boissac, Dict. étymol., Heidelberg, 1907 [f. n.]).—The Gorgons are to the modern mind three mythical beings of hideous form and evil character, one of whom, Medusa, was slain by Perseus. Her terrible face, later conceived of as beautiful, had power to turn men into stone. Her head, cut off by Perseus, was put by Athena in the centre of her shield; it was called the Gorgoneion. We now know that the Gorgons took their rise not in mythology but in ritual, and that they are expressions (‘projections’) of a very primitive religious emotion. It is unnecessary nowadays to spend time and space in examining bygone attempts at interpreting the

Fig. 1. Gorgon on Ephesian Plate.

kitevāra (Matsyendranāth). Such an explanation, though well suited to the state of affairs in Nepal, will not account for the prominent position occupied by Gorakṣā in the folk-religion of the plains of India.

No connected account of Gorakhnāth has hitherto been written. The subject is well worthy of further investigation, for it is of considerable importance in the religious history of India. But such a study must be undertaken on the spot, by a scholar conversant not only with Indian literature, but also with ethnology and folklore.

Gorakhpānthy.—A name sometimes used in Northern India for the Kānphaṭa Yoga, as disciples of Gorakhnath. See art. Gorakhnath and Yogita.

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mythological Gorgons, as, e.g., storm-clouds. Such attempts were possible only when it was supposed that the concept as well as the name of Gorgon was confined to the Greeks. We now know it to be world-wide. What the Greeks did here, as so often elsewhere, was by their fertile play of fancy to conceal a simple fact—the use of ritual masks for magical and especially for apotropaic purposes. The Gorgon as monster sprang from the Gorgoneion, the terrible face or head; not the Gorgoneion from the Gorgon.

The primitive Greek had, in his ritual, a grinning mask, with glaring eyes, protruding beast-like tusks, and pendent tongue. He called it gorgoneion. He used it, as the savage does today, to scare away evil things—his enemies in the flesh and his ghostly enemies. He wore it on his shield; he placed it over his house; he hung it on his oven; doublet, though here precise evi-
GORGON

It is evident, from the long drooping ears, that the 'ugly face' is that of a beast—and not a human monster. Art has been at work to make it more hideous: the staring eyes are surrounded by a pattern in spots; the protruding tongue, which sometimes develops into snakes, is well shown, and the tongue protruding from the wide grinning mouth; the mouth grins in order the better to show the teeth. The gesture of putting out the tongue to show aversion survives in the street-boy of to-day. The origin of the gesture seems to be not so much to show disgust as to eject some hurtful substance from the mouth. The religious content is the same as that of spitting—at first to get rid of evil, then to avert it. We may compare the Greek word for winnowing-fan, wire, or the spitter, i.e. the rejecter of chaff (see art. Fan, vol. v, p. 764). If we were to give such action a specialized name, we should have to call it not apotropaic but apotropeic.

Fig. 2. Gorgon on Corinthian Vase.

In fig. 3 we have a Maori staff in the present writer's possession decorated with a Gorgonion. With such staffs held horizontally, the Maori advance against their enemies to frighten them by showing the 'ugly face.' The protruding tongue forms the front of the staff; the tongue is elongated out of all proportion, and at first sight the Gorgon-head is not easy to recognize. But all the usual features are present: eyes filled in with enamel, overhanging brows, nose, mouth, and, inside the latter (invisible in fig. 3), a row of teeth. The face is, however, so subordinated to the long, highly decorated tongue that its meaning might easily be lost.

Finally, it is of interest to note that the the-
GOSAIN

GOSAIN. — 1. Name and description. — The name in its varied forms (Gosain, Goswānt, Gosānt, Swānt, Sānt) comes from Skr. gosāna, 'master of cows or herds,' with the secondary senses of 'one who has brought his passions into control. It is used to designate an Officer of Hindu ascetic or beggar, while from 182,646 were recorded at the Census of 1901, being most numerous in Bombay, Rajputāna, Bengal, the Central Provinces, and Berar.

2. Classification. — The term is ill defined, and its import varies in different parts of India. The most convenient distinction is between the Saiva, or worshippers of Śiva, and the Vaiṣṇava, or worshippers of Viṣṇu.

(a) Saiva Gosainas. — The most respectable members of this Order are the spiritual descendants of the great South Indian teacher, Saṅkarañcara, the very incarnation of the strictest Brahmanism, who lived in the 8th cent. A.D. He is said to have had four principal disciples, from whom are divided the ten divisions of the Order—hence called the ten-named, or Dasāṃgī Dasāñgī—ordinarily called These are: Thrtha, 'shrine'; Āgrama, 'order'; Vana, 'wood'; Aranyā, 'forest'; desert; Saravatī and Bhāratī, the goddesses of learning and speech; Purī, 'city'; Girī and Pārvata, 'a hill'; and Sāgara, 'the ocean'. Each member adds to his own name that of the group to which he belongs—e.g. Anandā-girī, Vidyā-āranyā, Rāma-ārāma.

There are but three, and part of a fourth mendicant class, or jñādā, called Pārītha, or Jñādā, Vāman, Saravatī, and Bhāratī, who are still regarded as really Saṅkara's Disciples. These are sufficiently numerous, especially in and about Benares. They compose the main variety of characters, but amongst the most respectable of them are to be found very able men among the sects or sects of the Fāñdu works. Other branches of Saṅkara literature owe important obligations to this religious sect, and the permanently devoted are also members of this Order. Their contributions are levied particularly upon the Brahmanas, as they are given to the Daṇḍin of this description present themselves as unbidden guests. Many of them practise the Vases, and profess to work miracles. The remaining six and a half members of the Daṇḍas class, although considered as having fallen from the purity of practice necessary to the Daṇḍin, are still, in general, denominated Asī (Skr. āṣī, 'passed away, liberated from worldly cares and passions'); R. H. Wilson, Religious Sects of the Hindus, 1. 306 E. The Daṇḍa derives his name from the fact that he is a small wand (daṇḍa) with several projections from it, and a piece of cloth dyed with red ochre, a colour which comes down as the garment of religious personages from the Brahmanas and Vaiṣṇava periods (A. Weber, Ind. Hist. of India, literature, Eng. tr., London, 1882, p. 72). In this cloth his Brahminical cord is supposed to be embroidered. He shaves his head and beard, wears only a patch of cloth round his loins, and holds himself like a sage. He is, in the first instance taken from the sacrificial fire, with which he purifies himself, repels evil spirits, and acquires mansā (cf. J. E. Harrson, Progress, 1906, p. 129, and 1908, p. 130). The Evolution of Religion, Oxford, 1906, p. 100). His usual occupation is agriculture, and he is normally a submissive man, and as a mark of his caste he wears a white hand-knot, and his Order, a triple transcendine line, made with sacred ashes. His appearance is peculiar, and he gives himself to the Brahmin once a day only, and thus he receives in a small clay pot, which he always carries. The main distinction between the Daṇḍa and the Ath is that the latter does not carry the staff, possesses clothes, money, and ornaments, prepares his own food, and admits associates from castes other than the Brahminas.

Saiva Gosainas fall into two classes—monks, known as Maṭhādīrī (Hind. māṭha, 'a monastery'), Ādī, 'occupying', as contrasted with the Māṭhā, or laymen (Hind. gharātā, 'house and home').

The true Dandi should, in accordance with the precepts of Maṇu (Laws, vi. 41 ff.), live alone, near to, but not within, a city. Many of them, however, at the present time, particularly at holy places, like Benares and Hardwar (e.g.), specially devoted to the cultus of Śiva, live in monasteries. The lay members of the Order follow trade and other secular occupations, marry, and have families. While the true Dandi Order is recruited only from Brāhmans, the Gosain receive not only children devoted by vow or those born to lay members of the Order, but all classes of Hindus, except the very lowest and most polluted castes. In the Deccan they are drawn chiefly from the Kaurā (cultivators) or Māli (gardeners) (BG xvi. 490). In Benares, according to M. A. Sherring (Hindu Tribes and Castes in Benares, Calcutta, 1872-81, i. 256), the admission of a novice usually takes place at the festival known as the Śiva-rātri, or night of Śiva. Water brought from a tank in which a Śiva has been deposed is poured over his head, which is then shaved. The gṛuṣa, or head of the Order, whispers one of the usual Saiva formulae (mantra) into his ear—mama Śivedyo, or om mama Śivedyo, 'in the name of Śiva, or Śiva, Śiva.' I am He, embodying the Sāṃskāra principles that man's spirit is identical with the One Spirit (ātmā, Brahman), which is the essence and substratum of the universe, and cognizable only through internal meditation and self-communion (M. Monier-Williams, Brahmanism and Hinduism, London, 1891, p. 96). According to J. Grant Duff (Hist. of the Mahārattas, Bombay, 1873, p. 7 n.), in the Deccan those castes which wear the loin-string destroy it, and substitute a piece of cloth, any covering he deems necessary. Up to this stage the novice may change his mind; the irrevocable step by which he becomes a Gosain for ever is the performance of the homa, or fire-sacrifice, when the butter and milk are poured on the holy fire, and, while sacred texts are recited, the candidate vows poverty, celibacy, and a life spent in constant pilgrimages to the holy places of Hinduism (cf. BG xv. 1, i. p. 360 ff., xix. 118).

(b) Vaiṣṇava Gosainas. — The term Gosain is also applied to the heads of the Vaiṣṇava communities in Assam and Eastern Bengal (see EFE ii. 136 f.; E. A. Gait, Assam Census Report, 1891, i. 80 ff.; B. C. Allen, 46, 1901, i. 39). The adoration of the quartz is the essence of Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal, and it has been extended among the Val- labhāryas, the 'Epics above the East', until among the Bombay leaders, known as Mahārājā, 'great king,' it became a cause of shameful scandal (J. Wire, Notes on the Races, Castes, and Tribes of Eastern Bengal, 51; [Karmanā Māl]), Hist. of the Sect of the Mahārājas or Valabhabhāyās, London, 1885; Report of the Mahrārāja Listed Caste, Bombay, 1882; F. B. Growse, Mathura, a District Memoir, Allahabad, 1883, p. 283 ff.). J. Wire writes: "The Gosains are a comparatively pure stock, and fair specimen of the higher Bengal race. As a rule they are of a light brown, or when older, tall and large-boned. Muscular they ought to be, but indolent and good living stamp them as at an early age with a look of commonness and listlessness, and they become large fat men, with unpleasant dress consisting in holding out the foot to be kissed by adoring followers. Their lives are spent in sensual pleasures, and the boundaries influence they wield among thousands of the middle classes is, when despised from the house-top, that of a man who has fastened with a blind and unquestioning adoration, they quite content, if it lasts during their lifetime; to disregard the possibility of agitation and revolution (pp. cit. 150)."
On the other hand, B. C. Allen thus writes of the class in Assam:

"The leading Vaisnavite Gosains, who live in their Betras or in the Brahmaputra valley, are men who exercise great authority over their numerous disciples, and on the whole the community is stable and well managed. Unlike many presbyters, these Gosains have always been conspicuous for their loyalty to Government, their freedom from bigotry, and the liberality of their doctrine. This Ramakrishna movement presented in a more attractive form than that which is found in the Vaisnavite or the Brahmanical sects of the Mahabali, the island which is focal for the unity of the Brahmans and the Loophi (Ganges Delta, 1901, p. 41)."

It is on all sides admitted that the wandering Gosains are a prigliss class, that consort with prostitutes and women who have deserted their husbands (BG xiii. pt. 1, p. 198, xx. 138 ff; H. Risley, Tribes ii. 244 ff). In former times they were notorious in many parts of the country for their violence and rapacity (see numerous references in BG xiv. 135 n.). Later they joined the Mahratta armies, garrisoned many hill forts, and were reconverted in large numbers in the service of Mahadji Sindia (Grant Duff, 478 f; BG xviii. pt. 1, p. 463)."

GOSAAL.—See ASITIVA.

GOSPEL.—This word (from Greek, i.e. "God's story" or "Divine word") has since Anglo-Saxon times been the translation of εὐαγγέλιον. In Homer the Greek term denotes the reward given to a messenger for bringing good tidings: εὐαγγέλιον μι μέσροι (Od. xiv. 252; cf. 160). In Attic Greek, εὐαγγέλιον means to present a thank-offering to the gods for good tidings. In the LXX the plural denotes a messenger's reward for good news. David relates with grim irony that, when a man came to him to announce Saul's death, expecting to be welcomed as a bearer of glad tidings, his reward (εὐαγγέλιον) was death (2 S 18:9). In 2 S 18:35, where the idea of a reward for good news is unsuitable, it is probable that εὐαγγέλιον (noun fem. sing.), signifying "tidings," should be read instead of εὐαγγέλιον. No explicit references to the preaching of Divine good tidings—a gospel intended for a whole people—occurs in Deuteronomy (40:41-41:16). The priestly sacrifices represented an ideal band of heralds sent to announce to Zion and Jerusalem the glad tidings that Israel's sins being now forgiven, the exiles are to be delivered from Babylon and restored to their own land. Is 49:9—

"How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that brings good tidings, who is to comfort Zion! (v. 6).

(2) What is the basis of the apocalyptic hope of the speedy coming of the Christian Church? In all Galilee (Mt 4:17), "all the cities and the villages" (Mt 9:35), publishing it. He sent His disciples to proclaim it (10:1, Lk 9). It was called 'the gospel of God' (Mt 4:17), i.e. the good tidings sent from God to men through Jesus, and the "good tidings of the Kingdom" (Mt 4:23; Lk 24:46), i.e. the gospel which prepared men for the immediate founding of the Heavenly Kingdom, as seen in the eyes of the disciples. The Christian Church was known as 'the gospel of God' (Rom 15:19), 'the gospel of the grace of God' (Ac 20:24), "the gospel of Christ" (Ro 10:14 etc.), simply "the gospel" (Ro 10:16 etc.). The teaching of the grace (manifested presence) of Christ (2 Co 4:6), "the gospel of your salvation" (Eph 1:12), "the gospel of peace" (6:15), an eternal gospel (Rev 14:6).

1. The content of the gospel. In both points there have to be kept distinct. (1) What did the evangelex signify for Jesus Himself, and for the disciple whom, in the course of His Galilean ministry, He sent to preach it? (2) What did it mean, after His Passion, in the Church which was founded on the fact of, or at least the belief in, His resurrection?

Pursuing the historical and method of investigation, scholars have obtained a definite answer to both of these questions. They agree in the conclusion that the good tidings preached in the very earliest Apostolic circles was a gospel regarding the incarnate, suffering, and glorious Christ. It was the Church's first confession of faith that Jesus was declared (or determined, αποκαλεθηκεν) to be the Son of God with power by the resurrection of the dead (Ro 1:4, cf. Ac 2:22-24).

There was never a time when the Church merely honored Him as prophet, hero, or saint; she always worshipped Him as Lord and Redeemer.

In the course of the history of the Christian Church, no one was able to decide, for nearly two thousand years, what was the substance of His teaching. What were the glad tidings which He gave to His disciples—whom also He named apostles? (Lk 6:13) Who was the man to the lost sheep of the house of Israel? In other words, What was the spiritual legacy which He personally wished to bequeath to mankind? To this question the most diverse answers are given by living scholars.

(c) Some say, with Harnack, that 'the whole of Jesus' message may be reduced to these two heads—God as the Father, and the human soul so ennobled that it can and does unite with Him' (What is Christianity?, p. 65).

In the combination of these ideas—God the Father, Providence, the position of man as God's children, the infinite value of the human soul—the whole Gospel is expressed (p. 70).

The gospel, as Jesus proclaimed it, has to do with this world, and not with the Son (p. 157). The "sentences, "I am the Son of God," was not inserted in the Gospel by Jesus Himself, and to put the sentence there aside by the others is to make an addition to the Gospel (p. 161). According to Jesus, it has to be admitted, is connected with an "imaginary view of the world and history," and tends to the connection is indismissible. 'The man to whom the Gospel addresses itself is "timeless," that is, addresses itself to men, who, in spite of all progress and development, never changes in his innermost constitution and in his fundamental relations with the world, and therefore that the gospel remains in force for us too' (p. 125).

(b) Others follow Johannes Weiss, Loisy, and Schweitzer in identifying Jesus' gospel with the apocalyptic hope of the speedy coming of the
Heavenly Kingdom. The 'Weissian theory' is that the Kingdom of God was not, as has generally been supposed, partly present and partly future, but wholly temporal and transcendent. It is in this hope or nowhere that the historian should see the New Testament, as no other idea holds so prominent a place in the teaching of Jesus (Today, The Gospel and the Church, p. 92). The thought of Jesus was entirely different. He was a child of the world (ibid., p. 55). The impulse to human nature which is, historically, the form taken by the gospel (p. 51). "Nowhere does Jesus uncharitably define the kingdom of God, and God's power acting in the heart of the individual" (p. 88). The new order which the gospel announces is objective, and consists not only in the holiness of the believer, nor in the love that unites him to God, but implies all the conditions of a happy life, both the physical and the moral conditions, the external and the internal conditions, so that the coming of the kingdom can be spoken of as a fact in the present history, and is no way confused with the conversion of those who are called to it" (p. 88).

On this theory the moral teaching of Jesus was not so much the Ethics of the Kingdom as teaching which prepares for the Kingdom. It is an Interimethik, designed for a world which is expected to be brief (Schweitzer, Von Ressourc aus, p. 220). Jesus was not found a Kingdom; He only announced it. He exercises no Messianic activity, but He waits, with the rest of the world, for God to bring in the kingdom supranaturally (ibid., p. 228).

(e) Others, like Wellhausen (Einleit. in die drei ersten Evangel), prefer to say that what Jesus taught was not 'the gospel, but the kingdom'. We must make a distinction between the historical Jesus and the Christian conception of Him which has existed since the foundation of the Apostolic Church. What the first knew, the second knew, we can only surmise. Even in the earliest Christian record which has been preserved—The Memoria of Mark—he stands transfigured before us. The most Christian part of the narrative—Mk 8:11 to 10:18—is the least historical. The Christian Messiah does not represent Jesus' own conception of His messiahship, but rather the idealized conception which the nascent Church threw back upon His lifetime after His Passion. Divested of the attributes in which dogmatism has clothed Him, Jesus would be a very different figure from the Christ of 'the gospel, Could we get 'back to Christ', we should probably find that He was not a Christian but a Jew, who more prophetically taught a new and better way of serving God. But He is the Great Unknown. It may be well that we can never discover the truth of what He was, as we should only be disillusioned. If He did not reveal all of himself in the gospel, the Church dreamed it, and she cannot now abandon her dream. Jesus is irrecoverably lost, but the ideal Christ of Paul and the体会到. With their evidence we must be satisfied. Wellhausen ends his investigation with these remarkable words:

"It had not been for his death, Jesus would never have become a subject for history. The impression of his career depends upon the fact that it did not run to a conclusion, but was broken off, when it had hardly begun."

(d) Others maintain that the scientific study of the NT is bringing us more than ever face to face with the Founder of Christianity, and removing all suspicion of any conflict between the religion of Jesus and the gospel of Christ. In the historical Jesus they see 'a person, who is not only equal to the place which Christian faith assigns Him, but who assumes that place naturally and spontaneously as His own' (J. Dewney, Jesus and the Gospel, 1908, p. 374). In many passages which have been misunderstood, the love of Man reveals His consciousness of Himself, of His vocation, and of His claims upon men in startling and unpalatable language. So far from being unknown, His known figure in his life is fragmentary as the records of His life confidedly are, His portrait is singularly complete, and it is instinct with self-evidencing Divinity. It is from concrete historical facts that the great ideas of the gospel derive their value and interest. The original impulse of Christianity, the motive-power which from the first ensured its success, did not emanate from the Church's will to be believ- but was communicated by the Church through his transcendent personality. The cause cannot have been less wonderful than the effect; the victorious ideal must have been supremely real. It is contended that the resurrection of Jesus, illuminating all His teaching and justifying all His claims, made the Christian faith inevitable. In that stupendous event God gave His Church a supernatural, super-human Lord and Saviour, and in every age the inner testimony of the Holy Spirit, transmuting the faith once delivered to the saints into a vital, personal, irreparable experience, establishes the conviction that the gospel of Christ, like the Christ of the gospel, is a Divine Fact, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.

While the gospel may be studied as a whole or in parts, some conception of its entirety and immensity is needful for a due appreciation of any individual aspect of its teaching. The Gospel of the Earthly Life, or the Common Humanity; the Gospel of the Work, or the Resurrection; and the Gospel of the Person, or the Incarnation. 'The life of Jesus would not be a gospel to us if it were not a revelation and a promise of human goodness' (ibid., p. 78). The view of the gospel which should give place to the other, says Wellhausen (ibid., p. 119). And there is not one of the Gospels which would have been written, there would be no Gospel at all, that has not been not only the death but the resurrection' (p. 119). The Easter faith of the Apostolic Church was inseparable from the Easter fact. 'No critic can assail the essential fact that something happened, shortly after our Lord's death, which sufficed to convince His disciples that He was alive, and still alive' (J. F. Booth, The Apoplectic of the NT, p. 47). All the theological demonstration of the divine significance of Jesus is grounded in the historical fact that He rose again from the dead' (p. 47).

2. Gospel and Law. —It has always been felt that the charm and power of the Gospel lies in its antithesis to Law. From the beginning of His ministry, Jesus evoked the wonder of His hearers by His 'words of grace,' (Lk 4:32). What makes His message to men 'glad tidings' is the forgiving love which differentiates it from the awful majesty of justice. Not that He ever spoke a word in disparagement of Law, whatever He might say of human traditions. His followers never imagined that He intended to relax their moral obligations; rather they felt that He inextricably raised their duties to God and man. But Law could never be His last word. While the scribes counted the multitude who knew not the Law according, Jesus gave them again news of forgiveness to make them blessed. In the Apostolic Church it was not the thunders of the Law, but the music of the Gospel which caught the ear of mankind. Paul knew from the hour of his conversion that he must testify the gospel of the grace of God' (Ac 20:24). 'Grace' and 'Gospel' were his inevitable words, the one occurring some 80 and the other some 60 times in his Epistles. To the 'hard pagan Roman world,' with its deep weariness and asated lust,' he published an exhortation of grace abounding over all (Ro 5:20). In Paul himself lived success and power under Law and Gospel, and believing both to be Divine, he made it his theological task to harmonize them in thought, and to substitute for the laws of man the laws of grace, as the laws of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus' (Ro 8). On the whole, it is probable that he has not misunderstood the yoke which Jesus called easy and the burden He deemed light, but that the teaching of grace are an interpretation only, and not a transforma-
GOSPELS.—The justification for including an article on the Gospels in an Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics lies in the fact that the Four Canonical Gospels have had and still have in the development and maintenance of Christianity. In the past few years much has been done to reconcile the so-called Evangelistic stock: 'When the dead, his disciples remembered that he spake this; and they believed the Scripture, and the word which Jesus had said' (Jn. 20:8). The reminiscences of the disciples sayings and acts which in the light of later events were seen to be of significance were repeated to the younger generation that gradually took up the companions of the Ministry. The object of the Evangelists was not biography, but edification. The Gospel record passed through a full generation of pious reflection and meditative treatment before it began to be written down and so fixed for all time. This explains to some extent the selection of the Evangelists and the method of treatment. Above all, it helps us to realise what we get when we come to the final results of the purely literary criticism of the Gospels. Our Second Gospel may be the work of John Mark, the companion of St. Peter, and it may embody some things which he had heard from St. Peter's mouth. But even so the narrative has lost much of the personal note; it is far too even to be more personal reminiscence. The tale of St. Peter's denial, for example, may be substantially true, but the narrative in Mark does not read like St. Peter's own first confession of the story. It is not a tale told for the first time. We are not here suggesting that any written document in Greek or Aramaic underlies St. Mark: the narrative may have been written down for the first time by the author, but some of the tales which he is putting on paper had been repeated many times before he word of mouth. It is not to be denied that all this lets the opportunity for errors of detail. 'These things his disciples did not know (οι σφυγνοὶ) at the first,' says the Fourth Evangelist; 'but when Jesus was glorified, then remembered they that these things were written of him, and that they had done these things unto him' (Jn 12:27). The Gospels took their shape in an atmosphere of unblushing and unquestioning faith; they were compiled by men writing in the light of subsequent events. Under such circumstances it is hard for memories to be dryly accurate, it is easy to feel that the more obviously edifying form of a story or a saying must be the truer version. The eye-witnesses of the Word, of whom St. Luke speaks (I), had...
GOSPELS

known Jesus the Nazarene for a friend, but they had learned to believe that He was the Only Son of God, and that He was now waiting until the fullness of the time, at the right hand of His Father. He had lived among them as man with man, as a master with his disciples, and at the time they did not fully realize the experience they were going through. Now they felt that they would be fools and blind if they failed to see the deep significance of occurrences to which they had paid so little attention, and words of which they had only half understood the meaning. The real wonder is that any intelligible picture of the events has been preserved to us.

The origins and literary sources of the several Gospels.—The four Gospels are not, even in a literary sense, four independent works. The Fourth Gospel is most conveniently treated apart. But the three Gospels, according to Matthew, Mark, and Luke, obviously have something in common; they must either copy one another or make use of a common source. The first question is whether this source (or sources) was written or oral. The opinion of the present writer, most unhappily, is that it was a written source. In the Gospels, the common matter is not mere floating tradition, the property of all the Christian community. Had it been this, it is natural to think that the writers identically related by the Matthew, Mark, and Luke would have been to a larger extent the critical points of the Ministry, and not a capricious selection of anecdotes. The story of the Resurrection, the words doom the Cross, the narrative of the Last Supper—in these we might have expected all our authorities to agree, even in detail; but they do not agree. On the other hand, the detail could be found in the stories of the Nativity. But the details of the Galilean Ministry are hardly mentioned. It is the peculiar merit of St. Mark's Gospel, from the point of view of the historical investigator, that it deals mainly with a cycle of events quite foreign to the life and interests of the growing Christian communities.

Nearly all the 'peculiarities' of Mark, i.e., those incidents and expressions which were not adopted into the compilations of Matthew and Luke, are of such a nature as to be unaccountably offensive to the second and third generation of Christians. And, in dealing with the irreducible remainder, it must never be forgotten that all our MSS of Mark go back to a single copy which breaks off at 16. The so-called 'last twelve verses' (16:9-20) are a later Appendix, designed to supply the lacking conclusion. In other words, our Mark tradition goes back to a single book or roll imperfect at the end, and not improbably torn or defaced elsewhere. In a manuscript taken up after the feeding of the 5000, and the 'loaves and fishes' (4:31-33) taken up after feeding the 4000, but which left the details of the Crucifixion and the Resurrection vague.

A written source, on the other hand, is perfectly definite, but not necessarily authoritative. Where the Evangelists simply copy their common source then we (or, as it were, their predecessors) work as never to alter it, they would not have dared to supersede these documents or traditions by their own new Gospels. They would have been mere scribes, or, at the most, harmonists like Tatian.

But we can go one step further. In the parts common to Mark, Matthew, and Luke, there is a good deal in which all three verbally agree; there is also much common to Mark and Matthew, and much common to Mark and Luke, but hardly anything common to Matthew and Luke which Mark does not share. There is very little of Mark which is not more or less adequately represented either in Matthew or in Luke. Moreover, the common order is Mark's order; Matthew and Luke never agree against Mark in the transportation of a narrative. In other words, Mark contains the whole of a document which Matthew and Luke have independently used, and very little else.

This conclusion is extremely important; it is the one solid contribution made by the scholarly of the 19th cent. towards the solution of the Synoptic problem. The present writer believes that we may go on, and claim the Gospel according to Mark as itself the common source. According to this view, no written document underlies our Second Gospel, and the document which the First and Third Evangelists have independently used to form the framework of their narrative is St. Mark's Gospel itself.

Those who do not accept this conclusion fall back upon the hypothesis of an Ur-Marcus, an earlier recension or edition of our Second Gospel. This hypothesis is based on the biographical details of the public life of Jesus Christ of which there is little trace elsewhere. In the extant remains of very early Christian literature we find the doctrines of the Crucifixion and the Resurrection; we find the arguments from prophecy; we find the ethical teaching of the Sermon on the Mount; and as early as the middle of the 2nd cent. we find the accounts of the stories of the Nativity. But the details of the Galilean Ministry are hardly mentioned. It is the peculiar merit of St. Mark's Gospel, from the point of view of the historical investigator, that it deals mainly with a cycle of events quite foreign to the life and interests of the growing Christian communities.

1 First clearly formulated by the great classical scholar Lachmann in 1802, as Wellhausen has reminded us in his Betrachtungen to the Georg Nannen's Die drei Gospels (1880). Lachmann's words are: 'Markus Evangelium oder der Tod von Jesus Christus, mit einer Reihe von Handschriften untersucht. In modern, it is a matter of suitable composition and of genuine archaism that is not the autograph, still less was it identical with the copies used by the First and Third Evangelists; and in a few cases the points where they agree against our Mark may represent the true texts of the Second Gospel. Yet it cannot be too strongly stated that such points are few and unimportant, and that the text, as we have it, appears to be unaltered in essentials. It should be remarked, however, that we do not know how much is lost at the end; it may have been much more than a

2 See Hawkins, Revue Synoptique, p. 117 ff.

3 E.g., 'Messias' and 'Dalmanutha' (MT 28:29, 30) are merely primitive mistranslations. [MT 28:27-29]
single leaf. Possibly a large part of Ac 1:18 (including the story of Rhoda, the servant at St. Mark's mother's house) may have been based upon the part now missing.

At the same time the historical value of the Gospel according to St. Mark will be given below. All that has at present been alleged is that it is a main line of history and that the whole Gospel cannot be used as it stands, and that it does not appear itself to be based on earlier written documents. It is important to notice that the establishment of the relative priority of Mark is based on the comparison of extant documents one with another, and is quite unaffected by the view we may take of the history of the Gospels or their ethical value.

- The Third Gospel is not a book complete in itself. It is only the first portion of a larger historical work, which was apparently designed to be executed in three volumes. The third volume is not extant; in fact, there is very little reason to suppose that it was ever actually written; but the absence of an adequate peroration at the end of the Acts of the Apostles (which forms the second volume of the series) shows us that a further installment must have been contemplated. The date of the First and Second Gospels can apparently be determined within narrow limits. On the one hand, the Gospel and the Acts contain details drawn directly from the events of the last days of the apostles, a work published in A.D. 53 or 54; on the other hand, the literary evidence indicates that the author of the Gospel and of the Acts is none other than that companion of St. Paul who travelled all the way from Antioch in Pisidia and Philippi to Thessalonica, and are largely quoted in the latter portion of the work.

The Gospel and the Acts may therefore be assigned to the decade 60–100; we shall not be far wrong if we put the date c. A.D. 80.

(e) The evidence which convicts the Third Evangelist of having used the Apocrypha (not always with complete accuracy) is very well brought together by Schmiedel in Stenoga. Bibl. art. "Johannas" and "Lyaminas"; see also Burkitt, Geop. Hist. pp. 101–10. In the opinion of Theodore of Tarsus in his treatise on the composition of the Gospels (A.D. 270) it is not only an anachronism, but further it is illegal if the author of Acts drew his information about Thessalonians from Josephus (Jad. xvi. v. 1); (f) the introduction of the name of a Jewish medical authority, in the context, is in my opinion an anachronism, in the context, the 16th year of Titus (A.D. 289) appears to be due to a similarly inaccurate use of Acts xx. vii. 43.

(g) The evidence which tends to show that the whole of Luke and Acts is the work of one author, including the travelling diaries, is very strong. The growth of the gospel (A.D. 159–161) is in no way affected by its final form (A.D. 161–162). Its value, as we shall presently see, in the light of the evidence of other writers, is also remarkably great. The author of Luke and Acts would be aware of the original evidence of some of these writers, as is shown by the mention of Polybius, Livy, and Theophrastus. The author of Acts would be aware of the evidence of other writers, as is shown by the mention of Polybius, Livy, and Theophrastus.

The evidence which tends to show that the author of Luke and Acts is none other than that companion of St. Paul who travelled all the way from Antioch in Pisidia and Philippi to Thessalonica, and who was probably the one who wrote the letter to the Philippians and the Polycrates of Thessalonica. Yes, but he was actually there or in the immediate neighbourhood, and keeping a diary. When, on the other hand, he comes to describe the political situation in Palestine about the time he himself was born, we find him falling into error—error none the less real for being excusable. We do not know under what conditions he had access to the works of Josephus; he may have had the opportunity for a rapid perusal of them, but with but little time to make notes or extracts for his future use. For the ordinary events of secular history a Christian writer may make use of the Gospel of Mark, and be dependent on the ordinary channels of information. For the events connected with the rise of his own sect he might have special sources to draw upon. He may have corresponded during the course of his life with those who had themselves seen the Lord. A comparison with Matthew makes it highly probable that St. Luke also used the document called Q (see below) in addition to the Gospel of Mark. At the same time, the fact that he uses Mark as his main source for the Gospel history seems to the present writer to make it unlikely that he had much personal intercourse with those who had been the companions of the Ministry, men who could themselves have supplied the skeleton of a narrative on their own reminiscences.

3. The composition of the Gospel according to Matthew.—The Gospel according to Matthew, unlike the Third and second Gospels, is probably an extant work, but not with much precision, nor are we in a position to name the compiler. Something, however, can be gathered about the sources which he used, and the class and circle of ideas in which he moved. Like St. Luke, he was a competent writer; he treats the wording of his predecessors with entire freedom, rearranging and combining them and the whole, without giving due credit to the original sources. This makes the reconstruction of his lost hypothetical sources an extremely hazardous, if not impossible, task. There cannot be a greater error in Synoptic criticism than to suppose that the Evangelists as if they had worked like the harmonist Tatian, who made up a single narrative by piecing together the words of the several Gospels almost without alteration.

The happy circumstance that Mark, Matthew, and Luke have all survived, enables us to discover that Matthew and Luke are based on Mark; but, if Mark had not been actually extant, we would have much doubt whether modern criticism would have been able to reconstruct it from the other Synoptics. This consideration should render us very cautious in making statements about the contents or arrangement of the other sources on which we may imagine Matthew (or Luke) to have been based. It is, in fact, practically certain that, besides Mark, another document was used in common by Matthew and Luke, of which the main contents were a collection of sayings of the Lord. This document is usually supposed to have been what Papus calls the Logia composed by St. Matthew; since Wellhausen (1890) it has been generally called Q, i.e. Quelle. But, before we attempt to reconstruct the lost materials out of which the Gospels according to Matthew and Luke may have been built, we ought to examine the demonstrable procedure of the First and Third Evangelists with regard to (a) the OT, and (b) St. Mark's Gospel.

(a) In the case of St. Luke the first part of the answer is simple. St. Luke uses the Septuagint, the ordinary Bible which the Church inherited from the Greek-speaking Jews. This is notably the case in Lk 1 and 2, where the I.XX., and not some Hebrew or Aramaic document, is used. This document is slightly coloured the style and language of the whole narrative.

(b) About the same time Salmon and J. A. Robinson were using the symbol Q. This notion blazed us to only (Salmon, Oeuvres Éclairées, 1897, p. 84); possibly Salmon wished to include it in a letter to G. W. R. For the rest, see the note on the Synoptic. 3

3 Compare the use of Matt. aevum in Lk 1280 and Gn 1834. But this is only one instance out of many.
The quotations peculiar to the First Gospel have wholly different characteristics. They are mostly based on the Hebrew, some of them showing curious dissimilarities, for the most part preserved in the LXX. The Hebrew basis is in part approximately preserved as 'Out of Egypt have I called my son' [Mt 2v2], a quotation of Hos 11v1 that differs both from the LXX, which has 'Out of Egypt I have called back his children,' and the Targum, which has 'Out of Egypt I have called them son.' The quotations in Mt 27v9,10, alleged to be made from 'Jeremiah the prophet,' but really based on Zec 12v10, even its presence to a confusion between the Hebrew words for 'potter' and for 'treasurer.' This confusion exists in the MT, but the LXX has another reading, 'I am a target for them,' which is more usual in the Temple official. Thus the Evangelist must have derived his curious interpretation from the Hebrew, and not from the Greek Bible or from current Jewish exegesis. At the same time, seeing that in this passage (27v9-10) he assigns words taken from Zechariah to Jeremiah, and that in 13v10 he appears to assign Ps 80 to Isaiah, it is improbable that he was guided by the late conceptions of the Prophets. Equally clear is it that the words, 'In his hands shall the nations break' (Mt 1k10), are taken from the LXX of Isaiah 49, and that the words, 'savior of Israel' (Mt 21v9) is taken from the LXX of Ps 80. These last passages show that the Evangelist was after all not unfamililiar with the Greek Bible. The explanation (the surprising part) is the influence of the Hebrew text in a Greek Gospel. This influence does not make the stories peculiar to this Gospel historical or even probable, but it does tend to show that they originated in Palestine.

(b) The way in which our First Evangelist has used the Gospel of Mark has been so carefully investigated that little more is needed here than a statement of results.

Mt. shortens the narrative of Mk., retaining the main features, but cutting down details and (like St. Luke) suppressing the mention of the various emotions of our Lord, e.g. anger, annoyance, amusement.

Besides the long discourses, Mt. introduces into the Markan narrative certain stories not known to us from other sources, such as Peter walking on the water, Judas and the piece of silver, the earthquake at the Crucifixion, the earth opened at the tomb. There are grave difficulties in making out a claim for considering any of these stories as serious history. At the same time, it should be remarked that their tone and language suggest a Palestinian origin, e.g. the story of the earthquake speaks of Jerusalem as 'the Holy City' (Mt 27v52-54).

In view of the Palestinian origin of the elements peculiar to Mt. it is worth while once more to emphasize the remarkable fact that the Passion narrative in the First Gospel, both in the selection of incidents and in their relative order, follows unquestioningly the corresponding narrative in Mark.

In striking contrast to all this is the procedure of St. Luke. He freely omits large portions of Mk., and in the Passion deserts Mk. for another story of the last scenes. But the sections of Mk. which are found in Lk. are given in the same relative order; and, although (as in Mt.) some is antedated, yet this is not in the same cases as the interpolations found in the Markan stories. There are fresh incidents in Lk., but they are kept separate.

Thus in general plan and arrangement the Gospel according to Matthew is a fresh edition of Mark, revised, rearranged, and enriched with new material; the Gospels of Jesus but also he is a work of historical work, made by combining parts of Mark with parts derived from other documents.

4. Attempted reconstructions of Q.—From the way in which Mt. and Lk. have treated Mk. we may reasonably infer the way in which they have severally treated the lost source Q. We shall expect to find in the 'g' present in Q preserved by Mt. alone, but the general plan and sequence of the work we must gather from the position that the various sections occupy in Luke. If we find certain of these sections occupying the same relative order in Mt., there is a strong presumption that this order is really the order of Q.

(a) In Lk 6v5-8, a non-Markan block, we find (1) Sayings of Jesus found in Mk. or Lk., and ending with the 'Upon the Rock,' the Centurion's Lad, the Widow of Nain, (4) Sayings about John the Baptist, (5) Sinful women, and (6) women who ministered to Jesus. Of these (1), (2), and (4) occur in Mt., and in the same relative order (Mt 9v1-10 - 11-17). We may, therefore, assume that (1), (2), and (4) are Q, and that Q contained not only the Sayings of Jesus but also the narratives of Q, and Q is in this order. Starting from this (it is the one thing about which there is reasonable certainty), we may infer from (2) that Q contained not only the Sayings of Jesus but also the narratives of Q. This makes it likely that the Temptation narrative (Lk 4v3-12 = Mt 4v1-12) also comes from Q, and that it was followed by a mention of 'Nazareth' (Lk 4v21 = Mt 4v14).

(b) But when we have said this we have said almost all that has high probability about Q as a literary whole. Simply to refer to Q every Saying of Jesus found in Mk. or Lk., and in no case zigzag through or make a comment. This might well be a form of the Gospel of Mark, and Q is a form of the Gospel of Mark.

(c) But when we have said this we have said almost all that has high probability about Q as a literary whole. Simply to refer to Q every Saying of Jesus found in Mk. or Lk., and in no case zigzag through or make a comment. This might well be a form of the Gospel of Mark, and Q is a form of the Gospel of Mark.

1 As Lk. usually (and, for example, Lk. 7 when he has dropped in, he probably did the same when he was not sure whether or not there is a parallel in Q.)
Mt. makes to Mk., very few of them interrupt the actual course of the narrative. The 'Sermon on the Mount' occupies three whole chapters, but in time and place it merely corresponds to Mk. 5, Mt. 8-9, and Lk. 10-17. Mk. and Lk. have a like framework; they have been torn from their original context and fitted into Matthew's revised edition of Mark, to serve as a Christian commentary on Jesus' teachings; Mt. received them as history on the authority of the Church. Neither does he accept the narratives as they stand, for they are full of marvels which he finds incredible. The Evangelist, instead of attempting a general consensus of tradition, only goes back, for the general framework of the narrative, to the single witness of Mark. What is there, we must ask, in the Gospel of Mark that enables us to regard the story told as in any way historical?

P. W. Schmidt, in his art. 'Gospels' in EHR (23 131, 138), answered this question by pointing out certain Sayings of Jesus which are at least superficially inconsistent with the beliefs about Him held by the Christians of whom the Gospel were written and by whom they were canonicalized. Schmidt's method here is perfectly sound; the only question is whether some of his 'foundations-pillars' (as he calls them) are laid before in a document which he otherwise valued. It seems better not to assign such pieces to Q and to suppose that the Evangelists derived them from some other source, with or without the context and nature of which we are not in a position further to determine.

Gospels have been variously considered. Some writers speak of 'the Synoptic Gospels' and of 'the Double Synoptics,' meaning by the former phrase the incidents or sayings found in all three Synoptic Gospels, and by the latter those found in Matthew and Luke. The phrases are somewhat misleading, as they inevitably suggest that the portions comprised under the Synoptics are better attested than which are found in one document only. But to those who hold that Mt. and Lk. actually used our Mk. and another document besides, it is evident that the consensus of all these Synoptics reveals itself into the single witness of Mark; and the consensus of Mt. and Lk. is in many cases only to be regarded as the single witness of the lost document discussed in the preceding paragraphs.

Thus the story of the 'Dead Sea' twice rests really on no more evidence than the story of the blind man at Bethsaida, i.e., upon the witness of the Gospel. As similar is the parable of the sower, which is literally no more attested than the parable of the Vineyard, which is given in all three Gospels. The only additional evidence is to be found in several passages, mostly short striking sayings, which appear to have been placed in the lost document, as well as in St. Mark, e.g., Mk. 3:4, 21:9, 32:4, 11:11, 12:10, 15:22. To these we should probably add the parable of the Sower. But even here the double attestation is merely accidental, and some of the sayings in the above list would have been spoken by Jesus on several occasions.

The historical worth of St. Mark's Gospel—St. Mark's Gospel being our main source of information for the general course of the Ministry, it is important to determine its value as a historical document. It is obvious that what we have to rely on is internal evidence. If the picture presented in this Gospel be in essentials true, it will give an essentially reasonable account of the Ministry. But in this connection 'reasonable' does not necessarily mean what is likely to happen at the present day. We must first become acquainted with the historical and the contemporary of Jesus and His Apostles, before we are in a position to judge whether their reported sayings and doings fit into the history of the time.

If so, that is, if we are finally under the need of giving some demonstration of the general historical character of the picture of Jesus sketched in the Synoptic Gospels has begun to be recognized. Even now many things of which it seems to reside how narrow the channel by which the Gospel history has filtered down to us, or what the general rules are by which we may to a certain extent discriminate between what belongs to the historical figure and what must rather be referred to the legendary clothing of it. A methodical discrimination is especially needed by the modern critical student of the Gospels, and for this purpose the dependence of each Gospel text upon the oral or written traditions of the Church. Neither does he accept the narratives as they stand, for they are full of marvels which he finds incredible. The Evangelist, instead of attempting a general consensus of tradition, only goes back, for the general framework of the narrative, to the single witness of Mark. What is there, we must ask, in the Gospel of Mark that enables us to regard the story told as in any way historical?
time.  The Jews would never have gone to war, if they had not believed that the Kingdom of God would some day be set up; and if the Gospel be historical, it should be dominated by the belief in the approaching Kingdom of God.

2 3. In the Church, the portrait of Jesus in Mark is His secret Messiah-Messiah. He comes before the world of Galileans and Jews in general as a herald of the approaching Kingdom of God, but He Himself is conscious that He will be the Christ or Messiah, i.e., God's anointed Victor, when the Kingdom comes. This is avowed publicly for the first time when He is being tried before the high priest; the avowal at once seals His fate, and the title in a secularized form is placed up above Him croce. Previously to this, no one beyond the inner circle of disciples had taken Jesus to be, or as claiming to be, the Messiah. The Evangelist believed that the secret was known to the demons, but it was not known to men. If the Gospel of Mark is to be regarded as historical, then the idea of the secret Messiah-ship ought to be historical also.

To discuss this property would need a separate study, and only the heads of the arguments can be indicated here. (1) The idea of Messiah is essentially different from that of prophet or seer. Properly speaking, it cannot be 'claimed'; the Messiah be he himself or Messiah will be it be some way - evident King of Israel and Judge of the nations. Until Bar Cochba in A.D. 135, who lived in the full tide of Christianity, no Jew is known to have regarded himself as Messiah; then the crowds found a leader; but that Jesus, the Prophet of Galilee, had thought Himself to be Messiah, they lost interest and asked for Barabbas. (2) On the other hand, it is difficult to explain how the followers of Jesus, even after the crucifixion, could accept as Messiah Him who did not claim it for Himself. (3) The exactness of the correspondence with Mk.'s presentation of Jesus as one who was to the Herald of the Kingdom of God, but to the inner circle of disciples the Christ—a secret they were expressly ordered not to divulge (99). This notion, though it is the only way in which the historian can possibly conceive the genesis of the doctrine of Jesus' Messiah-ship, was foreign to the thought of Gentile Christians, for whom the Lord Jesus was Christ from the moment they first heard of Him. That it forms the leading feature of Mark's portrait is, therefore, a strong claim upon us to regard the portrait as historical, i.e., as derived from real reminiscence, and not, as from mythical fancy.

But this is all that can be claimed for the Gospel of Mark—that it gives us an impression of Jesus derived from one who had been with Him. As regards external events, the kind of information given varies in different parts. The scene in Gethsemane reads like the account of an epic event, possibly in this case the Evangelist himself (14, 28); hardly any one would say the same of the story of the Gerasae Demoniac (5, 26). Further, the first is more than a string of anecdotes, loosely connected together, not always perhaps in relative chronological order. From 5—10 the narrative is continuous, the only real breaks being 7; and from 10 to 11 the narrative is divided into days, and we see very little reason to doubt the substantial accuracy of the reckoning, except for the otherwise unexceptionable liturgical— the Last Supper is regarded as the Paschal Meal, against internal probability and all other strains of the portrait of traditions of Jesus in Mark is His secret Messiah-Messiah.

A feature of the Ministry which must rest on real reminiscence is the long period spent out of Galilee (6th Term, 8th a)—a period spent in controversy with Jews in evangelizing Gentiles, but in waiting in safe retirement till it was time to go up to Jerusalem for the Passover.

A picture of Jesus as first having been the Herald of the Kingdom, and then choosing the time to go to Jerusalem in the full expectation of being killed there, and so being somehow an acceptable victim, the final sacrifice, crowned with His Elocut and bring in His Kingdom), is more 'orthodox' than a view which regards Jesus as primarily an ethical teacher; but it is also more in such Mt. and Mk. have no idea from elsewhere of Jewish contemporary ideas, and it explains better the enthusiasm and devotion with which the inner circle of Jesus' disciples continued to regard Him. This is the view set forth in the Gospel of Mark; we may reasonably regard it as the historical view, and the Gospel as a document of historical value.

The Gospels of Matthew and Luke, taken by themselves, may also fairly be regarded as documents of historical value. If we derived our knowledge of the Gospel history directly from Mark, we should still possess in essentials a historical view of our Lord. But we find on investigation that this is the case, so far as the general outlines are concerned, only in proportion as Matthew or Luke has preserved the framework given by Mark. To this framework Mt. and Lk. have added many details, many of them no doubt genuine, drawn from Q and the other sources; but all these sources (including Q) are for us mere collections of fragments. Indeed, so far as any construction can still be traced in them, they seem inferior, and not superior, as historical documents, to Mark. Of course, if we really possessed Q, it might prove to be equal or superior to Mark; but we know Q only by the bits which blend into it, and has no specific incorporation—often, it may be (especially in Mt.), out of their context and out of the order in which they were arranged.

6. The Fourth Gospel.—It will not be necessary here to investigate in detail the external evidence for the Fourth Gospel. The belief that it was written by the Apostle St. John was fully established as early as the decade A.D. 170-180, and clear indications of its use, especially among some of the Christian 'Gnostics,' can be traced back to a period some fifty years earlier. It is true that these indications are weak just where we might have expected them to be most precise.

1 See B. W. Bacon, Beginnings of Gospel Story, p. 126.
2 See B. W. Bacon, Aesopus Minotaur I, p. 442.
3 For instance, Albert Schweitzer lays stress on Mt 1389 ('Ye shall not have gone over the cities of Israel, till the Son of man be come'). It is quite legitimate to argue that this remarkable saying must be genuine, and therefore, as it occurs in a Q-context, that it must have stood in Q. It is further arguable that it shows that Jesus at one time expected the public manifestation of the kingdom (possibly, therefore, not Himself), to take place during the first historical journeys of the apostles, i.e., during the period indicated by Mk 6:7. At the same time, when we remember that Q is for us a series of fragments, and that even in Mt 10 there is a section (v 17-19) taken from Mk 6, i.e., from sayings of the very latest period, it must remain equally, if not more, probable that Mt 1389 belongs to the latest period, and that it refers to Jesus' own expectations, which were not realized in glory after His Passion. What seems not quite legitimate is to assume that Mt 10 was spoken in historical sequence just before Mt 11 and before Mt 10 the author was no longer convinced of the historical veracity of these traditions, because they comply just this relative position in Matthew. Schweitzer (p. 980) actually quotes Mt 10 with the idea that his readers that this verse is Mt 1389, torn out of its context.
Polycearp, according to tradition, a disciple of St. John at Ephesus, does not quote at all from the Fourth Gospel, either in his Epistle or in the printed report of his conversation with Nicodemus; and the utmost that can be claimed is that certain phrases in a single passage in his Epistle are parallel to some leading phrases in Jn.1. This peculiarity in his text is easily excused at the stake; and he may not otherwise qualify. And, as regards Baptism, the Evangelist tells us that the disciples of Jesus baptised their converts (4:1), and gives us the conversation with Nicodemus (3:1-8). As regards these, that except a man be born again he cannot see the Kingdom of God (3:3). If we are to regard the Fourth Gospel as a narrative of events, we can only say that the Evangelist has given a false impression of what actually occurred.

It would be easy to go on to criticize the history and geography of the Fourth Gospel. As Matthew Arnold said, "‘Bethany beyond Jordan.’ (19) is like ‘Willebadessen beyond Trent.’ But the most serious point against the work from the point of view of objective history is the allusion "Designated to Jesus in His discussions with the ‘Jews.’ Taking the narratives as they stand, the sympathy of the non-Christian reader of the Synoptic Gospels naturally grows with Jesus against the Pharisees or the Sadducees. We feel that the adversaries of Jesus are narrow, unkind, unintelligent. To such an extent is this the case that protests have been raised by more than one distinguished and learned Jew, to the effect that the Synoptic Evangelists misrepresent the teachings of the Rabbinic religion. But in the Fourth Gospel it is quite different. Here the present writer cannot but think that the sympathy of the non-Christian reader must go with the Jewish side. To heal on the Sabbath was considered to be a breaking of the Sabbath. According to Mark (5:3), Jesus defends His action by saying that the Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath; but, according to modern, the exasperates the Jews by a dissertation about the Father and the Son, asserting to His adversaries that He who did not honour the Son (i.e. Himself) did not honour the Father (9:6). One occasion, when accused of ‘bearing witness of himself,’ He is made to say that He has two witnesses in His favour, viz. Himself and the Father (9:27). Can we wonder that the Jew exclaims ‘What? Is thine own Father glorying in thee?’ It is quite inconceivable that the historical Jesus of the Synoptic Gospels could have argued and quibbled with opponents, as He is represented to have done in the Fourth Gospel. The only possible explanation is that the work is not history, but something else cast in a historical form. From this point of view the question of the authorship of the Fourth Gospel is a matter of secondary importance. It is of the highest importance to ascertain that the Gospels are not mere narratives of events, but historical documents, but the value of the work depends upon the nature of the traditions or sources to which the writer had access. But for a work of philosophy or historical history the qualifications required in the writer are mental, rather than local or temporal. We do not need to ask how near he stands to the events, but whether he sees them in their true proportions. For we have not done with the Fourth Gospel when we have made up our minds that neither the narrative nor the discourses are to be regarded as objective history, as matters of past fact. The question remains why the Church adopted the Fourth Gospel into the NT Canon, when so many rivals were excluded. In the answer to this question lies, we believe, the reason which gives a permanent value to the work. It was not made after the Gospels, but to the discipula Jesu that the spirit that gives life, and that the words of Jesus which are spirit and life (v. 6). The Sacramental expressions are

1 See the admirable remarks of Loring (Jesu et traditione evangelica, p. 277) upon the difference between Lk 10:19 and Jn 14:23.
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cording to the Hebrews,' nor did philosophical thought avail the document commonly called the 'Oxyrhynchus Logia.' What was it that the 'Gospel according to St. John' had that these had not? We believe the answer to be that the doctrine of the Person of Christ set forth in this Gospel expressed the mind of the Church in the best possible terms, while the Gospels which failed to become canonical failed mainly because the doctrine of the Person of Christ which they contained failed to satisfy the requirements of the Church. The Church of the Fourth Gospel is not the Christ of history, but the Christ of Christian experience. Life and truth are one. To know the Gospel of John is to know 'Christ after the flesh' (2 Cor 5:14), because he saw both his Lord and his Lord's adversaries under eternal imperatives.

It is because the Evangelist views the Gospel history from this subjective standpoint that he allows himself such freedom in remodelling the external events. The old discipline needs no documents... The whole is present in his memory, shaped by years of reflection, illuminated by the experience of a lifetime. He knows the Christ far better than he knew Him in Genesee or Jerusalem half a century before. The adversaries of Jesus have become his own doubts and unfaithful oppositions; the questioners of Jesus, such as the Woman of Samaria. It is his own questions, his own ignorance, which receive their solution at the hands of the Lord who has come with His Father to make an abode with him. He knows the Lord to be true, and the knowledge of Him to be Life eternal; and therefore all opposition, however specious, is unjustifiable and blind. The Son of God is a Lamp to him who beholds, a Mirror to him who perceives, a Door to him who knocks, a Way to the wayfarer. The true meaning of life could never have been revealed to man if Jesus had not first been revealed to some. It is all a different order of thought from the Synoptic Gospels or objective history.

The substance of the last few sentences has been quoted out of the work which above all other surviving fragments of early Christian literature has the closest similarity to the peculiar elements of the Fourth Gospel. This work is the apocryphal Acts of John, or rather, we should say, the doctrinal section of that unequal piece of writing. But near as the 'Gospel of John' and the 'Acts of John' are in many ways, their differences are also fundamental, and it is in great part because of these differences that the 'Acts of John' was condemned and forgotten, while the 'Gospel of John' survived to be the spiritual food of many generations.

For, although the Fourth Evangelist is no chronicler of events, although he did not say the Logos, the Word of God, whom to know is eternal life, yet he firmly holds all the while that this Christ was manifested in time as a human being, a real man of flesh and blood, that we feel, and, above all, really suffered and really died, before He rose again from the dead. As we have seen, the Evangelist is careless of events; but to him the Death of Jesus on the Cross was not a mere event, but a something essential, a thing which really came to pass in the eternal order of things. That is why he sets forth the doctrine that the Crucifixion was a delusion—the Jews gather round the Cross and mock, but Christ is not really there; similarly also, the 'Gospel of Peter' tells us that Christ felt no pain, and apparently His Spirit is somehow caught up at the last. By a true instinct this specious teaching was rejected by the Church of the 2nd century. The Passion of Jesus Christ must be real, not a stage-play; and, if it were to be real, Jesus Christ must have been a real man. In no early year than 19th century was the real humanity of Jesus so emphasized as in the Fourth Gospel. That Jesus was a real man is an obvious inference from the Synoptic narrative, but in the Fourth Gospel it is set in the forefront. The Fourth Gospel that tells us that Jesus was tired, and asked for water to drink (Jn 4:7); and that He wept at the tomb of Lazarus (11:33). If we ask what proof there is that Jesus really suffered, the answer is very ready, that the Fourth Gospel declares Him to have said, 'I thirst' (19:28). Furthermore, we are told, with the most solemn protestations of accuracy to be found in the whole work, that the corpse of Jesus presented a truly human appearance (19:33-34). It was no phantom.

This is the main feature of the Jesus of the Fourth Gospel from the Jesus of Gnostic speculation. It was the Fourth Gospel which pointed out the six weaknesses along which alone the Church could walk. On the one hand, the Church was not prepared to surrender historical reality to a philosophical speculation. The devotion of the first disciples had been kindled by Jesus of Nazareth. It was the belief that their dear Friend had become alive again, and that He had really appeared to them alive after death, which gave them the power to combine on earth into a society, and afforded them enduring hope for the future. It was essential that the Living Christ whom they continued to serve and to wait for should have been a real man who had lived and died. Otherwise He was no firstfruits of the human race, but another species altogether. On the other hand, Christianity is essentially monotheistic, and it was so all the more consciously and passionately while the whole world outside was given over to the heathen cults and the deified Emperor. Whatever else Jesus Christ might be, the Church refused to make Him a demi-god. Here the various forms of speculation which we generally denominate 'Gnostic' were ready with terms and conceptions that should bridge the gulf. More than one school of thought, both Jewish and Greek, were teaching that the Word which proclaimed the true Man was in the beginning with God and was itself Divine, that it would come or had come to those who were worthy of it. According to Jn 1:18, the living and incorruptible God in the three elements, viz. spirit, water, blood. From the 'water' we are begotten, by the 'blood' we are sanctified, and the 'spirit' breath is the internal element that opens to us the existence of which was demonstrated to the onlookers by the seven-fold ray of the soldier.
that cannot be scientifically demonstrated, for the simple reason that the rivals of the canonical Four have not survived in full. But the abiding interest which each and all of the Four have enjoyed during eighteen centuries is enough to show that the Church chose well. And it should not be forgotten that those of the non-canonical Gospels which we know enough to publish are of a sensible inferiority. Marcion's Gospel is in every inferior to Luke, and the Gospel of Peter is inferior to any of the Synoptic accounts of the Passion. It is, in fact, because the Canonical Gospels paint such an eternally fascinating Portrait that we welcome every scrap that may claim to give another view, however indirect, of the actual events of Christ's passion and death. In one respect, we venture to think, the modern historical investigator is more fortunate than from general considerations he might have expected. It is fortunate indeed that the Gospel according to Mark should have been included in the official Canon. Many of the special ideas and tendencies of the First and Third Evangelists are in close touch with the ideas and tendencies of 2nd cent. literature. The theology of the Fourth Gospel met the wants of the Church; it pointed out the way along which the modern Christian thought and feeling might run together. In any case, the Fourth Gospel is unique. But it is difficult to understand what attraction was offered to Christians of the 2nd cent. by the Gospel of Mark which the Gospels according to Matthew and Luke did not offer, either singly or taken together, in a more eminent degree. Probably its traditional connexion with St. Peter may have had a determining share in recommending it, and the appeal of Irenaeus to historical tradition against Gnostic theories may help us to understand how such an old-fashioned book as the Gospel of Mark, St. Peter's 'inter- preter,' should have survived. It is, we find, very little quoted before the 2nd cent. The actual process by which our Four Gospels arrived at their present rank of pre-eminence is quite obscure. From about A.D. 120, the Macedonian Gospel-Cynics enjoy practically unchallenged supremacy, as we see from Tatian, from the Muratorian Canon, and from Irenaeus. Somewhat earlier than Tatian must be placed the interpolated edition of the Four Gospels, which seems to have been set forth in Rome, and from which the greater 'Western Interpolations' in Greek and Latin Biblical MSS. are ultimately derived. This brings us back to about A.D. 100; but the literary history of our Gospels during the first half of the 2nd cent. is unknown. Justin Martyr used all four in his Dialogue in the middle of the century, and Marcion certainly used Luke about 130-140. Earlier still are the allusions which indicate a use of Matthew by Ignatius. But there is nothing to show that Marcion was acquainted with any other of the Canonical Gospels than Luke, and very little to show that Ignatius used any other Canonical Gospel than Matthew; while the verbal inaccuracy of Justin's quotations suggests that even in his day the 'Memoirs of the Apostles' had hardly yet taken their place beside the Law and the Prophets as part of the written Word of God. At the same time Trypho, Justin's Jewish opponent, is quite aware that the way to be acquainted with Christian doctrine is to read what is written in τοιούτοις στοιχείοις (Tryph. § 10). Thus 'The Gospel' has already become the name of a book. It is fairly certain that the formation of the Gospel Canon was a process rather of exclusion than of inclusion. Of the works of 'many who took in hand' to write of Jesus Christ (Lk 1), the Four Canonical Gospels were certainly the most popular. The rest either failed altogether to attract, or were discovered to teach heresy. Whether the Church made the ideally best choice, from the point of view of the modern historical investigator, is a matter
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by Titus in A.D. 70 is an event that might have been expected to influence the language used in documents later than that date. Mk 21:5 does apply an adverbial sin to the siege. Mk 18:14, of which Lk 21:21 is an adaptation, does not fit the historical details of the siege, nor indeed does anything in Mk. imply acquaintance with the Jewish War. We may therefore put Mk. before A.D. 70.

Mk. is difficult to date because of its dependence on Mark. Mt 27—28 merely indicates the existence of a Christian community in Jerusalem, but Mt 17:27 might be held to imply the continued collection of the Temple-tax. Yet a Palestinian Gospel earlier than 70 would hardly have been based upon the Greek Gospel of Mark; Mt. was probably compiled when the Church of Jerusalem became a Greek—speaking community, i.e. in the generation that grew up after the war. Q is earlier than Mt.; it may have been compiled about the same time as Mk.

We may distinguish four periods of 30 or 40 years each, reckoning from the Crucifixion.

I. A.D. 30-60. Oral Period. No written 'Gospel' appears during this period, nor any formal shaping of the Gospel history as St. Paul's accounts of the Lord's Supper (1Co 11:23) and of the Resurrection (15:20) do not appear to have any literary connection with what we read in our Gospels.


By the end of this period the idea of the Fourth Gospel (Rev. 19:16) is fully established.

The influence of the Gospels on the Church.—The fact that the Church came to accept the Four Gospels is a proof that each of these works satisfies in its own way the Church's requirements. Had it been otherwise, the Gospel in question would have never attained to canonical. At the same time, it would be absurd to regard the Church's requirements as being in any way occupied with details; these the Church has learned from what the Evangelists have supplied. The Church's picture of Jesus Christ is not unfairly summarized in the so-called Apostles' and Nicene Creeds; it is the written Gospels that have preserved for us the winning personality of the Son of Man.

The history of Christology was not a simple advance from an original unitarian 'pelianthropy' to the ultimate recognition of the Deity of Christ. Naturally it took many generations of Christian thought to evolve a form of words which should satisfactorily define the exceptional nature of the Founder of the new religion in terms of current philosophical conceptions. But from the first there existed the sentiment of devotion, the temper of mind which was sure that no title was too high to give, no homage too high to pay, to the Son of God, who had been sent from Heaven to overcome death and open the gates of everlasting life to those who believed on Him. For the first thirty years or so all Christians were converts; those who doubted how far the message was true did not become Christians at all. And, unless the exact literature gives a totally false impression of the general state of mind among Christians, the interest of the nascent Church was not in the least directed towards the past. In the words of the earliest written Christian document that we possess, the converts had 'turned unto God from idols to serve a living and true God, and to wait for his Son from heaven, whom he raised from the dead, even Jesus who delivered us from the wrath to come' (1Th 1:9-10). Those who had entered the Church by baptism were to set their mind on the things that are above, 'where Christ is, seated on the right hand of God' (Col 3:1). It was true that the Christians, in consequence of their belief, submitted to new rules of conduct; and that these rules consisted in a practical reminder of the words of the Lord Jesus who had taught 'sweet reasonableness' and long-suffering (1Cor 13:4) and as lovingly (1Cor 13:13), rules such as: 'Fifty, that ye may be filled; forgive, if ye be forgiven of your father in heaven.' The Gospel was not a formal code, still less a biography. No pictures of early Christianity have been conceived more fundamentally false, both to the spirit and to the letter of historical fact, than those which represent St. Matthew or St. Peter as delivering catechetical lectures on the 'Life of Christ.'

The actual course of events was very different from what the first generation of believers had anticipated. The End, so confidently awaited, was not yet. One by one the companions of the Ministry went to their graves, and, when the cataclysm of the Jewish War broke up for ever the one community in which there could have been common first-hand knowledge of how our Lord had lived and moved among men, the great majority of Christians were Greek-speaking inhabitants of the Levantine cities, a population far removed in spirit and in culture from the provincial Judaism of Galilee. What wonder that Christianity began to mix with alien elements and to appear in forms which alarmed the more conservative believers of the Ministry. To the gentle Gentile Christian in the 1st cent., Christ was the 'passion,' the messenger from God, who had come down to earth with tidings of immortality, and now was waiting till the appointed Day when He should appear in glory in the clouds of heaven. It is not surprising that to many a believer the melancholy story of Jesus the Nazarene was a stumbling-block, and that His sufferings were incredible. All the more was this the case among those who had attempted to find an appropriate place for Jesus Christ in the various philosophical theories of the Cosmos, which thoughtful men had devised and were devising. Christian sentiment and learned speculation alike welcomed what we call, indeed in the Christian Church, the Messianic hope; but (πρόηγος) is not the name of a sect. It is a theory of the Person of Christ which takes many forms, and which has entered into the theology of many schools of thought. Some, like the writer of the Acts of John, denied that our Lord had any material existence; others were content to deny that He felt the pains of death. Apollinaris of Laodicea, condemned by Eusebius, denied His birth; but all were alike in this, that they regarded Jesus as having been in no sense a real human being. It is a theory incredible, almost inconceivable, to us; but we have learned to know Jesus Christ through the written Gospels. In the earlier sections of this article we have attempted to sketch what we conceive to be the literary origins of the several Gospels. What we wish to emphasize here is the private, individual character of the earlier documents. That St. Luke's Gospel was a private venture is sufficiently indicated by the Preface. That St. Mark's Gospel was so is sufficiently indicated by the narrow escape it ran of being lost altogether. The Gospel we call St. Matthew's has a more formal, official tone; and it bears marks of a Palestinian origin, i.e. it comes from the one region where we have a right to expect independence of spirit, in structure and much of its wording and material. It is based on Mark—a clear proof that even in Palestine no regular effort had been made to hand down a summary of the outward events of the Ministry.
Thus the Gospels fell into their place as the charter of the Christian religion, a fixed standard open to the inspection of friend and foe. And the earliest criticism on the theories of Jesus our Saviour in the Gospels is noticed by Justin Martyr, “that your Christian precepts out of what is called the Gospels are good, admirable, so admirable indeed that I doubt if any one can keep them—and I speak from personal knowledge of these writings.” Moreover, we note Christians specially wonder why you expect to get any favour from God when you set your hope on a man who was crucified (Tryph. 10).

This simple and obvious spirit of criticism touches the essential point. The real humanity of Jesus was crucified in Judea, and the soaring ethical principles that He taught, as it were by the way, are those that are the chief characteristics of the Gospels, and it is the Gospels which secure these things as an inalienable possession of the Christian Church. Moreover, Trypho’s criticism is unanswerable, if the Gospels be regarded as mere law-books, as a code of morals. The Pentateuch is a law-book; it is possible to obey it to the letter, and those who obey it were not, in fact, the people of God, but the people of the law.

The idea of a heavenly kingdom as an earthly paradise is all too ready to be believed. The earthly paradise is promised for the observance of the Decalogue (Mt 5:17), and that, unless the righteousness of the Christian exceeds the legal requirements, he cannot enter the Kingdom of Heaven (Mt 5:20). Moreover, such a kingdom is not an affair of divergent sources or of rival schools of Christian ethics; it is essentially characteristic. The Gospel is not intended to introduce us to a code by which all men are to regulate their conduct; it is intended to introduce us to Jesus Christ, whose commands differ for each age and for each individual because He dealt with priests, kings, and peasants. The love of God and the love of our neighbour were the ethical principles of Jesus; but to turn His sayings into a fixed code of rules is to put the Gospel in the place of a rationale command. We do not get rid of the real difficulties of the Gospel, if we make jottings of all the miracles and leave the Sermon on the Mount.

The Gospel ethics need criticism more, not less, than the Gospel miracles; and for this reason, that it is more for the ethics than the miracles that the Gospels are permanently valuable. We need to put the Gospel morality into its due relation to time and place; if Christ said, “Give to every one that asketh thee,” and “Unto him that smiteth thee on the one cheek, offer also the other” (Mt 5:40, Lk 6:29), we need to understand the social conditions of Christ’s day, and those of our own also, before we can turn these maxims into a rational command for fellow-believers. It has ever been a mark of true Christianity to seek to apply the words of the Gospel to the changing needs of our time, not when which is none the less important upon the Church because it is always difficult.

But the Gospel morality is not the Gospel, any more than the Didache or the Church Fathers is the Gospel. Christ stands or falls, lives or dies, with the personality of Jesus Christ; and the Gospel is our introduction to Jesus Christ. From the Gospel according to Mark we may learn who Jesus is; from outside it we can say what part He played in human history. From the Gospels according to Luke and Matthew we may learn something of what Jesus Christ taught. From the Gospel according to John we...
may learn what His followers declare to be the real significance of His life. It is the great charm of Christianity that its innermost doctrine is revealed in the persons of the Founder, rather than crystallised into a set of propositions or ordinances. The propositions and the ordinances may be necessary, but, as it seems to me, as we have seen, forms the ground idea of the Fourth Gospel. But they are exhibited in action; like the Laws of Nature themselves, the Doctrines of Christianity are a true deduction from the courses of events.

See also art. BIBLE, vol. ii. p. 574.


II. GENERAL HISTORY AND INTERPRETATION OF THE SYNOPSIS OF MARK.—Albert Schweitzer, Von Erlebnis im Werke, Tübb., 1916 (Eng. ed. by W. Montgomery), The Quest of the Historical Jesus, London, 1920. In an essay of very interesting views, the most instructive contribution to the general treatment of the question during the 19th century, see also A. Loisy, Jésus et la tradition évangélique, Paris, 1910 (an admittance of a very extensive influence from the 'archaeological' point of view); J. Wellhausen, Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien, Berl. 1911, Das Evangelium Marci, 1909, Matthäus, 1904, Lucas, 1909 (four books forming one comprehensive Commentary on the Synoptic Gospels, with Introcul, prefixed—liberal and stimulating—introduction, and considerable assistance to the student in the Evangelists, Gött. 1910 (the book with which Schweitzer's eminence closes, but well worth study for its own sake—archaeological and historically sceptical). The outline given in K.: A. Drews, The Church Story, Eng. ed. by G. D. Burn, London, 1910 (the most noteworthy exposition of the general historical conception of the historical Jesus, compelling the future investigator to examine the reasons for treating any part of the Gospels as actual history); R. W. Bacon, The Beginnings of Gospel Story, Yale, 1906 (a Commentary on Mark, the most scientific exposition in English of the anti-christological point of view); F. C. Burkitt, Earliest Sources, etc. (archaeological), The Gospel History and its Prejudices, 1911 (this book, as first published in 1906, was an expansion of the first draft of the present article).

GOSPELS (Apocryphal).—1. Importance.

The most important problem to the student of religion is the claim to teaching of the Founder of Christianity. Since He wrote nothing, no one can discover this only by reading what others, near to the events, wrote about Him. It is natural that much of His teaching be 'take in hand to draw up accounts of their Lord'; on the face of it, it is improbable that the four Gospels 'received' by the Church contain the whole authentic tradition on the subject. Moreover, St. Luke in his preface (Luke i) expressly declares that his work is based on many earlier writings, and implies the existence of others which he has not scrupled to pass by. Such fragments as remain to us, purporting to give an account of these events, claim to be judged on their own merits, without fear or favour derived from the Missionary Church Fathers in succeeding centuries, and the whole story can be rightly understood only when a searching study of these remains has taken place. See preceding article.

2. The term 'Apocrypha,' originally a title of honour given to writings for a select circle, 'hidden from the multitude,' is used in analogy with the O.T. Apocryphal books to describe these remains. It was only by degrees that it became a term of reproach, as implying exclusion from that public reading in churches which was reserved for the official or canonical books, and other extraordinary books, of greater or less effect, as, 'Apocrypha esse ponendum' (Jerome, Prolog.

Galateus, end of 4th cent., after giving a list of the canon). Down to the end of the 2nd cent. the process was not completed, for Eusebius (A.D. 150) found the 'Pseudepigrapha' (see below) used in public reading in the church at Rhessus near Antioch (Euseb. Hist. i. xii. 3); and in 415-410, Bishop Eubulus put the four hundred copies of Tatian's Diatessaron taking the place of the Four Gospels in the churches of his diocese. But, once the exclusion was confirmed, Clement's seal of 'imaginary' 1 was overthrown, while the translation of the Italian 'Gospel of Barnabas' (1667) has illuminated a forgotten corner of Church History. It is thus as hard to lay down conclusions as to write a history of the politics of the present time, for the scene is always changing. Moreover, the evidence at present, both external and internal, is very fragmentary. Though we know by name nearly fifty of these 'Apocryphal' Gospels, not one-tenth of their contents is extant.

4. The evidence.—The external evidence consists of statements of Church Fathers, and cannot rightly be regarded as impartial. To know its worth we must consider how much knowledge we possess concerning the special characteristics of the witnesses who give it. For instance, no one can read the works of Clement of Alexandria and later Fathers without being aware of their knowledge of the martyrdom of James and John (quoted by Georgios Hamartolos [see Moffatt, Introd. to Lit. of NT, 1911, p. 603 ff.]), Jerome, inquisitive and inquiring as he was by nature, was ready to go to any length to avoid the suspicion of heresy, and to this he sacrificed his own reputation by his attack on Origen's memory. Origen's daring criticism and profound love of truth for its own sake are tempered, as a rule, with a scrupulous caution and desire to avoid offending 'weaker brethren,' or marred the splendid unity of the Church he lived to serve. Eusebius is the safest guide; but even he was writing from a later standpoint, and for a public to whom the canon of the Gospels was soon to be a sacred and established fact. If men objected to the bias of 20th cent. criticism, it is surely needful to remember that prejudice is not only of to-day, but played a large part in the estimates of the early Fathers and Church Fathers in succeeding centuries, and more than in the subject under discussion. Some of the chief witnesses cited were plainly speaking from halo-ray, and had no personal acquaintance with the facts related; e.g., there is no evidence that Irenaeus of Lyons knew anything at first hand of Syrian Christianity; and all scholars admit that the 'gospels' of the Syriac church were passed over by his credulity and bigotry. (Epiph. Hær. xlv. 1)
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actualy confusing Tatian's Syriac Diatessaron with the Hebrew Matthew; yet many would rely on his authority to discuss the nature of the latter Gospel. In the case of the Apocryphal Gospels, we are thrown back upon the internal evidence afforded by the external fragments; and our estimate of this must depend largely on inferences drawn from it. In question, though we are able to correct our results by a critical view of the external evidence.

3. Contents.—(A) Parallel Gospels.—(a) Gospel according to the Hebrews and slain 'Repasalw' (Cod. Tisch.) (Euseb. III. XXV. 3, 5, xxvii. 4, xxxiv. 6, and St. Matt. xxi. 14, and Syriac Thaophanius [IV. xiii. 234, ed. Lees, London, 1842]; Origen, in Job. ii. 6, in Matt. xv. 16, in Jer. xv. 4; Clem. Strom. ii. 98 [PG viii. 967D]; Origen, in question, though we are able to correct our results by a critical view of the external evidence.

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GOSPELS (Apocryphal)

The Gospel of the XII. Apostles. Gospel criticism to-day leans steadily to a disbelief in a Hebrew Gospel underlying our St. Matthew, though admitting that when the sources employed may have been a Greek collection of discourses (from the Aramaic) with narrative links. It is probable, therefore, that the Gospel of Thomas, which calls it the 'punctum Archimedes' of the whole Synoptic problem, taking the place usurped by St. Mark, nor Reisch, who regards it as a 'tertiary' production several times removed from the original (the Logia of St. Matthew in Hebrew), is right.

Internal and external evidence alike point strongly to the view that the Gospel of the Hebrews is an independent parallel version of the events described in the Synoptics (esp. in St. Matthew), and possibly formed one of the sources in the hands of St. Luke. The style is like that of the 'apocalypses' and primitive. Sometimes the nearest borders on the grotesque and draws near to the methods of current Jewish Apocalyptic, as in the famous saying ascribed to Christ, 'My Mother the Holy Spirit took me by one of my hairs to the great Mount Tabor' (Jerome, de Vit. Illust. ii. Orig. in Joh. ii. 6; cf. Bel and the Dragon), which is probably for the later unknown story that Mt. Tabor was the scene of the Transfiguration. The words ascribed to Christ at His baptism, 'that have I not learned unless this be ignorance' (Jerome, adv. Pelag. iii. 2; cf. Jn 8v. 32), are certainly very ancient. The context of the tale of the rich young man and the reference to Peter as 'Simon the Elect' (Jn 1:42) is from the Hebrews. The 'Mark' narrative (Mark xv. 14) have all the marks of genuineness, and many of the sayings peculiar to this Gospel bear the proof of their origin on their face — e.g. 'Never let us depart hence' (Mark iv. 12). The history of the literature of which it formed a part. The most remarkable feature is the strong anti-Jewish bias (which induces the author to make Herod the 'general of the strong Johannean flavour, and the absolutely unique version of the Resurrection appearances, present a startling contrast to all other accounts.

In these respects, as in many others, it closely resembles the narrative in the Gospel used by the author of the Syriac Didascalia (A. D. 215-260), with which Harnack identifies and loves it. Though entirely parallel with the Synoptic accounts of the Passion, it contains no fewer than 28 additions to the Mark narrative (some of these are early attested in MSS of Mk.), and both in its verbal and in its historical variations it is largely (Harnack gives eight examples) influenced by the correction found in the Fourth Gospel. According to the date of the Crucifixion is Nisan 14, as in Jn 19v. 14). After Mk 16v. the author forsoaks the Synoptic account altogether, and presents a version of the Resurrection of which cannot be paralleled from any of our Gospels, though it more in common with the scene of the Fourth Gospel than with Mk or Lk. With Mk 16v. the author makes a story of an appearance to 'Peter, Andrew, and Levi, son of Alphaca,' who have gone fishing on the sea of Tiberias, but this and all other appearances of the risen Christ are supposed to take place on one day, and that a week after Easter (Nisan 21), when all the disciples have gone to their own homes, disturbing the news of an empty tomb, brought by Mary Magdalen and the other women. Save in the description of the first opening of the tomb in the 'garden of Joseph' and the preaching of Christ to the 'spirits in prison' (cf. 1 P 2; 1 Pet 3), which is implied in a question addressed to the 'Cross,' which follows the risen Lord from the tomb, there is little fantastic or legendary matter in this work. The heretical, docetic element, too, is in the background, though it appears in the remark concerning Christ's being silent, as having no pain, and in the significant change of the only sentence suggested: 'Power, why hast thou forsaken me?' (but cf. 'at the right hand of power,' Mk 16v.). It contains the germ, but not the fruit, of the later Apocalyptic, as seen in the full in the Qur'an and the 'Gospel of Barnabas.' This is just what we should expect from the Synoptic account of it.

Harnack seeks to prove not only that the Didascalia uses this Gospel as the principal au
authority and derives all its citations from its contents, but also that the story of the sinful woman in Apost. Const. i. 14 (a work based on the Didas-
caske, now included in the canon of the Fourth Gospel, but found only in late MS's, and entirely unlike the style of the Fourth Gospel, is readily from the Gospel of Peter—whence Papias, who had not seen the Gospels, but from Hermas, has been found, also borrowed it. The undoubted mixture of Johanneic and Synoptic elements, which forms so marked a feature in the Gospel of Peter, the peculiar style of this fragment, and the Syrian origin both of the Gospel of Peter and of the Didas-
caske, undoubtedly lend a very strong testimony to the disputed text, and thus confirm our theory: if we accept Harnack's dictum that D gives us by far the best text of the Johanneic passage, and that the glosses in D—e.g. to Mk 6:6 (the story of the man working on the Sabbath)—are taken direct from our Gospel of Peter, hence their anti-Jewish tone. Certainly the style of Jn 7:3-10 is far more closely akin to that of the Gospel of Peter than to any other extant writing.

Whether this be so or not, the most interesting fact about the Gospel of Peter, as about the 'Logia of Jesus' ascribed to him, is that the so-called peculiar language and attitude of the Fourth Gospel were not so peculiar as is commonly believed. The author of the Gospel of Peter, writing 30 years before our date (180 a.
d.C.), did not scruple to correct all four Gospels, and, while making no use of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, is constantly found employing terms far more akin to the Fourth Gospel than to any of the others, though he treats Mark always as his principal authority. He wrote, therefore, when the Gospel tradition was still fluid and the Canon by no means fixed, but already the special attitude on this point was evident. Our Fourth Gospel we well known and popular among his hearers. When Harnack supposes that Justin used the Gospel of Peter under the name 'Memoirs of Peter,' he is being a view which cannot, in the present state of our knowledge, be disproved.

Two other writings ascribed to Peter must be carefully distinguished from this 'Gospel.' Neither is strictly a Gospel at all, though the first did place words in the mouth of the Master Himself. This is the 'Preaching of Peter,' quoted by Clement (Strom. III. vi. 41, xii. 46, v. 45, etc.) and Eusebius (de Princ. Pref. viii., and in J. Hill. xiii. 17, as cited by the Gnostic Gnostic, and condemned by Zosimus (v. 3. 2 and x. 6) and Nicephorus (I. 5. 1. 46). Other quotations, as in Greg. Naz. ('Ov. L. 1. 10), are uncertain. This was the work of a cultivated Gentile Christian of Alexandria, who wrote before Justin or Aristides composed their Apologies (A.D. 140-150). The attitude towards miracles is Alexandrian; that towards the Jews and the Scriptures, which include no N.T., is akin to the Ep. of Barnabas; that towards faith is Johanneic, not Pauline. The book is thus a near contemporary of the Gospel of Peter, but it has no connexion with it. Here, as in the Gospel of Peter, the Apostle is made to speak in his own person. Von Dobschütz thinks it was written for mission preaching, as a supplement to Mark's Gospel, by others who did not know Mt 18:19-20 and saw the need of completing it by carrying on the Memoirs of Peter, which Mark had been privileged to transcribe.

The other is the 'Petri' or 'Duo Text' (described by Rufinus, Symbol. Apost. i. 30-38, and identified by Hilgenfeld with the ecclesiastical 'Canons of the Apostles' 3rd cent.) and by Harnack with the Didache (2nd cent.) cannot be described from the existing evidence, but it has no claim to be called a 'Gospel.'

(c) The Sayings and Words of Jesus: The New Testament of Oxyrhynchus (1896); The New Fragments of a Gospel (1898); and The Fayum Gospel Fragment (1896).—The first three were discovered and published by Grenfell and Hunt, from the papyri found in the rubbish-heaps outside the city of Oxy-
rhynchus; the last from a MS in Archdeacon Raine's collection at Vienna, first discovered and translated by Bickell (Z. T. K. 1876).

The first has eight sayings, called by the discoverers 'Logia.' They have, on the whole, a mystic, ascetic tone, especially the (1891) worth saying: 'Lift the stone, and there thou shalt find me—see the wood, and there am I.'...Logion 3 has a very Johanneic sound: 'I stand in the midst of the world, and in the flesh was seen of men....' Harnack ascribes these sayings to the Gospel of the Egyptians. Taylor, perhaps more plausibly, suggests a connexion with the Gospel of Thomas in its original Gnostic form, which is the more probable, since the new Fragment of 45 broken lines, found in 1903, has an introduction, describ-
ing its contents as 'The time which the Lord spake to....and to Thomas.'

The problem is further complicated by the fact that the first of these 'Writings' appears to come direct from the Gospel according to the Hebrews; and a fragment of a Gospel found near a contains a passage, 'When will thou manifest thyself to us?' (cf. Jn 4. 20), followed by the answer, 'When ye shall be stripped and not be ashamed'—an idea dependent on Gn 2:18-20, and akin to, if not taken from, that in the Gospel of the Egyptians (see below), with which also the dialogue form here and in no. 5 of the Logia of 1903 and in a new frag-
ment of a conversation on purity between Jesus and a Pharisee (found in 1903) cor-
responds. These and other indications, which give a Johanneic colour to several of the sayings, even in the verbal sense, seem to point strongly to the conclusion that the Logia of 1891, and probably also the Logia of 1897, in spite of the 'Hebraic rhythm and sound,' which many have noted, belong to an anti-Jewish and ultra-spiritual Gospel as the Gospels, related both to the original form of the Gospel of Thomas and to the Gospel of the Egyp-
tians, the latter of which borrowed some of its material from the earlier gospels according to the Hebrews. This was already the view of Jewish critics (e.g. Joseph Jacobs) in 1897, and the evi-
dence is greatly strengthened by the new finds.

All are agreed in placing these collections in the 2nd cent., and it is quite probable that some of the remarkable 'Words of Jesus' therein contained may be genuine sayings of the Master.

The Fayum fragment contains a much mutilated version of Mt 29:22, Mk 14:24, Lk 20:30, Jn 13:1-12. The whole is well restored by Zahn, who thinks it a scrap of a homily on Lk 22:39. New words are introduced for 'cook' and 'crow.' Others ascribe it, with less reason, to the Gospel of the Egyptians. It may be dated with confidence to A.D. 200.

(3) TRANSITION GOSPELS.—(a) The Gospel of the Egyptians (Clem. Strom. III. v, 11, xii. 3, xii. 3, xx. 37; Origin. in Luc. i. 1; Hippol. Philos. v. 7; Epph. Hor. lxv. 2; Or. Socr. 33, 63; II Clement [Soter. A.D. 140]. xii. 2, 6, perhaps also x. 2, 3, 3, v. 2, 4, v. 2, 2, v. 2, 12, vii. 5, 11, xi. 7; cf. Oxyrhynchus Log. 5 [1897]. New Gospel Fragment [1903]).—Despite confident assertions to the contrary, the state of our knowledge at present hardly justifies a decided conclusion concerning this mysterious writing. The history of its criticism is a study of the employment of the dangerous 'argu-
mment from silence.' It is regarded by Origen as
the first of the heretical Gospels, and is treated by
Clement as apart from other Apocryphal Gospels,
though it is hard that he should have overlooked
it [cf. fig. 69]. In the present work it is not
likely to be regarded as of great importance.
This does not imply serious doubt. Hippolytus
says that it was used by the Naassenees to
support the view of the Diatessaron—transmission of souls by
Epiphanius had only heard that it supported
Sabellian erroneous notions concerning the essential
unity of the Trinity. Clement found that
Cassian's Euchologia and ascetic followers main)tained it,
interpreted it to support their extreme views on the sin-
fulness of marriage. Lightfoot (Apostolic Fathers,
London, 1880, I. p. 226) and most other modern
critics have concluded that Soter of Rome (A.D. 140)
had this Gospel before him in writing our II Clement,
and quoted largely from it. We have seen that the
discovery of 1902 and 1905 points strongly to a
relationship between this Gospel and the Paralipomena
of Oxyrhynchus. Clement's quipstions imply that the
Gospel was largely composed of dialogues, in which
Soter took a large part (and Celcis before A.D. 180),
judging at Christian divisions, remarked
on the existence of a sect which gave high honour
to this otherwise secondary figure. Harnack
sees it as an effort to compete with other Gospels,
His chief argument lies in the name sarx ev
Apostoloi, which he regards as synonymous origin-
lally. 'Soter' and 'Gospel' are not rigid, only later super-
vised by the importation of the foreign Gospels of
Mark, Matthew, and Luke. The other point
he finds in its use at Rome in A.D. 140. But it is not
probable that the Alexandrian Fathers, who alone
quote it, reckoned themselves as Egyptians at all;
and this Greek Gospel was as foreign to the 'people
of the land' as any of the others. Moreover, it is
necessary to consider the Greek text as a B. It is quite possible that we may have to accept Boush's
view that Soter quotes, as a rule, only the sources
which are primarily addressed to the Church of the
Egyptians was based, which existed in the form either of
oral tradition or of a written collection like the Egyptian Logia.

(5) SUPPLEMENTARY OR HAGGADIC GOSPELS
(conceived as a whole by Eusebius, III. xxv.,
Dioscorus, Galatian; also by Pope Leo XIII. in 1846.)—
These fall into two cycles: (1) those dealing with
the Infancy; and (2) those dealing with the Trial,
Death, and Resurrection of Christ.

None of these Gospels exists in its original form,
but only in orthodox recensions of late date.
Though most are of heretical origin or contain her-
etical tendencies and sources, they are not
written to compete with the orthodox Gospels, but to satisfy
curiosity, where these are silent. They are not intended,
therefore, primarily to mislead opinion, but are used
by the Gospels, whose aim was to modify history in the
interests of a theory. These Gospels, in various
versions, are so much the best known that they
have often become regarded as the Gospels of the
Gospels, and are used as such in late recensions of
the whole class. Eusebius (III. xxv. 7) spoke of them
as 'altogether worthless and impious'; and his verdict has been re-sounded through the centuries down to our own times, and
reappears in a violent attack by Bishop Elliott
(Cambridge Essays, 1858, p. 153) and many other
orthodox divines, whose words apply well to such
as the Gospel of Thomas, and are apt to be very misleading when used of the whole series of
Apocryphal Gospels.

(1) INFANTY GOSPELS.—The numerous versions of
the Infancy Gospels fall into two groups, which spring
from two distinct sources: the first orthodox, the
second Gnostic—while the two have been combined
to produce a third.

(a) The Protogospel of James, now extant in
Greek and Syriac, has passed through many
changes. The name is of the 16th cent. (M. H.
James), but the original form of the work (chs. 1–17
= 'Book of James' (Origen, in Matt. x. 17) was
probably known to Clement of Alexandria and
almost certainly to Justin (Tischendorf, Zahn,
Harnack) etc. It was written before A.D. 140 by a
Jew not of Palestine. To this was added the
Gnostic Apocryphon Joseph (chs. 18–21), in which
Joseph is the speaker. It was probably composed
in A.D. 250 (Lipsius). A further addition was the

In A.D. 376 the whole book was probably known
to Eusebius (Herm. lxxv. 5, lxxvii. 7), and perhaps
also to Gregory of Nyssa. The so-called Latin
Gospel of pseudo-Matthew (1–17) is merely an ortho-
dox edition of the 'Book of James', which took
its place in the West, probably about A.D. 120.
The de Nativitatis de Nativitatis Jesus Christi, which
above the B version of this Latin Gospel; on this, too, the 'Golden Legend' of the
18th cent. is based, and a later recension of it, with
many additions and Gnostic touches appears
in the Arabic History of Joseph the Carpenter,
a translation of a 4th cent. Coptic original; while
another version of this legend, transformed by the
new doctrine of the efficacy of prayers to holy men
and the teaching of the Ascension and Exaltation,
appears in the Transitus Marcius, a Syriac Gnostic work of 280-380, recast by a Catholic Christian in 416, extant also in Greek, Latin, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Sahidic—"the firm foundation," as Eusebius calls it, "of all the unholy adoration of Mary."

(b) The Gospel of Thomas (Origen, in Soc. i. 1; A.D. 273). From DCC II. (1890) 706, from which Hippolytus quoted and which Cyril denounced. This Gospel was probably composed in 180-190, though it used some old traditions, one of which appears in the Infancy Gospels (Lipsius, p. 705), while another is referred to in Iren. (Adv. Haer. i. 6.1. xvi. 3 (A.D. 190)).

The original was cut down and altered by Catholics in order to "elicit the miraculous stories of the childhood on the Catholic side" (Lipsius, p. 705); but very much remains to testify to its original character. The story deals with the life of Christ only until he reaches the age of 12, and then leaves it in the hands of the canonical narratives. The object is to show that Jesus was and knew Himself to be the Logos from His birth (in its Jewish aspect). The Infancy Gospels find the Babe declaring this in His cradle; probably this comes from the original Gnostic Gospel of Thomas.

(c) Gospel of Thomas (Tertull. de Præscript. xix.), possibly identical with Evangelium Veritas (Iren. adv. Haer. iii. 1), was probably a treatise on the Gospels written in A.D. 160.

(d) Gospel of Apelles (Adv. Haer. xxiv. 2) contained Bœhis's Logion 43 (cf. 1 Thes 5). Apelles was a friend of Marcion (180-190).

(e) Gospel of Enoch, or the Watchers (tradition) (Epith. Haer. xxvi. 2; Philaster, Haer. xxxvii.), an Ophite, Gnostic, and pantheist Gospel. The scene here, as elsewhere in class D, is laid "after the Resurrection." Enoch is described as seduced by Satan, the father of Cain.

(f) Gospel of Judas Iscariot (Iren. adv. Haer. xxxi. 9).—The betrayal is treated as a meterological action, delivering evil fire on the Jews and Demiurge (Epith. Haer. xxviii. 1). Judas is thus the "perfect Gnostic!"

(g) Gospel of Caristus (Epith. Haer. li. 7).

(h) Gospel of Thaddæus (condemned with others in Deor. Galasii).—Thaddæus is perhaps regarded as one of the 70 disciples, who went to Edessa.

(i) Gospel of Bartholomæus (Jerome, Proseem. in Matt.; Deor. Galasii).

(k) Gospel of Andreas (Deor. Galasii), perhaps identical with the Gnostic Membra Angeli, attacked by Augustine (de Adv. Haer. iv. 2). Augustin (de Adv. Leg. et Proph. ii. 14) quotes an unknown Marcionite Gospel as making Christ say to the Jews: "You who are before me, and ye prate (cul culculantes) about the dead!"

(m) Besides these we possess a Muhammadan Gospel of Barnabas, based on a Gnostic Doctrinal Gospel (condemned in Deor. Galasii), now extant in an Italian MS at Vienna. A Spanish version once existed, but is now lost. This book is mentioned by Yolton (Narvarent, London, 1719); it was found by Cramer, and purchased by Prince Eugene of Savoy. The stories of an Arabic original are probably mythical. A wide spirit of tolerance and charity pervades this astonishing production of a Christian mystic who became a Muslim. It probably dates from 1300-1500.

The death of Judas Iscariot, substituted for Christ on the cross, is described in detail, and is probably a feature of the original Gnostic Gospel of Barnabas.
GOSSIP.—The word in its original use indicated a person who had become related (sib) to another through a common relation in the service of God, as a kinsman, and was a woman for a child in baptism. It then broadened out to embrace those who were related to one another through common interests of some sort. It was next applied to the talk of those who were thus related, and finally to the speech of friends, neighbours, and acquaintances about persons and matters which were of common interest to them. Gossip is essentially a social vice, and is therefore a measure declined, but the instinct continues to exist, and satisfies itself with the personalities of the cheap or gutter press, journals which report the latest scandals and doings of others, the details of divorce cases, and the articles of the ‘lounger at the Clubs’ can supply. Finer minds find satisfaction for the gossip instinct in histories, biographies, and reminiscences. Among the French this type of literature has been brought to a high state of perfection. In their Mémoires, gossip has almost attained the dignity of an art.

It is far from just to indulge in indiscriminate condemnation of the practice of gossip. It is a social product, and can be destroyed by putting to silence only by a universal and absolute individualism, in which no one cared for what concerned another. It is irrelevant to say that gossip should be confined to things and should not deal with persons. There is little interest in things, except what comes to them in relation to persons.

Besides, persons can be interested in things, and it is they who make up the social community out of whose relationships gossip arises. So long as men and women live in society, and have the power of speech, they will talk of the sayings and doings of others. It is surprising how much can be said in defence of gossip. Not only is it a necessary outcome of social life and social instinct, but, in spite of its occasional disruptive effects, it helps to vitalise social life, strengthens the links that keep society together, and lessens the arctic chill of a growing individualism. It is the school of social criticism, through which men and women form and express their judgments, and determine many of their social actions. It is the vehicle of the social conscience. It may err, and does err repeatedly, but its errors do not destroy its social helpfulness. It assists in forming and preserving the moral tone of a community. The practice of gossip also provides for the expressed or unexpressed, magnanimity, and gentleness. The charity that ‘takest not account of evil; rejoiceth not in unrighteousness, but rejoiceth with the truth’ (1 Co 13:5) would have few opportunities of showing itself, and of perfection itself in a social world in which gossip was unknown. It may even be said that, in so far as Christianity has affected the alienations and separations of society, bridged the
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founders of families, their place is taken in the Brahmanical theory by other three ancestors, Bhrigu being superseded by Jamadagni, and Angiras by Gautama and Bharadvaja. In the Satapatha Brahmana, the total is forty-nine. Seven of the Vasis, Brighu, Ajas, Binas, Yastkas, and others, Ayitas, Mitrayus, Siyndrus trace their origin to Jamadagni; ten (Ganapati, Unatyas, Balrampuras, Sonarkshis, Vannadas, Prabhadras", Pratibhavas, Brighru, Kaypas, Agnisuras, Dvipatamanis to Gautama; nine (Bharadvajas and Agnisuras, Mudagiras, Vypurnididasr, Garbhas, Haritas, and others, Sikharas, and others, Kaypas, Kaypas, Samprada-Sairas to Bharadvaja; two (Brighru, Gaganaputra) to Aruni, twelve (Chalukyas, and others, Sratapada-Kamakritas, Dhanalakshas, Ajas, Robhitas, Agitas, Pitams-Vatika
draxas, Kshas, Agmatanmis, Rejas, Yenas, Bakshakkratas, and others) to Vashishta; four (Kajariyas, Sidhavara, Basnac, etc.) to Kaypas; four (Vasishyas, Usampanys, Purakaras, Ksdinas) to Vashishta; and finally, a forty-ninth, the Agastya, to Agastya.

In a passage quoted by Ribhadaka, the number of the gods is given as twenty-four, viz. the Saptavatas, Ks吠as, Ganesas, Adisesha, Bharadvajas, Gatosas, Samarakas, Ralaks, Ajas, Agnisuras, Ksana
draks, Vashishta, Vatikas, Kuska, Kuksas, Gribhakkausas, Mahamanyas, Amanrikas, Patkugas, Sanso
dras, Samapatas, Sakhitas, Rohita, Vayjaghrapadaya, and Jamadagnyas gotras.

In a passage of the Kathopanishad, also quoted by Ribhadaka, we find the names of thirty-two gotras corresponding in part with the above, and it states that the complete number of gotras is forty.

To fix the number of gotras at eighteen, as is done by a modern Hindu writer, cannot be considered as other than a hypothesis based upon Brahmanical legends. Chemical Rao, the writer in question, holds that the original eight families of gotras were supplemented by ten more, and that the latter consisted of Brahmans who had for a time followed the vocation of Ksatriyas, and had become Brhamans again, regarding themselves as descended either from Bhrigas or from Ajas. They rank as Karasasutras or Karasasutras (Karaka = separate, = isolated), and may intermarry with any other family. Their names are: Vashishta, Mitra, Yastka, Ratnas, Mudagira, Vypurnidira, Harita, Kaypa, and Saksita.

Closely connected with the gotra is the pravara, i.e., the invocation of Agni by the name of the rishi-ancestors of a Brahman who consecrates the sacrificial fire. The officiating priest whose duty it was to call upon Agni Harivrinkhana, to the deity who carries the libations to heaven, pronounced the names of the rishi-ancestors (drgy) peculiar to his gotra. In order to show that he, as the offering of worthy forbears, could sit and perform the sacred action. It was a law that the number of the drgny or pravara-rishi, whose names were thus pronounced, might be one, two, or three, but no other. Thus, e.g., of the gotras specified as descendants of Jamadagni in the above list from:

1. Dr. Ludwig, Die Mentholituration, p. 178.
3. Sahakadharasutra, s. t. Gotra.
5. According to the Gotrapramayapak (in Aksavade-

Satbhadru, Bombay, 1873, pp. 54-65), the gotra priye the following six families: Vasis, Brighuas, Yastkas, Mitrayus, Vaprias, and Sonarksha, while the Karasasutras are also six in number, viz. Hari, Kunja, Ma
dhav, Vypurnidira, and Mudagira.

6. Dr. Ghuny Narayana, in Bv. Sr. S. XII. 10. 15. The degrana, i.e., a person who belongs to two gotras, must, according to Asak, Sr. S. i. 4. 17, in performing the pravara, utter the names of not three, but of six ancestors; this is the case of the so
called laleva, the son lawfully begotten of the fatherless man, and therefore belonging to the gotra of his bodily as well as to that of his adoptive father. Cf. the section "devasa" in the Pravara of the Karsiyas in the Pravara, Rs. S. XII. 10. 15, pp. 185-195; see further, the Ksetrap, ed. B. N. Sastri, Madras, 1896, p. 144.

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the Aksavaya Srvasta Srito; the Vadata invoked Agni as Bhargava, Chayavan, Apavane, Aurna, and Jamadagni; the Arpipas, as Bhargava, Chayavan, Apavane, Arpichana, and Anupa; and so forth.

The Kshatriyas and the Vaishyas, according to the Brahmanical theory, were required to pronounce the gories of their consorts (paribrahmacarya). Similarly, if sacrifice was offered by a king, the officiant named the king's ancestors, but those of his paribrahmacarya; though the king's rajaveda forbears might also be named. According to other sources, however, the pravasa was firmly established among both the Kshatriyas and the Vaishyas—Manasa, Alla, and Faurvavatsa being named as the dressers of the former, while Agni was invoked by the latter as Bhulandana, Vatsaapi, and Makkutra.

To the above-mentioned pravasa lists are annexed specific discussions regarding the gotra between which intermarriage was permitted or forbidden. In general, persons belonging to the same gotra, or having the same pravasa, are not allowed to marry one another. The recognized rule is that individuals are regarded as same gotra, i.e., belonging to the same gotra, if they have in common even one of the rishis invoked in the pravasa.

A Kshatriya must not marry the daughter of another Kshatriya; but he is likewise prohibited from marrying the daughter of a Tur, or from marrying a group of the Kshatriyas (Kshatrishyavati, and Asiata) and that of the Sanskars (Sanskars, Anuradha, and Upalata) contains a common ancestor, Aritvi. The gotras of the Briharta and the Agniratha are in part exempt from this rule. Thus, the seven gotras trading their descent to the Gotras of the Briharta, Agniratha, and Sunakasya may intermarry; and, similarly, the Piyandavas, Muddalas, Vigniyanidiehas, Kathavas, and Agnirathas are permitted to marry one another, as also with the Jamadagnyas, etc.

2. The data regarding the gotra in ancient India.—It is hardly possible to decide how far the legendary and theorizing traditions of the Brahmanas and more especially the pravasa lists, contain historical elements corresponding with the actual facts of genealogy. The prote-ancestors of the gotra must be regarded, not indeed as real personalities, but certainly as eponyms whose existence was taken for granted, and to whom the entire spiritual heritage of the priestly tribe was ascribed. We must assume that the hereditary character of the priesthood was already recognized in the Vedic period; such songs, religious traditions, and sacrificial customs as had come to be linked with the name of a particular rishi were in the North and again in the gotra. The determining condition of joint-membership in any given gotra was spiritual connexion and inheritance, mere physical descent being of less importance; for, through the gotra was transmitted from father to son, yet not all members of a gotra were blood-relations.

Many a Brahman, when asked by his guru to what gotra he belonged, could only answer, like Shaktiyana, the son of Saktiya: "I know not, teacher, of what gotra I am." In such cases the teacher gave his pupil a name taken either from a deity or from some ancient tradition, and also, as some writers say, the name of a gotra, and we must suppose that the pupil thereafter regarded himself as belonging to the gotra thus imposed.

The duality as to physical descent made it necessary to formulate the rule that, if the pravasa...
of blood-relationships in the third and fourth degrees, is represented as being a general practice. But even by the time of the first life of King Menander (2nd century B.C.) marriage outside one's own gotra had come to prevail: Gobhiraputra expressly says that a pupil who has completed his study of the Vedas should, with his father's consent, take a wife who does not belong to his own gotra. Hiranyakeshin likewise recommends marriage with one of another gotra; and with this agrees the Manusmrti, which, however, expresses the regulations in different terms, requiring that the series of ancestors involved in the sacrifices shall not be the same for both husband and wife.

The prohibition of marriage within one's own gotra had manifestly become the rule by the time of the Dharmasastra: thus, in the code of Manu we find that a maiden who is not married is looked on her mother's side, and does not belong to the same gotra on her father's, is recommended to the twice-born as eligible for marriage and the community of the household ceremonies; the Apastamba forbids a father to give his daughter to a man of the same gotra as himself, while Gantamata and Vasistha permit marriage only between those who have not the same gotra.

Presumptive evidence to the effect that marriages within the gotra were prohibited in the 3rd cent. B.C. is found in the Kautilya, in which the author, who, as we may assume on the ground of Jacob's convincing elucidation, was the minister of Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty, in that work the idea of a house is changed from that used by its calling, and to marry girls of his own caste, but of a different gotra.

These requirements could not, of course, fail to affect the customs connected with marriage, and, more particularly, with cordtship. According to the Kautilya the gotra were named bridegroom and bride—obviously in order to show that there was no legal obstacle to the proposed union.

Nevertheless, it seems doubtful whether the regulations were strictly obeyed. It was at all events found necessary to grant exemptions: thus, certain gotras had the right to intermarry with all other families. These gotras, as we have seen, were above all the so-called Kevala (or separate) Bhraguvas and Agnirasaas, belonging to the gentes said to be descended from Bhrgu and Agnir.

It was clearly no fortuitous or arbitrary circumstance that the right of exogamy should be connected with the Brahmans and Agniras in particular. The Bhrguvas and Agnirasaas, in virtue of their relation to the Aitareya gotras, were more closely allied to the warrior than to the Brahmans caste; even according to the Brahmaic tradition, in which the union of the Vse and the Vaitapayis, together with the Kasyapa and the Vasishthas, to the mendicant, the original and truly ancient gotras; while the other gotras, as the Makabhras, put it, because great by the merit of their works.

In this passage we light once more upon the antagonism that prevailed between certain gotras—a problem which was in no sense confined to the matters of ritual already referred to, but made itself felt also in political life. That rivalry for political supremacy was the main factor in the conflicts between the Vse and the Vaitapayins need hardly be doubted. The former were in possession of a secret doctrine a bhrgavan—the twenty-five stotras—nearly all in the course of this account that the Bharaskas always chose their parikritas from among the Vasishths.

The struggle for the influential and lucrative office of parikritas was the all-powerful adviser of the

1. Sutra, ii, 2. 3. 6. 16; for the divergent interpretations of the commentators, cit. G. Bihler, SBE xxv, 73, note.
2. ii. 11, 15.
5. Weber, p. 84.
6. Weber, p. 44.
monarch and the ruler of the national fortunes, seemed to have laid hidden the mutual antagonisms of the gotras. While the Vashishtas, by reason of their knowledge of the stoma-bhajya-maxims, seemed to the Bharatas the most eligible candidates for the office of Vahana, others, on the contrary, maintained that these were the ground of their distinctive scholarship, as, e.g., the Atreya \textsuperscript{1} on account of their familiarity with the Bhāratas, and the Atri \textsuperscript{2} on account of their knowledge of the Saṁvedna, and so on. To each gotra pertained a particular deity and a particular Veda.\textsuperscript{3}

It is obvious that the followers of the Āthārva-veda, the magic songs of which are in very many cases designed to meet the needs of kings, had the best chances in the competition for the post of purushottama. As the Āthārva-veda was associated in the closest way with the warrior caste,\textsuperscript{4} the gotras which adhered to that work stood in the most intimate relations with the king. In the Pārīṣṭas to the Āthārva-veda the claim of these gotras to the office of purushottama is vindicated in the most positive terms against the rivalry of the others:

\begin{quote}
Let those who would conquer the whole world in a just manner choose as his teacher (gōtra-purushottama) a Shākya endowed with learning and good qualities. \textsuperscript{5}
\end{quote}

As adherent of the Śrāvaṇa, the teacher of the Vaisnavas, would bring his sons to rule; as adherent of the Pāñcavāt, the teacher of the Viśnu-veda, would bring them to greater power; and as adherent of the Viśnu-veda, the teacher of the Śaiva, would bring them to still greater power; and therefore let the teacher (i.e., the king's purushottama) be as a learned Śrāvaṇa, \textsuperscript{6} as a learned Pāñcavāt, \textsuperscript{7} and as a learned Viśnu-veda.\textsuperscript{8}

\textsuperscript{6} According to the Vaishnavas, ignorance or negligence has an adherent of the Śrāvaṇa as teacher, whereas the Mahāvīra and the Śaivas have a Pāñcavāt as teacher, whereas the Śaivas have a Viśnu-veda as teacher.\textsuperscript{9}

As little as a painted man [makes] his way, as little as a dancer [dances], so let the teacher just as little as a painter, a dancer, and a teacher attain to power and honour by having as his teacher an adherent of the Pāñcavāts. If the teacher be a Śrāvaṇa, who knows the Śrāvaṇa, the kingdom will increase in money and corn: of this there is no doubt.\textsuperscript{10}

If we may assume from the foregoing that the gotras tracing their descent to Bhirug and Āgīrca were closely connected with the warrior caste, whether in virtue of their standing as purushottamas or in virtue of blood-relationship, we have, on the other side, good reasons for supposing that the Kapāryas and, more particularly, the princely families of ancient India were regarded as belonging to the nāgavādānādā caste.\textsuperscript{11}

In accordance with the Brāhmanical theory, as already noted, the priest, when performing a sacrifice of a king, named either the jātajīva ancestors of the king himself or the ancestors of his ārya-puṣṭta. If sometimes the arrogance of the priests led them to regard their own ancestors as more worthy to be named than the king's, yet the inference that some have drawn from this, viz., that the gotra of the purushottama was transferred to the priest, must be rejected without qualification.\textsuperscript{12}

When the Brahmans, a sect of the Śaiva family, called himself Gautama, it was not because among the Śaivas the office of the purushottama was vested in the Gotra, but because the Śaivas traced their origin to Gautama, the descendent of the Gotra Śāriputra, the Aryan.\textsuperscript{13}

\begin{quote}
The priest of the Aryan was held in special honour; cf. Wikipedia, p. 58.
\end{quote}

Yet this is still the case at the present day. In a modern list (Gotra-Śri: A list of Brāhmaṇs Gotra, Allahabad, 1904) we find the following categories attached to each gotra: sādhu, upādhyāya, śātā, śrēṣṭha, purohitā, śīla, dātā, devadātā; thus, the Brāhmaṇs of the Śrāvaṇas, who are largely in the ascetic order, have as its sādhus, the Dākaṇḍis; its śātā, Śrāvaṇas, Brāhmapākas, Kāśikās; its purohitā, Dākaṇḍis; its śīla, Śrāvaṇa; its dātā, Śrāvaṇa; its devadātā, Dākaṇḍis.

\begin{quote}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Being a member of one of the nine schools into which, according to the Chauṭapaṭhī (xix. 4. 12), the adherents of the Aryanwādāna were subdivided.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
The Pārīṣṭas to the Āthārva-veda, ii. 5; 4, 2-3; 1, ed. B. N. Majumdar, Nagaūla (Lahore, 1904) ed. of D.M.O. Ixxv. (1911) 847.
\end{quote}

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Oldenberg, Buddhā, p. 491; cf. E. Winz, op. cit. p. 58.
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W. P. Rhys Davids, op. cit. p. 128.
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Oldenberg, Buddhā, p. 491; E. Winz, op. cit. p. 58.
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\begin{quote}
Scripta Indianica, iii. 4, ed. F. L. Sandwith, pp. 1, p. 80.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
On the use of the gotra name instead of the personal name, cf. the examples quoted by W. E. Rhys Davids, op. cit. p. 126 f.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Examples of the practice are found also in the Jātaka; thus, in the Sarvajnaṭṭīkhāra (Jāt., ed. Rauh, 152 f.), Sarbādhika the ascetic ascends to heaven (Śrī Kaṇḍuka); and in the Alabandākhyāna (Jāt., ed. Rauh, 152 f.), the Sūri, the father of the child, who was born in the city of Kaṃṭha (Śrī Kaṇḍuka). In Sanskrit poetry it is a favourite rhetorical device to give the husband or lover of a woman the title of addressing his wife or sweetheart by the name of some other mistress; cf. Kumārdevamukha, iv. 6. Similarly, Raghuvamsa, xix. 24: Dīna-[et al., tr. Gray, New York, 1904, p. 93]; woman's presence likewise seem to the present writer to imply that it was the custom to address a person by his name of birth.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Oldenberg, Buddhā, p. 491; E. Winz, op. cit. p. 58.
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Scripta Indianica, iii. 4, ed. F. L. Sandwith, pp. 1, p. 80.
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\begin{quote}
W. P. Rhys Davids, op. cit. p. 128.
\end{quote}

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\begin{quote}
Thb. 130 ff.
\end{quote}
for the family of Mahāvṛata was connected neither by gotra nor by pravara with the two families with which, as just indicated, they intermarried.

In the list of the Brahmanas, the earliest adherents of Mahāvṛata, there is no gotra name, To this, the Brahmanical literature, the following: Agnidevaśyāna, Kāśyapa, Kātiyāna, Vāstavikā, Mahāvṛata, Pārīkṣiṣṭa, Gāndhāra, Aklāṇa, Vaśyāni, Vajyāṃśagata, Āsita, Ugrāryāṇa, Bhrāvyāni, Rājana, Vaiśayāni. Considerably worth noticing is the fact that a large number of the gotras enumerated in this list, and in the list from the Pāli Canon given above, belong by origin to the Agniratan, or, e.g., the Vāsai, trace their descent to Bhrāvyāni; while others, such as the Vaiśai, (Vaiśai and Vaiśai), claim to be descendants of Vaiśai, or as the Kāśyapi (Kāśyapi), Opanāna, (Opanāna), who similarly claim to be the offspring of the moon.

The Brahmanas, taken as a whole, i.e., a caste, marry only within their own ranks; no Rajput marries a woman who is not of the Rajput caste. In several cases, however, the system of exogamy is so constituted that a male must marry a woman of his clan other than their own. Thus a man of the Rathi caste must not marry a woman of even the most distant relations belonging to the Rathi caste; and, he should defy this ordinance, the children of the marriage are not accounted pure Brahman.

The Jātis, who likewise consider themselves as descendants of the Kṣatriyas, and in many respects stand on an equality with the Rajputs, are as a tribe strictly endogamous, but they resemble the Rajputs also in being divided into gotras or gote, and these, again, are exogamous. The Deswai, Man, Dali, and Bārwal gotras, for instance, do not intermarry; and the like holds good of the Mās, Bāl, and Kṛishnānāj gotra of the Rajputs.

The question whether the gotraism that is characteristic of the lower Indian gotra prevails also among the superior races of the Panjāb, i.e., whether the latter also observe certain tabus regarding plants, animals, or other objects revered by them, is difficult to answer with absolute certainty. In reference to this point H. A. Rose writes as follows:

1 A few instances have apparently survived among the Agniṣṭhas, and there are possibly stray cases among the Jats of the southern plains, the Gurjaras, Rajputs, and other castes, even the Kṣatriyas, but the evidence is not strong. In these cases, however, the names remain, the instances of respect paid to the totem itself being too few and uncertain.

6 Much more distinct traces of totemism are met with among the highly organized Vaiṣyā caste, as, e.g., the Komi, the Pali, and the Turku, the last of which is known. If an individual of this caste wishes to eat a fruit which is taboo for him, he may do so only on condition that he performs every year in Oyu (p. c.) the funeral ceremonies for his totemic ancestor.

The more highly developed—the more completely Hinduized—a caste is, the more do gotras resemble the totemism of the Brahmanas, and we venture to believe that the resemblance is due not so much to an actual community of descent as a Brahmanical influence, by which the present-day gotras have been shaped in the Brahmanas and preserved as such as this has been by the continuity of the castes' existence, the latter having been left unaltered by the evolution of the Indian race.
as to the desire of complying with the rules formulated by the theory.

Among the lower Hindu castes and the indigenes specially among the Dravidian peoples of S. India, we find almost universally a system of subdivision into small exogamous groups—in part also known as gotra (=gotras)—akin to that of the Brahmanical gotras. The Brâhmanical clans in recognizing descent in the male line, so that children belong to the father's gotra, not the mother's, while a woman passes by marriage into the gotra of her husband, and persons of the same gotra cannot marry one another. These groups are distinguished from the gotras of the higher castes, however, by their undisguised adherence to totemism. Each of the exogamous clans bears the name of an animal, tree, plant, or some other natural or artificial object, and the members of the clan are not allowed to eat, to cultivate, to burn, to carry, or in any other way to make use of that particular object. Thus—to give a few specially characteristic examples—all the Bihals venerate totemic beasts, and avoid injuring or eating them, and, when they pass their totem, they make a ceremonious bow, while the women veil their faces. Of the Bihals, the women clan takes its name from its totem, the moth, and its members do not injure moths. Among the Gollas, a large shepherd caste of the Telugu people, the members of the gotra called Raghuvana (various meanings) are protected from using the leaves of the sacred fig-tree as plates for their food. Of the exogamous gotras of the Kurubas—a caste of peasants, shepherds, weavers, and masons—who are said to be of totemistic origin, and retain their totemistic character to the present day, the Ariyana gotra is of peculiar interest. The name Ariyana means 'saffron' (turmeric), which was originally taboo to them; but, as this led to much inconvenience, they substituted the korra grain for saffron, though still retaining the original name of the gotra.

4. Origin of the gotras.—The sociological sense of the term gotra has been derived from the Vedic usage ('cow-stall') as follows. In ancient times the Indus family, even when—in consequence of its numerical increase—its property had been greatly subdivided, would still continue to use and occupy jointly the land reserved for grazing cattle; and we may therefore conclude, it is said, that the Brahmanical gotra was in its origin simply a community of this kind, i.e. a family whose members enjoyed joint rights in a particular paturagrah. This hypothesis does not hold in any degree account for the most characteristic features of the gotra, which, in fact, can be explained only by comparison with the gotra of the aboriginal tribes of India.

In view of the remarkable correspondence which, notwithstanding fundamental differences, exists between the eponymous Brahmanical gotras and the totemistic gotras of the inferior castes, the question naturally arises whether, as is the case with the gotra system, too, it is in some degree the result of an inner connexion, a process of reciprocal influence, between the higher and the lower races. It is certain, for one thing, the Brahmanical theory—the desire on the part of the lower races to observe its regulations, and in this way to invest a particular caste with a higher dignity—has tended to assimilate the gotras of the lower castes and the native tribes to the Brahmanical gotras. But, conversely, the latter seem to have acquired their peculiar character only by contact with the Dravidian tribes; for, the practice of exogamy is the common feature of all gotras, whether of the higher or of the lower castes, and as it finds no mention in the Veda, it must have come to prevail only after centuries of development, as a result of the fusion of Aryan and Dravidian tribes.

Now, exogamy is intimately related to totemism, and might gain ground even among the Brahmanical gotras all the more, if totemism is, whether inherited from remote ages or adopted from the aboriginal peoples, not known among the Brahmins themselves. Among the names of peoples found in the Veda, a number are taken from animals and plants, as, e.g., the Matsya (fishes), the Ajsa (goats), Sigra (horse-radish), etc. Of the Brahmanical gotras, the Kâmissa, whose name signifies 'toad', trace their origin to a being closely connected, or even identified, with Prâjapati; their tribal ancestor was Kûrma—another word for 'turtle'; some person Prâjapati formed all created things. The legendary progenitor of the Sagard gana, King Ikâyiku, whose name means 'gourd', and seems to point to a taba relating to this fruit, is a descendant of Kâmissa. The gotra of the Kaundinya, which traces its descent from Vasiṣtha, and to which belonged, as we have seen, Mahâtāmas, the founder of the Jain sect, takes its name, as does the gotra of the Kapis; from the ape; and in the passage of the Kottapatyakṣa where it is said to the tortoises are prototypically used, the genital parts of an ape, 'Tortoises are Kâmissas, apos are Kaundinyas; Kâmissa, let go the Kaundinya, thou hast effected copulation,' we have an allusion—in terms of the塾的关系 and matrimonial relations subsisting between the two human families. If, then, as seems probable from the foregoing, totemistic ideas were not unknown among the ancient Indian gotras, it becomes quite intelligible that ancestor-worship and exogamy, as found among the less civilized aborigines, should have come to prevail in these races.


GOVERNMENT.—In the treatment of this subject, attention has usually been directed to three main problems: (1) What is the origin of government? (2) In whose hands may the authority be vested, and in what way may its machinery be best exercised? Or, more shortly, What are the forms of government, and which is the best? (3) What is the sphere of government, or when is State interference justifiable? The last of these is a question comparatively new in the history of political discussion.

1. The origin of government.—Since, in the light of modern historical criticism, it cannot be denied to Lycurgus, Solon, and Numa Pomphilus appear, not as the inventors of new laws, but rather as the 1. The passing of the totemistic ideas, in fact, directly implies the practice of marriage between blood-relations.

2. Cf. Böttiger-Reh, a.n., i. 'Ikâyiku.'


reformers and codifiers of laws and customs already existing, or, in some sense, as a necessary consequence of the constitution of the country in which the celebrated States of antiquity have given their constitutions (wherein they ascribe these to the work of a single individual), and we find that three main theories, not very rigidly separated from one another, have been suggested of the foundation of sovereignty and the origin of government. The first and most ancient is the establishment of civil society. Of these, the first (a) traces government to the Deity. Of a State created by God and under His direct supervision this theory obviously affords a complete explanation, but it also applies to States which were only in an indirect sense thought of as founded by the gods and governed by them. Another form of this theory bases temporal sovereignty on a Divine right.

The second main theory (b) founds government and sovereignty on the consent of the people expressed in an unwritten contract between them and their chosen sovereign, wherein they have reserved to themselves the right of resistance should they abuse the authority they have entrusted to him. According to the third, the theory of contract, (c) government is based upon expediency, and may be traced through different stages of development. The first stage of this theory is illustrated in the Hebrew and Assyrian systems, in which the government was derived from the consent of the people.

(a) The typically theocratic State (the word 'theocracy' first appears in Jos. c. Apoc., ii. 17) is that of the Jews, which in the narrow sense was the work of God, and, by the conditions of its existence, was wholly sacred and inviolate. Founded by Jehovah and directly governed by Him, the kings were no more than His servants, who, encouraged by His prophecies, enjoyed no personal right of initiative. In this attitude, however, to their Creator, and in respect of the covenant which they had made with Him, the Hebrew people stand practically alone in history, so that theirs may be looked upon as a State of a unique kind. With the Greeks and Romans it was less so. The idea of a government which has been the subject of a sovereign descent to kings in Israel, while in Rome they were usually chosen by popular election; but the people of both races, while believing in a Divine government, used to seek habitually by various rites and sacrifices to know the will of the gods and to propitiate their favor, yet looked upon this government as indirect and the State as a human institution, which men had great power to make or to mar. It cannot be said to have been otherwise regarded in the Middle Ages, although the tenacity of medieval opinion was to trace all power to God. For this was done in a spirit of piety, with no suggestion of a political theory. It was held to be separate as Christ had separated them. After the Reformation it became common to read into certain lines of the NT a glorification of temporal sovereignty (I P. 2:23). St. Paul required that every soul should be subject to the higher powers, for these are ordained, he said, of God (Ro 13:1). Forgetting that the Apostle referred to Nero, an Emperor of Rome who owed his election to a section of the people, forgetting, too, the words of Christ Himself (Mt. 28:20), the theologians of the time based upon this authority the whole, which excluded the, converted to good citizenship, a doctrine that kings and rulers were the anointed representatives of God, divinely appointed and responsible to none. See and Divine Rule.

(b) Political absolutism, in the form in which it brought sorrow and misfortune to the Stuart kings, was defended as a philosophical theory by Hobbes, who incorporates with these principles the celebrated doctrine that civil society owes its existence to a contract. The social compact theory was supported later by Locke and Rousseau, their version of the theory differing largely from that expounded by Hobbes. The latter held that the covenant to form a society was between man and man, and not between the people and the sovereign they chose to govern them. This left the way open for the assertion of a Divine right in the king, which necessarily implies passive obedience in the people. But absolutism like this, said Locke, is no form of civil government at all (On Government, ii. § 90). 'No man in civil society can be exempted from the laws of it' (§ 94). The original contract was between sovereign and people, the latter giving up their natural liberty and submitting themselves to a chosen ruler, who, on his side, agreed to rule justly, and in accordance with fixed laws publicly established: only so long as he did his part were the subjects bound to give obedience and loyalty (§ 181). Finally, in the people there lay a supreme ultimate power to alter the legislature.1 The principle of the contract is sometimes put in another way, as by Locke (§ 97), and in the general tenor of the Contract social: every man on joining a society tacitly promises to submit to the determination of the majority—the only condition on which the original contract can have any meaning. Hooker puts it thus:

'Men know that... set up a state and government... except they gave their common consent... to be ordered by some whom they should agree upon... [and] if it be observable there were no reason that one man should take upon him to be lord or judge over another' (Eccles. Pol. i. 2. 6).

The contrast theory, in the form in which it asserts the sovereignty of the people, dominated political thought during the 18th cent., and has in its time furnished argument and backbone for several successful revolutions. No one would now attempt to claim for this contract any historical justification whatsoever. The compact is not a fact, but an idea, in which we read into things to explain them (Kant, Works, ed. Rosenkranz, Leipzig, 1838-42, ix. 160). No State of whose history we have record is known to have been founded in any such manner; and the further back we go the less the consent of the people would seem to have been sought and their wishes regarded in questions of a political nature. Consent has, of course, rightly been held to be one of the most sacred foundations of government. Physical preponderance being usually on the side of the numerical majority, the many are controlled by the few, only because public opinion supports the rulers. Without the consent of the people no government can stand; by force alone no society can be held together. The stronger is never strong enough to be always master, if he does not transform his force into right and obedience into duty' (Rousseau, Contrat social, I. ii.). In this sense society really does depend upon a contract of a kind.

(c) While neither the theory of Divine right nor the theory of contract affords in itself any satisfactory explanation of the origin of government, the second is built upon what seem to be facts concerning the beginning of society. On these facts is based also the third theory, which holds the government on expediency. Whether we follow Aristotle in thinking that man is by nature a social being, or hold with Hobbes that his disposition is anti-social, whether we suppose that the state of nature was one of peace (as Rousseau asserts) or a war of all against all, in the fact of the establishment of society there seems to be sufficient proof that this state of nature was one

1 On the question of a so-called right or a moral duty of resistance, see Revolution.
not satisfying to primitive man. Where there is perfect freedom, all are equal and subject to nobody; one man is king as much as another (Locke, ii. § 152). But the individual stands alone against the world; his property and person can be ill defended. Thus, as Locke says, "government is hardly to be avoided amongst men that live together" (§ 106); it arises, since no human being is safe, out of the needs of mankind. (Plato, Rep. ii. 369.)

We find man, then, being drawn into union with his fellows either through love of his kind or through love of himself. Outside of society certain instincts of man's nature, good and bad, remain unsatisfied, and only within it can his various powers be developed and his love of approbation, his desire to excel, be gratified. Historical inquiry has made it clear that no proof can be brought forward of any contract having been drawn up at this time; on the other hand, its results throw some light on the beginning of government.

The statement is found in Aristotle that primitive society shows us nothing but kings and monarchies, and that for this reason all nations represent the polity of their gods as monarchical (Pol. ii. 11). He tells us, too, that at an earlier period still, before the time of the tribal or archaical government was universal, and that this institution was generally the result of military necessity. The first of the needs of primitive man is the means to defend himself against attack. Thus, we may conclude that the father of a family or head of a tribe was at first chosen by his kinsmen as a leader in battle against other tribes. In times of peace he was its judge, and at all times was acted as priest to discharge the religious duties of his tribe. People grew accustomed to this exercise of authority, and the leader was made perpetual. The leader was now called king.

The course of this development has been observed in many savage tribes. Aristotle saw it even among his inferiors. Kings at Lacedaemon are merely military commanders in expeditions beyond the frontiers, and enjoy also as their prerogative the superintendence of religious observances. The form of kingship may be described as nothing more than that of the lord of the camp, in which the religious charge is exercised.

It was not kingship at all according to medieval ideas, for it conveyed the power of life and death only in the field. But, in this incomplete sovereignty of the Lacedaemonian State, and in the organization of other polities lower in the scale of civilization, we have historical proof that government, in the case of these States or tribes, was indeed a question of pure expediency, arising out of man's first necessity—that of defending himself against attack. It is the exercise of no great celerity to conclude that, in the case of States of whose early existence we have no record, government has been evolved in a similar manner.

The form of government, or the manner in which the sovereign powers of the nation are vested and exercised. On the question of the various forms of polity there has been comparatively little discussion of opinion since the time of Plato and Aristotle. The latter (Pol. III. vii.) makes the following classification, based upon the discussion of the former. There are, he says, three pure or normal forms of government—kingship, aristocracy, and polity (or, to adopt Siddwick's tr. of the term, monarchy, constitutional government). These three pure or altered forms, or corruptions of normal polities, are the principal forms of government. To these corresponding three pure forms there is a disposition, constitutional government being subject to the good of the community, and use the sovereign power for that end. To these correspond three altered forms, or corruptions of normal polities, viz., oligarchy, democracy, and tyranny. However, the power of the State is used in the private interest of the rulers. Thus, in oligarchy, the rich, usually a wealthy minority, rule in their own interest; in democracy this is done by the poor (viii.). In like manner, a tyrant uses his power only for his own ends. The government of a State is called a monarchy, an oligarchy, or a democracy, according as the sovereign authority is in one person, in a few persons, or in many (vii.).

A government, however, is not always consistently in spirit what it is in name. Frederick the Great regarded himself as a servant of the State in democratic Athens, Pericles ruled as a king. Where the government of a republican country slips, as it often does, into the hands of some one leading man, or, perhaps, of a few leading men, we have no longer pure democracy, but rather an aristocracy or monarchy. Hobbies seems to deny the possibility of a pure democracy which he says (de Corporis Politico, ii. 6): "A democracy in effect is no more than an aristocracy of orators interrupted sometimes with the temporary monarchy of one orator." Indeed, in every polity it is in effect the strongest who rule. But the Aristotelian classification still holds good, although the further objection has been made to it that it takes for granted a distinction between governor and governess which has not always been very clearly marked. In a democratic State the power is constantly changing hands, and as aristocracy and monarchy, the same may now rule, now fall back into the ranks of those who obey. Considerations like these have caused several writers—Rousseau among them—to use the term of "democracy" in a very wide meaning indeed. For Rousseau it signifies not ' an aristocracy or democracy only, but in general all governments directed by the public will which is the law,' the necessary condition of being that government should be regarded, not as identical with the sovereign power, but as the administrator of that power, in which case monarchy itself becomes a republic (Contrat social, ii. 6, footnote). Distinctions are thus sometimes lost sight of, both in theory and in practice; still, the form of the supreme power does give the stamp to the political life of a State, because, if for no other reason, it determines to a great extent the limitations of a State's activity.

The familiar terms which are employed by Aristotle in classifying the various forms of government refer to conditions which have long ceased to exist—to the small city-states of Greece, and a society based upon the slavery of a large part of the population. But in other respects too they no longer bear precisely the same meaning which they had for early Greek writers or for modern philosophers. By monarchy, for example, we understand limited or constitutional monarchy—a conception, by the way, not wholly unfamiliar to Plato, who, in the Statesman (562c), selects for special praise ' a monarchy, when bound by good regulations or laws,' and also, in the Laws (638), says that it is wise to combine the monarchical and democratic. A monarchy not so limited by fixed laws we should call despotism; but despotism, again, we do not identify with tyranny. Then our modern representative democracy is something altogether different from the government of the whole people by the whole people which Plato and Aristotle held in the strongest detestation, while, on the other hand, the form of government towards which all systems at that time tended.

Plato thought that political knowledge must always be confided to a few. His favourite polity was monarchy, and the government of the philosopher-king is the ideal of the Republic. Tyranny he thought the worst government of all, and the tyrant to be the most hateful of mankind. In his turn Aristotle's discussion of this question differs little from what we find in Plato, as regards either the subject-matter or the opinions expressed. Kingship too
considered 'the primary or most Divine form of government (Pol. VI. I.)' aristocracy the next best form of government. The hereditary virtue 'all men render willing obedience ... he and his like should be perpetual kings within their States' (III. xiii. and xvii.). But a person, and, still more, persons, of such virtue are rarely to be found; hence the difficulty in the greatly increasing size of States, in view of which he confessed that in his own time it was perhaps no longer easy to establish any form of polity but democracy (VE. xvi.). As a practical substitute for the ideal State, he recommends constitutional government as the polity 'most generally attainable and most desirable' (VE. ii.). The true end of equality, he says, is that neither rich nor poor should have the supremacy (VE. ii.). Hence the best practical, political constitution is one in the hands of the middle class (VE. xi.). They are the arbitrators between rich and poor (VI. xii.), and are more conformable to reason, more capable of constitutional action, than any other part of the population (VI. xi.). In this democracy, political privileges were to be given to men of moderate means, the poorest class in the community being excluded. But Aristotle did not see a polity of this kind fully put into practice. His was an age in which enormous power had got into the hands of demagogues, and all citizens were absolute sovereigns, as a system resulting in the practical supremacy of the masses. In this state of affairs the commons were, he complained, 'superior even to the laws' (VE. xiv.); and his analysis is exhaustive regard to the popular opinion that individual liberty is exquisitely, or even necessarily, a fruit of these democratic institutions (VE. ii.).

What is the best form of government? Many persons hold with Samuel Johnson that forms of polity have little power to influence happiness, and that it does not matter a straw that we should live under one kind of constitution rather than another. On more philosophic grounds, Kant thought that the form of the State did not matter, if the spirit of right and freedom were there (Perpetual Peace). Pope's well-known solution of the difficulty—'What 'er be best administered is best'—is only verbally sound, and does not answer to the problem. Which constitution is likely to be best administered? Which will be most helpful to progress? And to an individual of pre-eminent virtue 'all is right'? A heartfelt answer can be given, because the stages of political progress and degrees of intellectual and moral capacity depend upon varying conditions, and require institutions so different that in a primitive state of society even despotism can be and has been, justified. There is, accordingly, no ideally best polity; but most writers on the subject think with Aristotle that the question is one which every statesman and student of practical politics ought to consider. It is his business not only to know the best constitution under actual conditions, but to seek what form of government most nearly approaches the ideal (Pol. VI. I.).

Monarchy came first in the history of polities, and has continued to the present day as the cause of all governments. Nor is it difficult to understand how this should be. The rule of one is obviously the most suitable form of polity in a rude state of society. But it has never developed. Even under more advanced conditions, there is something to be said in favour of absolutism. The sovereign is not hampered by the necessity of securing the assent of minister or people; under no other constitution can the executive act with such force, consistency, and rapidity. Unfortunately, however, as Aristotle pointed out, monarchical power, king to king, is owing to the frequent incapacity of kings (VIII. x.). Whatever powers the exigencies of ruder times may have called forth, it is certain that nowadays exceptional administrative skill or general capacity rarely shows itself in royal families. There are few States, however, at the present day in which this constitutes a danger. Modern monarchy is limited to such an extent as to lend, in the opinion of many observers, more and more in the direction of democracy. In those cases where the sovereign power remains absolute, it is generally limited by a bureaucracy.

In aristocracy, if it be a true form of that polity, the government is in the hands of a class who are morally and intellectually superior to the rest of the community, and have the wealth and leisure to enable them to acquire special knowledge. They have been properly called governors by profession. Hence some of the most remarkable administrations in history have been aristocracies, at least in name. Looked at from our modern point of view, they are rather to be called bureaucracy, with its virtues and defects of bureaucracy—experience and a more or less mechanical energy on the part of the governors; on the side of the governed a certain passivity of the kind which is produced in a people by despotism.

John Stuart Mill criticizes aristocracy and monarchy from one point of view. To a great minister, he remarks with some truth, it is almost a phenomenon in modern Europe as a great king (Representative Government, p. 46). This is, of course, the difficulty which confronted Aristocracy and was declared insuperable by him—the problem of finding persons pre-eminent in both talent and virtue. It is a difficulty which time has removed in its own way. The aristocratic form of government has lost their former sovereign position in the State. In every country they are now subordinate either to monarch or to ruling people. No example of this monarchy has survived to the present day; still less do we see a modern government of the best people, in the old sense of a pure aristocracy.

As to the merit of democracy, there is considerable difference of opinion. It suffered a good deal in reputation during the excesses of the French Revolution. So great a statesman as Burke stigmatized it as the most fatal form in the world (Reflections on the Revolution in France, 1790). But, in the judgment of unbiased persons, there is no necessary connexion between democracy and violence, and popular government in its higher aspects is now generally admitted to exert a stimulating influence upon education, and to foster in a striking manner the growth of patriotic spirit. These results, indeed, were seen in ancient Greece, in the high intellectual standard attained by the average Athenian citizen, and the sacrifices he was willing to make for the State from a sense of duty. None the less, Plato decided against democracy, on the ground that such a polity was 'unable to do any great good or any great evil' (Statesman, 305). His criticism draws attention to a serious defect under which this form of government labours. Its executive is often weak, its conduct of foreign affairs timid, and, if there are changes of administration, ever open to the charge of inconsistency. Indeed, on all questions the difficulty of pursuing a consistent policy results in a lack of vigour in republican authority, which has been ascribed partly to the absence of the pomp and splendour which surround royal throne, and partly to the fact that presidents and ministers are regarded rather as servants than as heads of the republican State.
John Stuart Mill was so convinced that large assemblies are attended only for advertisement, but also for the direct work of legislation, that he advocated the formation of a legislative committee to which the business of drawing up bills might be entrusted. A democracy, government is not troubled by doubts of this kind; it goes to the task of making laws with zeal and self-consciousness. Its strength is supposed to lie in the chief defect of government by a majority of the people is not a paucity of laws but the danger of class legislation, or what is called the tyranny of the multitude. It is, of course, true that ill-considered legislation is not an evil peculiar to government by a majority, and that the numerous interests represented tend to counteract this danger in a democratic State. At the same time, in all large assemblies, ignorance and incapacity are likely to be more common than knowledge and administrative skill, and self-interest will be found a more powerful motive force than the love of justice. For this and other reasons, Rousseau held that pure democracy was a government which might be for gods, but was too perfect a government for men.

It is agreed nowadays that enlightenment, education, and progress are not necessarily the fruit of popular government, nor the means of other forms of policy. Aristotle too, many centuries ago, decided against the vulgar belief that liberty is to be enjoyed only under a representative government; and his system, that is, in which the supreme authority lies with the representatives of the people. What is to be found here, and not under other forms of policy, is 'an open field for natural talent.' This, as has been well pointed out by D. G. Ritchie, is the true defence of democracy. Men being equal neither in capacities nor in character, and their respective merits being ascertainable only by actual trial, democratic institutions are defensible in so far as they offer the best means of obtaining a genuine aristocracy or government of the best (Philosophical Studies, p. 338).

To what extent may the form of government be said to be a matter of choice? According to the old dictum that constitutions are not made but grow, there is no choice at all. But the truth behind this dictum and its converse seems rather to be that constitutions are made, that they are the work of human reflection and contrivance, and that at the same time they also grow, and in directions which men cannot always either influence or foresee. Institutions are, in fact, a matter of choice within the limits left by the circumstances and aptitudes of a people. Their permanence depends on the manner in which they are adapted to the requirements of the people, and continue with the lapse of time and the growth of the nation so to adapt themselves. Even within those limitations, however, the choice of the form of policy is not one wholly dependent upon human foresight; nor is the task of adapting it to peculiar needs entirely achieved by the skill of statesmen or legislator. Not a little must be attributed to chance. Plato hits upon this truth in the Lesece (709): 'Destinies and accidents happening in all sorts of ways legislate in all sorts of ways.

The importance of the kind of policy has been differently estimated by various writers. Rousseau believed that institutions are all-important, and that as soon as they are good, a people will show themselves to be so under just and suitable government. Montesquieu, while laying great stress on the necessity of institutions being in conformity with the spirit of a nation, held, on the other hand, that these insti-
private life, the region in which we can legislate, and that in which legislation is useless or pernicious. The standpoint with which the Greek was familiar was that according to Socrates, which is: 'in the legislature, virtue; such a life is not to be regarded as a bondage but as a means of preservation (Pol. VIII. x.). This is sound doctrine. Aristotle said so long ago, to make life good. It is not characteristic of liberty that every citizen should act as he chooses. Rather the citizens should live, and live well, which is: in the community, virtue; such a life is not to be regarded as a bondage but as a means of preservation (Pol. VIII. x.). This is sound doctrine. Aristotle said so long ago, to make life good. It is not characteristic of liberty that every citizen should act as he chooses. Rather the citizens should live, and live well, which is: in the community, virtue; such a life is not to be regarded as a bondage but as a means of preservation (Pol. VIII. x.).

In Great Britain, political theory, owing to various causes, is strongly individualistic in character. It ignores our obvious debt to society. In the extreme form of individualism, found in Bentham, Mill, and Spencer, the State is regarded as nothing, the individual as everything. For these writers, for Spencer especially, all restraint is an evil, while the sole function by which government may justify its existence is that of protecting individuals from aggression and punishing criminals—of acting, as Huxley says, the part of chief policeman (Administrative Nihilism). This theory, which Ritchie traces to Lyceophon, the sophist, we have in a somewhat similar form in Hobbes and Locke. The office of the sovereign power, says the former, is the procuring of the safety of the people and their enjoyment of the contentiments of life (Leviathan, p. 322). Mollesworth's ed.—'contentiments' being a very comprehensive word. At the beginning of the first Letter on Toleration, Locke defines the term in a very peculiar language. Nothing is suggested, in individualistic theory, of any action and reaction between the individual citizens and the State, or of any relation between sovereign and subject other than that of force and obedience—an external contractual relation in the opinion of Hobbes and Locke. According to Bentham, the principle of utility ought to govern society, whose business it should be to secure the greatest possible amount of happiness to men; law for him is a necessary evil, government a choice of evils (Principles of Morals and Legislation, p. 49). For Bentham, as for Mill and Spencer, society is no more than an aggregate of individuals, and the last of these writers says frankly that the liberty a citizen enjoys is to be measured, not by the nature of the governmental machinery, but by the relative paucity of the restraints it imposes (Hobbes, p. 15). From this point of view the presumption must always be that the government is in the wrong, and can be called upon to justify itself on every occasion where it actively interferes with man's liberty. The cry of Emesborn is not less unambiguous: 'The less government we have the better,' he says, 'the fewer laws, and the less confined power' (Essays on Politics). This is a fair conclusion from the premises that all coercion is immoral and destructive to freedom; but the logical outcome of principles like this is a call for the struggle for existence—in other words, anarchism. The reasoning of Mill and Spencer is based upon the hypothesis that every increase in the power of the State necessarily implies a corresponding decrease in the liberty of the individual citizens: State action, according to this view, being always opposed to the action of the individual. It is clear that any such statement of an inverse ratio as existing between governmental power and individual freedom depends upon an erroneous conception of liberty. Freedom from restraint and from the meddling of governments is not liberty. It may be more safely defined as the privilege of living under fixed standing laws, formed in the interest of all persons, and, above all, capable of affording them the fullest opportunity of self-development and progress. The more just the constitution, the greater the amount of freedom which can be left to the citizen. Formed to make life possible, the State exists, as
ent stages of political development, its power being necessarily far reaching in a backward state, which is the case of many of the States of Europe, is not of paternal legislation. Hence, generally speaking, the sphere of government cannot be determined from theoretical considerations; nor can this administration or that be judged except by the results of its activity. In a well-ordered society it is not likely that State interference will be carried too far. As Samuel Johnson said of tyranny, 'mankind will not bear it.'

See also art. STATE.

LITURGY.—Frequent reference has been made in this art. to the Dialogues of Plato (especially the Republic, the Statesman, and the Laws) and to the Politics of Aristotle. The origins of government, the theory of contract, and such questions are discussed in the works of Hobbes; in Hume's 'History of England,' and in Rousseau's 'Contrat Social'; Hume's 'Essay,' and the political writings of Kant. Among theological writings, Butler's 'Analogy' must not be forgotten. On the Divine right of kings, see the Memoires historiques de Louis XIV. (Ouvr. de la Conf. de l'Ambass., 1724, vol. 1); and Bossuet's 'Politique tirée des progres paroles du Divin souverain' (Ouvr. de Bossuet, 1806, vol. xxii.).

Among classical works mention must also be made of Montesquieu's 'De l'Estate' et du Gouvernement des Etrangers,' and his 'De l'Esprit des Lois' (London, 1768-96). A book which is of great value to the student of politics is J. C. Bremser's 'The Theory of the State' (Eng. tr., Oxford, 1886). Another bearing a similar title is Bossuet's 'Philosophical Theory of the State' (Eng. tr., London, 1874). Reference may also be made on general grounds, to H. Stiglich's 'Elements of Politics, and Political Economy of the United States' (Eng. tr., London, 1881); J. C. Bremser's 'Philosophical Theory of the State' (Eng. tr., London, 1874).

3. Christian.—(1) In the NT.—In the NT the two Heb. terms already mentioned are embraced in the word 'grace.' Classical writers use the word in a sense which gives pleasure or delight, or loveliness or charm. Beauty in motion is very much the sense. The profounder meaning of the word in primitive Christianity—viz. the unmerited Divine love which stoops to pardon and bless the guilty—is, in part, a heritage from the OT, but it draws its characteristic intensity from the fact of redeeming love in Jesus Christ, which is not found on Jesus' own lips, but His message and personality are laden with the thing. Thus in the Sermon on the Mount the Father makes His sun to rise on the evil and the good (Mt. 5:44), the Kingdom is promised to the poor in spirit (v. 5), comfort to the mourning (v. 7), perfect satisfaction to those who long for righteousness (v. 9). In the grace of the Father, the grace of the Father in heaven is assumed. Apart from very explicit utterances like the parables in Lk. 15, the attitude of Jesus to the needy—to the paralytic (v. 21), to the woman that was a sinner (Lk. 7), to the dying malefactor (Lk. 23)—conveyed to them and to bystanders the blessed sense of a Divine love mingled with infinite mercy. The Kingdom, into which He calls men, is not something they are to earn or make; it is a gift pure and simple, and with the conditions of entrance human wisdom or riches or righteousness have nothing to do. Even the conception of reward, though employed frankly, is placed in a light which reveals its inadequacy to set forth the principles of Divine action, for the reward is pictured as an hundredfold what men have sacrificed (Mt. 10:6). Jesus is conscious of being the medium of grace, and in Mt. 11:29 He puts Himself forward explicitly in this character. He must eventually die to ransom many (Mt. 20:28). Thus to His mind the central fact of the world is the dying of the Christ of God in order to establish in a sinful world the Kingdom—the new order-world which shall fully express Almighty Love.

Throughout the NT, grace is the first thought and the last—the atmosphere in which Christians live and move. Their message to the world is one of grace, and missionaries setting out to preach are
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of the Fourth Gospel, while he prefers to speak of the Divine love (9th 18th, and Ep. passim), declares grace to be the new specific feature of the Christian religion as contrasted with Mosaicism (17th). It is further noticeable that the NT seems to warn Christians of the unspeakably grave consequences of neglecting the Divine grace or receiving it in vain (2 Co 6, Ho 6)."

The early centuries exhibit a marked process of tension between Eastern and Western thought. For the Greek Fathers, who took free will for granted, morality and religion lay parallel with each other—sin not abrogating freedom but expressing it, grace not displacing freedom but encouraging its independent activity; it consists in the most part from without, but in the objective facts, external to man, of providence, revelation, incarnation, and redemption (O. Kirn, P.F.G. vii. 719). Grace saves by illuminating the intellect and reinforcing the residuary and autonomous powers of human nature. The Western mind retained the Hebrew thought of man's complete dependence on God; but, as early as Tertullian, we find predominate a concept which regards its action as the inspiration of a higher Divine quasi-physical energy or force, by which the liberum arbitrium, or free-will, is restored and his group that free will is the indissoluble, pervasive of man; sinners are in no sort of bondage, but can choose either way. Sin is only a momentary self-determination, which leaves the nature intact and can always be successfully resisted. In religion it is useful to have our will guided, though removal is not essential, and such guidance comes from the Law or from Christ's, personal example or instruction. 'Grace, in short, is the external help which makes easier the realization of the natural possibility itself' (Robinson, Christian Doctrine of Man, Edinburgh, 1911, p. 182). If Pelagius thus lowered grace to the plane of nature, Augustine (q.v.) held passionately that it liberates from a nature which is sinful through and through. Though no psychological determinist (man is free within the range of his ability), he taught that men have utterly lost the liberum arbitrium to good. Salvation, therefore, comes exclusively through grace—that replenishment with the Divine life which anew creates in us the good will for Christ the man has brought down to earth, the powers which give us back liberty to express freely the new nature. Grace is the action of which in restoring moral power we cannot co-operate, or, in Augustine's significant phrase, to gratia gratias data, is due everything that can be called salvation—faith and love, freedom from concupiscence, the good will, and, very specially, the gift of perseverance (granted only to the elect). Grace is the effecting in time, and within the Church, of God's eternal predestinating will, whereby He resolved to save a certain (but to us unknown) number out of the mass of perdition, it works preveniently, preparing men and leading them out of sin; co-operantly, producing in them good volitons and good action (this is justification, for the primary effect of grace is to make the free-will moral). It is irresistible, the Word of the ineffable, the irresistible efficacy. This might seem to leave no room for merit, but Augustine teaches unequivocally that the final destiny of individuals is solely

recommended to the grace of God (Ac 14th). When believers pray, it is as the throne of grace (He 4). As they survey the past or anticipate the glorious end, everywhere they see grace preparing, executing, perfecting the redemption of the world (Gal 1, Ro 13, 1, Co 15th). It is but grace, as he is vividly aware, which called him personally, made him an apostle, and bore him to the ultimate mission of grace (Gal 14th, Ro 15th, 1 Co 15th). But it is also the supreme causal agency by which Christian life everywhere is evoked, sustained, and augmented. This constitutes an indirect basis for the answer to the two points of view. (a) Grace is the active disposition in God to which everything that can be called salvation is traceable (Ro 11, Eph 1, Gal 1). The sending of God's Son and the acceptance of His obedience as availing for the guilty are both due to grace alone. Because of Christ's death, in which the Divine righteousness was manifested once for all—for grace contains wrath at evil as a subordinate element—God in His mercy is able to forgive freely. In St. Paul's view there is no antagonism between grace and righteousness, as is far from making righteousness superfluous, grace actually bestows it by way of gift; for, if righteousness could be attained by the works of the Law, God were debtor to man, and works were made nothing of none effect. The gift of grace can be received only by faith (Ro 4), i.e. by the willing and humble appropriation of the grace, which places sinners in a right relation to God, exterminates an obedient love by which fear is banished. It is not that God has ceased to demand works and holiness in the sense of salvation; faith is receptive, not meritorious, and grace is equally its received content and its producing cause. Since Jesus, indeed, grace and faith are the two ends of the same chain, the description of grace as the closest bond between past historical events and the mercy of God thus apprehended by the believer, grace is bound up with the person of Christ; apart from this reference to the historic figure and His experiences of life and death and resurrection, it would have no tangible or permanent significance for the religious life of which he speaks or writes is that of Christ as well as God; Christ is its eternal subject (3 Co 9), its medium and pledge, and its present all-sufficient source (10th). There is no ground in St. Paul for describing grace as acting on the lines of a natural force in the production of the religious life; it is simply another name for the operation of the Spirit, and to him the Spirit, as it has been put, 'means the gracious power of God which evoked faith in Jesus as the crucified and risen Christ and then mediated to the receptive, obedient life all that the Lord was and did for his own people' (J. Moffatt, Paul and Paulinism, London, 1910, p. 37 f.). The relationship of free access to the Father, into which men are thus introduced, is one which one spec facts can have no end; as grace is the basis of election (Ro 11), so, too, it reigns through righteousness unto eternal life (Ro 9, 7-8). In a derived fashion, the word is also employed to designate the fruit of grace in redeemed lives, whether this be the spiritual status into which Divine love lifts men (Ro 5), or the new supernatural character (cf. 3 Co 8). Generally speaking, grace is felt to be the death of legal religion, for in trust responsive to God's bestowal of Christ men now see that the free life of grace is the only true life of hope. It is thus clear that in Jesus and Paul alike the thought of grace implies the complete fusion of the moral and the religious ideal. The writer...
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Duns Scotus criticizes sharply the notion of a 'habit' produced in the soul by grace, and tends to evaporate grace as much into a co-operative principle which renders free moral action well-pleasing to God. The absolute freedom of God and man are placed in unconditional opposition. Grace heightens the privately achieved goodness of man; hence the scope of grace, in the religious brooding (grace as infused love) consists rather in a 'secret, wonderful, and ineftable' Divine energy than in the impression of Christ, living, dying, and risen for His people. The graciua inspirations is really a communication of the Divine essence, and its ethical and personal character is still further overlaid by its being referred exclusively to the Divine omnipotence. See, further, the following article.

Augustine's doctrine of merit left a door open to Semi-Pelagian conceptions. Before his death, destination and the bondage of the corrupt will had been rejected by those who feared their moral effect. The Semi-Pelagians (Loots has pointed out that they might with nearly equal justice be called Semi-Augustinians, since they held that man requires Divine grace for good action) taught that God adds the will, sin having impaired freedom but not destroyed it. In 629, a synod of Orleans defined a position which is Augustinian on the whole; but it was silent as to the irresistibility of grace, and left it to the dispensers of predestination without evii. Unconditional predestination seemed to make the Church's means of grace superfluous, and this could not be borne. In the 9th cent., Gottschalk's advocacy of a logical Arminianism was firmly put aside. Nor can we ignore the growing tendency to fix on sacraments as the proper vehicle of grace. Ct., further, art. PELAGIANISM and SEMI-PELAGIANISM.

In the Middle Ages.—In medieval Scholasticism, no writer is so Augustinian in tone as St. Thomas Aquinas, who, however, combines the older thought of predestination with an Aristotelian and deterministic idea of God. God alone, he holds, can convert the sinner, as being the Prime Mover of all things. Gratia creativa and gratia creatura are distinguished, the first being the freely-imported movement of God, the second a supernatural 'habit' infused into the soul's essence, and constitutive of its nature. Conversion comes through free will, which yet cannot turn to God except as, by the causarium gratiae, He turns it to itself. Faith, grace is grace from the standpoint of Divine causation, gratia co-operans the same grace from the standpoint of human consent or volition (Summa, li. 1, qn. 109–111). Acts are meritorious only as they issue from co-operating grace, in accordance with the secondary causation of the human will. What infused grace (gratia gravius fassum) does is to heal the soul, give power to will the good, grant perseverance, and finally conduct to eternal glory. The remission of sins follows on moral renovation. There is a sense in which man can prepare himself for grace, though not by merit; but, after the will has regained through grace the capacity of self-movement, it can acquire merit (eritutum de conyugio or de condonatio according as it is considered as proceeding from free will or from the grace of the Holy Spirit). In this scheme the Augustinian conception of sola gratia (efusus) and the old Western idea of merit limit and supplement each other. August Busæus fails to bring out clearly any connexion between grace and Christ save that He exclusively merits for us the graciua inspirations, or original inspiration; thus its action on the soul is in no sense psychologically mediated, and it appears most characteristically in the sacraments, as a Divine force impinging on or imparted to the soul.

(4) From the Reformation.—Luther (p. 210) broke definitely with the conception of grace as a quality of the soul, a Divinely caused inward 'habit,' and identified it with the work of God presented in Jesus Christ, which sinners experience primarily and essentially as forgiveness. By this he has laid the foundations of the theology of the Reformation. The Divine favor in Christ is brought home to us by the gift of the Holy Spirit, working in and through the Word or Gospel, in which God Himself deals with us as He deals with Christ to be our own. Grace is this loving will of God. The sacraments are efficacious signs of it. It is true that Luther's sacramental doctrine partially deverts this great conception, in so far as he regards that sacraments present a peculiar additional grace over and above that which is made sure in Christ as the embodied love of God. At bottom, however, 'the certainty of forgiveness in Christ was for him the sum of religion' (Harnack, Grundriss der Dogmengeschichte, Freiburg, 1891, p. 308). For Calvin also (see CALVINISM) grace and faith are vitally correlative, although his underlying deterministic philosophy of unconditional predestination led him at times to equate grace with 'the good pleasure of God.' In both Reformers, an end is made of human merit as contributory to salvation. We cannot here discuss the later Calvinistic and Arminian controversy. It is enough to say that the grace of God is not particular, irresistible, and inalienable (see, further, art. ARMINIANISM).

II. The NT message and its echo in Reformation preaching both imply a conception of Divine grace wholly drawn from and determined by the felt redeeming influence of Jesus Christ. Disregard of the fact of moral personality, as though religion could be passed into the soul like a stream of electricity, is invariably caused by or causes the thought of grace as a secret Divine energy, due solely to omnipotence, and acting on the human will with irresistible pressure—a quasi-physical force, stored within the Church, and applied to the soul-substance in its subconscientious depths. But a coercive force, for which the will is only a medium of transmission, cannot ever be one with human experience, or fulfil itself in volition as our act and possession. We must seek, then, to regard grace as a force which produces faith in accord with the laws of an ethical and rational nature, and at the same time resolves the native tension and conflict of the moral life. 'Only by relating grace to personality and personality to grace is it possible to have a spiritual conception of either. Grace is grace and not a force precisely because it is the succour of our moral personality' (J. Oman, Expositor, 1915, p.
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367. If our relation to God is to be moral, it must be also personal.

Probably the best analogy to the unity found in life’s actual movement between the dependence on grace imparted by faith and the moral dependence on which is the experience of ‘falling in love.’ In both cases there is an impulse personal to which it is liberty to yield to: the one a name for embodiment, the other by self or independence by itself, as alternating or rival phases, but each supported and constituted by the other. Similarly, religion begins when we encounter a Power or Reality which subdues us purely by its spiritual content, not destroying freedom but raising it to the highest point. In this experience, moral life is in principle the personal, for a man is good not in so far as he abounds with all influences, but as he opens his nature to the highest. Submission to grace—i.e. to God’s loving will, which is His essence—is thus the limiting case of an experience of receptiveness and liberty fused in one, which is fundamental to all moral life. Only through grace do we become personalities in the highest and fullest sense. The supernatural order and self-righteousness must cling to all life of which the finite self is centre.

Catholic and Protestant conceptions of grace are eventually incapable of being merged in a higher unity. To the Catholic, grace is ethical in aim, yet at the same time a purely spiritual and immediate, dispensed through an infallible and hierarchical institution, and charged with a mysteriously sanctifying power which is manifest supremely in the Sacraments. To the evangelical Protestant, grace is the free active love of God to sinners, so personally present in Christ as to elicit faith by its intrinsically persuasiveness. It is no more supernatural force emitted by Deity—which might have no relation to Jesus, or even to the Father—than the Father’s will of saving mercy exhibited in the person of His Son. Grace, in Christ, is not caused by any sin, nor do we fall away. Nor are there two acts or forms of grace, one imparting remission of sins, the other by way of supplement changing the inward nature and inspiring power for goodness; on the contrary, the need of more dynamic, rich in all true and triumphant morality, flows from the transforming apprehension of the fatherly grace held forth to us in Christ. Grace, therefore, is both a gift and a challenge. We cannot face and feel the saving power that is in Jesus, and know that in Him we are meeting God, without the uplifting consciousness that the righteous Father is summoning us to be one with Him in His righteousness and in the purpose of His kingdom. By the grace of God I am what I am,” forms the heartfelt confession of all believers, of whatever school; and the words, read in the light of concrete experience, are an expression both of utter indebtedness to God, who by taking us to be His children has wrought whatever in us is good, and of complete ethical liberty. See also art. HOLY SPIRIT.


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The doctrine of grace, as understood and taught at present in the Roman Catholic Church, is the rational development of the principles contained in the Scriptures, as interpreted by the traditions of the primitive Church, and worked out in its present form through a long series of theological controversies. For chief authorities it claims, among inspired writers, St. Paul; among the Fathers of the Church, St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas. As it is based entirely on the traditional Catholic notion of the supernatural order of the human soul, it must be preceded, if of all, form a clear and accurate notion of that basic concept.

1. The supernatural order: sanctifying (or habitual) grace. In agreement with these, and kindred, to those of the Greek, mostly Platonic and Aristotelian, philosophy, the Christian revelation implicitly assumes that, whereas the human soul is apparently doomed to decay and death, the human soul is naturally simple, incorruptible, and intellectual, and consequently made for all truth. Therefore, no other end may be considered as commensurate and proportionate to its natural aptitude than a possession of the plenitude of truth, which is God Himself. Some kind of vision and possession of God after this life is, accordingly, the only destiny that may give plenary satisfaction to the aspirations and aptitudes of the human soul. But, while that pure presence of the God of Nature (such as we may assume to be that of the souls consigned to Limbo) should suffice to satisfy the natural exigencies of the human soul, and make nothing more to the individual soul than the said natural possession of the Supreme truth (provided the soul should have proved itself worthy of it by its conduct in this earthly life), nevertheless the whole of the Christian revelation is based on the assumption that it was, from all eternity, the munificent and gratuitous decision of the Lord to call man to an even higher destiny, not only to a natural but to a supernatural and Divine reward.

He was called upon to know, to possess, to enjoy his God, in the contemplation of His essence, of the revealed mysteries of His intimate selfhood, of His Deity—not only as Prime Maker and Prime Mover of the natural universe, but as God Trine and One of the Christian revelation. Man was, therefore, to be admitted into the sanctuary of the Divine Self, to become a partner and an associate of God Himself in His possession of Himself, to partake of the Divine and infinite beatitude, on the same footing and in exactly the same way as God Himself, viz., by enjoying, conjoined with Him, the very same essentially beatifying object, the very same infinite perfections. The only difference should be that, whereas the enjoyment which God has of Himself is infinite, the enjoyment which man would have of God, on account of the inherent natural limitations of the human soul, would be necessarily finite in degree, although not less Divine in its kind, because not less Divine in its object.

As a consequence, according to the decision of the Creator of the universe, which we have just recounted, two orders, essentially different in kind, but mutually co-ordinated, should mingle their essences and unite their activities in this our world, for the working out of the sanctifying of the individual soul—the natural order to which man belongs as a natural being by his body and his soul, and the supernatural order to which he was called by God and into which he is introduced by the Divine efficacy of grace. For, since man was called to a Divine destiny, he must be made proportionate to it, he must be raised to the Divine plane, he must be somehow divinized and the God of why a ‘permanent’ and lasting Divine gift or quality must be infused in his soul, durably to abide there, until wilfully destroyed by mortal
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sin—a supernatural and godlike perfection, the effect of which was to confer on the soul of man a kind of 'deformity,' mysteriously aroused in it by the all-power, through the grace of God. That permanent supernatural quality Divinely infused in the soul of man, to make him durably proportionate to his Divine destiny, by raising him permanently to the supernatural plane, is called 'habitual' or 'sanctifying' grace.

Of course, it might have been in itself sufficient to grant to man a supernatural help, an 'actual grace,' whenever it was necessary for him to perform supernatural actions—to raise him each time above his natural capacity, in order to make him participate in an act of the Divine reward; but it was more harmonious, more consistent, permanently to dignify man, to raise him, once for all, to the supernatural plane. The Scripture texts, as the Catholic Church always understood them, indicated that such had been the course selected by God, and so she always expressly held by the primitive traditions, from which the Church could not possibly depart. Hence, the early Protestant Reformers, making light of all traditions, and boldly sweeping aside all the theological documents from the 5th and 6th centuries onward, denying the existence of any internal supernatural quality infused by God, which should be called 'habitual' or 'sanctifying' grace, and maintaining that the state of grace was characterized by nothing but an 'external' imputation of justice, made by the Eternal Father, of the merits of the Redemption of Jesus Christ, the Church could not refrain from defining as a dogma of faith (Trid., session 8, can. 11) that habitual grace must be understood as an 'inherent' Divinely infused perfection.

3. The state of innocence (status innocentiae).

Accordingly, when the first human soul were created, they were endowed, over and above their natural powers, a second, a 'supernatural organism' made up of the following elements:

1. Sanctifying grace, the Divinely infused supernatural quality which permanently dignifies the human nature to make it proportionate to its Divine end.

2. But sanctifying grace does not come alone. Somewhat as the boughs of a tree will branch from its stem, from that fundamental and basal perfection, habitual grace, a number of complementary and dependent supernatural perfections communicate the various faculties of the soul. They are the virtues: three 'theological,' viz. Faith, Hope, and Charity; four 'cardinal' or moral, viz. Prudence, Justice, Force, Temperance, together with their dependent subsidiary virtues, and the 'seven gifts' of the Holy Ghost.

3. Besides those fundamental perfections, they had been endowed also with several gratuitous privileges, essentially distinct and separable from the foregoing, as a kind of supplementary dowry, destined to emphasize the munificence of the Lord. Those privileges were briefly: an infused and perfect knowledge of all things that pertained to the human sphere, freedom from any revolt of consciousness, impossibility of mortification of the body. It was commonly understood that the primitive plan of God was to let man live on earth a natural term of years, and, after having allowed him to perform some meritorious acts, without inflicting death on him to take him up to his infinite and Divine reward. Original sin destroyed that plan. God, that the whole problem of Redemption hinges: (a) the decree of God Almighty (in the present case, the decree of predestination is fulfilled: anything decreed by God must come to pass; (b) even under the present influence of actual grace, the human will remains always essential the free effect of Redemption, on the other hand, was to restore it in a new form, by creating the state of reparation.

3. The state of reparation (status naturalis reparationis).—In this new state of reparation, the gratuitous privileges of omniscience, immortality, etc., remain irrevocably forfeited, i.e. at the whole of the supernatural 'organism' which we have described above, through the effects of the fall into infidelity, and, through penance after mortal sin, to baptized Christians. This would be, therefore, the place to treat of the relation of sanctifying grace to the Sacraments, but we must not divert the reader to the various articles on the Sacraments; it will be enough to say here that sanctifying grace is first generated in the soul by God through baptism, that it is mortified in it by mortal sin, restored through penance, and increased each time by each reception of the various Sacraments, especially the Eucharist in the Holy Mass.

To sum up, therefore, in a few axioms the Catholic doctrine of sanctifying grace, we may say: sanctifying grace is an 'inherent' perfection (dogma of faith); it is understood to be 'subjected' (to inhere) in the essence of the soul; it is more commonly regarded as a 'physical' entity, not a moral participation in the Divine nature, in the sense expressed. Above all, it must be regarded as distinct from charity (although Duns Scotus and several others hold the contrary view); it is produced primarily by God alone; it is generated in the soul through the Instrumentality of grace, either 'physical' (Aquinas) or 'moral' ( Suarez and the Jesuit theologians), of the Sacraments, in and through which the Divine power acts as the primary cause.

4. Actual grace.—(1) Its existence and nature. Besides the supernatural superordinated 'organism' of habitual grace, a second, a 'supernatural organism' made up of the following elements:

1. The actual grace, the ground of that whole power which has been described above, the human soul, in order to produce supernatural actions meritorious of life everlasting, requires, each time, the help of actual grace, viz. some internal, transient, supernatural impulse from God, which enables it to perform now a supernatural action. The existence and necessity of this actual grace are emphatically asserted both by Scripture and by the universal Christian tradition; it is, moreover, a logical necessity of the philosophical system in which primitive Christian thinkers labored; it is, finally, a fact under the influence of which it made its theological evolution. Actual grace is rendered necessary by the existence of the supernatural organism of habitual grace and the virtues. Quantum cumque aliquis natura corporalis vel spiritalis posuit perfectus, non potest in sumum actionum procedere nisi movetur a Deo (Aquinas, Summa Theol. Prima Secunda, qu. 100, art. 1). At the same time, we understand also that, if the influx of actual grace is indispensable to the act of the free will, that influx must, if it is really meant to supplement, not to pervert, the nature of the will, be of such a nature as to leave the freedom of will unimpaired. In this way we are brought to formulate the two conditions on which the whole problem of Redemption hinges: (a) the decree of God Almighty (in the present case, the decree of predestination is fulfilled: anything decreed by God must come to pass; (b) even under the present influence of actual grace, the human will remains always essential the free effect of Redemption, on the other hand, was to restore it in a new form, by creating the state of reparation.

2. Sufficient and efficacious grace. The maintaining of those two exigencies—the unswerving efficacy of the decree of God and the perfect freedom of the will—will from any necessitating
impulses—has ever been and remained the dominant preoccupation of the Church throughout all subsequent controversies. The Pelagian, the first important one on record on the present subject, gave occasion for the emphasizing of the distinction between 'sufficient' and 'efficacious' graces conferred by God to every human soul, may be termed, in fact, a Catholic dogma, and that some graces do prove efficacious may be said to be a fact of experiences; nevertheless, that plain and obvious distinction was to acquire, through the discussion of the Pelagian tenets, a particular significance.

The real question at issue with the Pelagians was whether any internal grace of any description whatever ought to be considered as strictly or really necessary. God, who had called man to eternal happiness, had already, in the Pelagian view, given him, in his natural resources, as aided by the external graces of revelation and instruction, all that was essentially needed for that purpose. As original sin left in the soul no inherent blemish or unfitness, man, by making good use of these natural faculties, could work out for himself his own salvation. Internal graces (the habitual one, perhaps, and the actual ones especially) might exist, did exist; but to assume more than their utility by theology, to attempt to declare the will unfit for what it was given for, and consequently destroy its freedom. Those graces ought rather to be considered as favors occasionally conferred on the free action itself to perform with the sole natural resources of the free will, but none of them was, at bottom, indispensably necessary.

The disputations aroused by these new doctrines brought forward the towering intellectual personality of St. Augustine, who was to remain henceforth the supreme authority, among the Fathers, on all questions de Auxiliis. As the mouthpiece of the Catholic tradition, and the interpreter of the doctrines of St. Paul, he definitively established, against both the Pelagians and the body of otherwise orthodox doctors called Semi-Pelagians, among several others, the following principles:

1. The only will be saved when God has gratuitously predestined it for that purpose. (Original sin is a hinderance to the free will of the human soul. 2. As a consequence of this, the Divine action, in order to the infinite disproportion between the Divine and the natural order, no human being is capable, by his natural powers alone, of acquiring an efficacious grace; 3. Or (of) in any way meriting the first grace so that the saving power of grace may be exercised in him as being capable of being exercised by him as being capable of being exercised by him as belonging to him. 4. Actual grace is absolutely necessary for every supernatural action. 5. The actual grace granted to a man by which God accomplishes the effect of His eternal predestination, some of them being sufficient only, work often in an introverted fashion. 6. Neither sufficient grace, which never carries the assent of the will, nor efficacious grace, which is never resisted, causes any prejudice to the freedom of the will.

Thus, in the idea of Augustine, as ever afterwards universally understood and interpreted in the Church, practically without controversy, until the days of the Reformation, God provided both for the fulfillment of His decree of predestination and for the preservation of the freedom of the will, by granting to the understanding of the Church the revelation of the Divine decrees, which they were sure always freely to disobey by their own fault, and by providing for the predestined efficacious grace, which they were always freely to follow; for those efficacious graces worked, not by overpowering, but by mysteriously inclining, the will, and causing it to give spontaneous consent to the particular act. How could it be that, on the one hand, a grace, truly and really sufficient, should never in fact carry the assent of the will, and, on the other, that predestined efficacious graces, should always determine the said assent, without, however, in any way infringing upon the freedom of the will? It was a mystery, which Augustine himself embodied in the name of Jansenism, and ascribed to the doctrine of St. Paul (in particular, Ro 9), but which remained otherwise unexplained. The attempt to solve that mystery was, at a much later period, to give rise to the most confused opinions, and to the endless theological quarrels, many of which have remained undecided even to the present day.

(8) The systems. — (a) Pro-Trinitarian development. — It was long, however, before the controversy de Auxiliis was to be resumed again, when it had once brought to a temporary conclusion, by the definitive condemnation of the Pelagians, at the Council of Ephesus (431). It was the task of the schoolmen of the Middle Ages to endow the Church with a full and organized system of the doctrine, the most perfect monument of which—in fact, the standard systematic exposition of the Catholic doctrine—that St. Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274), the prince and 'sine of Catholic theologians, and especially in his Summa Theologica. For those doctors, the problem of understanding the indissoluble interaction of sufficient grace and, more especially, the falling out of efficacious grace could be reconciled with a genuinely free will appears to have been no puzzle or no particular difficulty; supposing the mystery as it was, they would all have said quietly with Aquinas: 'As it behoves Divine Providence to preserve, not to pervert, the natures of things, God will move everything according to the decrees of His will, and as the nature of things (all the more, that) God moves the human will in such a manner that its motion remains contingent and not necessary.' (Summa, prima secundo, qu. x, art. 4.) God knew how efficaciously to infline the will, without infringing on its liberty; that was enough. All He had decreed about man was its realization; nevertheless, man was and remained, at all times, perfectly free. This, however, is just what the early Reformers, Luther and Calvin, three centuries afterwards, began by denying, maintaining that the human will had been at least hopelessly perverted and weakened by original sin, that, having lost its freedom, it had not the power to resist any more, in any case, either the inclination of corrupt nature or the inspiration of grace, both being irresistible in their action. Hence the obedience of the will to consciousness or to grace—passiva, according to Luther, and libertas in actu, according only, according to Calvin—was necessary and irresistible in either alternative. As this doctrine involved the denial of the freedom of the will, it was condemned by the Council of Trent in its sene, 5, where it was declared (can. 4, 5, 6) that original sin had not destroyed the freedom of the will.

(8) Post-Trinitarian controversies. — It had been the work of the Council of Trent to reassert the dogma of the freedom of the human will; it was, however, reserved to one of the most distinguished theologians of the same Council, Michel le Bay, or Balbus (1515-1589), of the celebrated University of Louvain, to be the first to offer a solution of the mystery of the reconciliation of the freedom of the will with the infallible efficacy of the Divine decrees, which, being in many of its propositions a kind of forerunner of the latter Jansenist tenets, was, after several reproofs, finally condemned in 1586. The effect of that condemnation, pronounced by Gregory XIII, was to stamp out the Balbus doctrines in their original form; but they were soon after revived, by the middle of the 17th century, in the celebrated heresy which, from its posthumous originator, Bishop Jansen of Yperen (1585-1638), whose Jansenius was published in 1646, was to remain in history the name of 'Jansenism.' The substance of the system, as it can be definitively
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tively gathered from the writings of its parent and adherents, is as follows:

Sufficient grace, which would have been sufficient indeed in the state of innocency, is eternal sin, is now, owing to the fallen state of human nature, really insufficient; for, as it is the immediate cause of the will, in the present fallen condition, necessarily to follow the more powerful delusion, it is grace, in some cases, proves less efficacious and delusive to the soul, the will will necessarily follow the greater delusion of sin, and grace will be of no effect; although it may be called sufficient 'in name,' hence, in reality, there are only insufficient and efficacious irresistible graces.

This is not the place to dwell on the various phases of the quarrel, the substance of the system being what we are mostly concerned with; it is enough to say, crushed, in spite of all, by several successive condemnations, it was finally extinguished in its ultimate form by the bull "Unigenitus," directed in 1718 against Paschatus Quesnel.

The two fundamental notions, among others, in the Jansenist doctrine of grace, those which distinguish it from the orthodox systems tolerated in the Church of England, are: the denial of the real and actual sufficiency—practically of the existence—of sufficient grace, and the assertion of the insufficiency of resistible efficacious grace, thereby acknowledging in man no other freedom but freedom from coercion, or forcible compulsion. As against these two cardinal assumptions, viz. insufficient and irresistible graces, the orthodox systems maintain, each in its own peculiar way, that sufficient grace is truly and really sufficient, so that it is intrinsically possible to obey it, although, in fact, man never followed its inspiration, and also that it is intrinsically possible not to obey the impulse of efficacious graces; although such a disobedience will never occur de facto.

In the interval of time which divides the condemnation of the Baillot propositions from the rise of the Jansenist controversy, a Jesuit theologian, Luis Molina (1536–1600), published, in the year 1588, a book entitled "Libri arbitrii cum gratia donata, divina prescienctia, providentia, praedestinatione et repugnatione concordia," in which he propounded the following solution of the problem of sufficient and efficacious grace (qu. 14, art. 13, disp. 40):

"Sufficient grace gives to man all that is necessary for a supernatural action; by assenting to or dissenting from its impulses, man takes nothing away from it, but contributes to its determination. The free will can neither make a simultaneous concourse, without which no action of any kind would be possible. Hence, in the Molinistic system, the 'determining' cause of the election of the free will was, in each case, that will itself, God being free to choose whom he will. Therefore it is impossible, 'like two workmen carrying the same stone, or pulling the same part of the same rope' by the way, long before rejected by St. Thomas Aquinas, in the very words afterwards used by Molina."

This doctrine was, from the start, received with marked disfavour by the older Jesuit theologians, and with an outburst of indignation by the Thomistic school—up to that time considered the foremost authority in theological matters.

The Thomists argued that in such a system, the principle of the insufficiency of the free will in the inspiration of grace being the spontaneous choice of the will itself, the efficacy of the decree of God was thereby rendered uncertain, as depending on the arbitrary choice of man; that, moreover, the First Mover was detached from at least the initial determination, by which the will decided to accept grace and to cooperate with it, which was a metaphysical impossibility, since even the slightest degree of freedom in the will would necessarily have caused it to occur to existence from the first, and grace, and anathema is pronounced (can. 8) against any one asserting that faith alone, without such a movement of conversion of the free will towards God, is sufficient for justification. As for the question whether any one may have the certainty of being in a state of justification, the Council of Trent (sess. 6, can. 13 and 14) anathematized the Calvinistic and Jesuitical tenets that any one ought to persuade himself that he is in a state of justification, and that that sole and very persuasion is the only cause of the said justification. Hence it may be legitimately
inferred that from a Catholic point of view only a moral and human certainty can, ordinarily, be entertained of that fact.

(7) Another class of graces, the very improperly and improperly called 'gratiae', embraces those supernatural privileges or 'charisms', sometimes granted to a chosen few, to work miracles, to prophesy, to speak foreign languages, and the like. Each of these privileges will be incapable of the act of another kind. With those graces we have nothing to do here, but merely remark that they are not more gratuitous than the ordinary graces (habitual and actual) with which we have been dealing thus far; any one of the latter, by the very fact that it is of a Divine order, is necessarily gratuitous and does not depend on act as first, and second, and third, as Grace, but is possible, by making good use of one grace to merit another, for, if Nature cannot, grace can merit grace. See art. CHARISMATA.

(8) To seek kind of acts must the action of efficacious grace be understood to extend, or what kind of effects can be obtained only through grace! This is the last question that we attempt to answer, briefly mentioning the acts of the Church or the decisions of the Catholic theologians on the various points.

Grace is not necessary—as is commonly admitted—for acquiring even a vast and extensive knowledge of natural truths, as much a knowledge is within the natural capacity of the human mind; but a certain and exhaustive knowledge of all the truths pertaining to the natural order of things could obviously not be understood to exist in any human mind otherwise than through a special favour of God. For supernatural truth, although it is intrinsically possible for any one to recognize the truth of any doctrine or dogma of faith which is properly explained and proved to him, an acceptance of it, through a supernatural motive, can be the effect only of a double actual grace both in the mind and in the will (2nd Council of Orange, can. 8 and 9; and Trid., sess. 3; can. 8). It is a dogma of faith that man, even in a state of sin, can do some good works, and therefore that the actions of sinners are not necessarily all sins. This dogma has been repeatedly asserted, against Wulff and John Hus, by the Council of Constance (sess. 15); against Luther and Calvin, by the Council of Trent (sess. 6, can. 7 and 8); by Pius V., Gregory XIII., and Urban VIII. (prop. 36, 38, and 40 of Baldis); and against Quenel, the last of the exponents of Jansenism, who was condemned by Clement XI. (prop. 44, 45 E.). The same authorities condemned also the assertions of Jansenius and Baldis (prop. 22) that all the actions of indubes are sins.

By the condemnation of the 35th proposition of Baldis, it became a doctrine of faith that it is intrinsically possible to love God above everything, as Author of the natural order of things by a natural love; such a supreme natural love of God, however, could not be so efficacious, in the present fallen condition of man, as to entail a perfect fulfillment of all the precepts of the natural law; for, although in the state of innocence such a thing would have been within the natural, unimpaired resources of human nature, after original sin only a state of perfection was possible to the fallen man to realize the supreme perfection of non-corrupted nature. If, at the same time, we remember that for any precept imposed on him man always receives a sufficient grace, we see that it cannot be inferred, from the above doctrine, that some of the precepts imposed by God are impossible to man. It is true that the 2nd Council of Orange (sess. 6, can. 18), and by Innocent X., in the first of the celebrated "five propositions" of Jansenius. Man, in a state of mortal sin, cannot for ever resist all other temptations and avoid all other mortal sins without a special assistance of God; for the very same reason that he cannot fulfill all the precepts of the natural law, as we have just stated above.

In a state of justification, man is capable, through ordinary graces, of avoiding each venial sin individually; but only through a special and distinct grace will he be capable of avoiding all his sins for all his life (Trid. sess. 6, can. 23); that special privilege, however, is universally understood, propounded by Domini, to have been granted to the Blessed Virgin.

The Pelagian doctrine that man may merit the first grace by his good works, performed without the help of grace, and the idea that he can prepare himself for it, so as to create, on the part of God, some kind of obligation to confer on him, were both condemned by the 2nd Council of Orange (can. 3, 4), as the effect of condemnation reiterated by the Council of Trent (sess. 6, can. 5 and 6)—because no one, except through the use of grace, can make himself in any way worthy of a gift of the Divine order, since no nature it infinitely exceeds every human capability. As a consequence, the only orthodox sense that can be attached to the expression "in se est Deus non denegat gratiam," is the following: to him that through the help of prevenient, supernatural grace does all he can God will not refuse the grace of justification. Sincerely, human, and natural honesty alone does not make any man, in any way, entitled to the gift of grace and of justification. That it should be impossible for man to rise without grace from a state of mortal sin is a doctrine that was denied by no one, not even by Pelagius; it was defined as a dogma of faith in the 2nd Council of Orange (can. 14 and 19).

Each supernatural action requires a corresponding natural action of God on the free will, even if no kind of motion can take place without the action of the Prime Mover; but, since the presence of grace, either habitual or actual, does not remove the inherent defectibility of the human will, a 'long' perseveration appears to be a special help from God (Orange, can. 10 and Trid. sess. 6, can. 2). Final perseverance, involving the conjunction of a state of justification with the last instant of life, is also certainly the effect of a very special favour of God, as the canons just quoted imply; in fact, it coincides with priesthood itself, of which it is the necessary and inseparable effect; it does not, however, consist properly in a peculiar motion, or distinct impulse, but ought rather to be described as the result of an ensemble of circumstances brought about by the merciful Providence of God, as an effect of His Divine predestination—circumstances which, of course, will vary with each individual soul.

Lubac.—The literature on the subject of Grace is well-nigh inexhaustible, and we shall therefore limit ourselves to the mention of the most prominent names and works only (ed. Cath. Encyc.).

St. Paul, Epistle to the Romans, ch. iii.-xi.; Augustine, de Pontifici: moribus et veritatis, de Spiritu et Litera, de Petitione justitiae hominae, de Gratia Pelagii, de Gratia Christi et de peccato originali, de Corruptione et gratia, de Predestinatione sanctorum, de Domino perseverantia, de Nature et gratia, de Gratia et libero arbitrio, ad Thrasium, Thomas Aquinas, Sum. Th., prima secundae, qu. cxx.-cxxiv.

Such a meal in the Serapeum witnesses to the religious character even of the social meal. And the custom of libations in pre-Christian times stamps the same religious character on every meal. The Homeric feast was not complete without the σωλήν or λυκή, the drink-offering poured out either on the hearth, the floor, or the altar, to the gods: see καλά σωλήνες, ἱεροῦ ἔσον (Hom. Od. iii. 45). It was a drink-offering and a prayer, in this case to Poseidon. The Romans practised similar rites. The second season, or dessert, was separated from the earlier part of the meal by the offering of the mole salsae, the meal-offering of salt and salt, and the libatio either to the Larres or to some one of the gods. Pilgrims witness to the early origin of the rite: Νυματαῖοι ἱερεῖς σφραγίζονται, et mole salsae supplicare (27 N. xviii. 7). Vergil refers to the libation at the feast before the tomb of Anchises:

Πάνθευς θυσίας, ἵνα λατρεύης νεών, δοσμένος σμύρνης.

The Jews, like the Greeks and the Romans, consecrated their meals with the ἱεράκας, or blessing (I E S, col. 266). The sacrificial feast at the high place of the city in 1 S 9th was delayed until the coming of Samuel to 'bless the sacrifice.' This is the earliest example of grace before meat. On the occasion of the reception of the Jewish scholars in Egypt by Ptolemy Philadelphia (285-247 B.C.), it is recorded in a letter of pseudo-Aristaeus (c. 200 B.C.) that Elisha the priest, one of the deacons, was asked what God had said; and when he said that he had said it standing. Josephus says of the Essenes:

'A priest says grace before meat, and it is unlawful for any one to taste of the food before grace be said (ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἑορτασμῷ). The same priest, when he hath said grace, says grace again after meat; and when they begin, and when they end, they praise God, as he that bestows their food upon them' (Ant. v. viii. 2).

The treatise Ἱεράκας proves that this custom was established by the end of the 2nd cent. A.D. Women, slaves, and children were to say grace, though they were free from other religious duties.

The blessing of the bread reads:

'Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who created the fruit of the vine.'

Among the forms of grace after meat is:

'Blessed be the Lord our God, the God of Israel, the God of hosts, enthroned upon the Cherubim, for the food which we have eaten today.'</n
The INT witnesses to the grace before meat. Our Lord in the miracle of the Feeding of the Five Thousand blessed the loaves and fishes: ἐπίτευξαν ταῦτα καὶ ἐξήραν (Mt 16:9; Lk 9:8). In the miracle of the four (KJV 1904) 4500: ἐκείνων τῶν ἐξήραν (Mt 15:38, Mk 8:8). St. John (8:11) uses the latter term, ἐξήρανσαν. Paul refers to the practice of grace, and states clearly its spiritual meaning:

'Meals, which God created to be received with thanksgiving (ὑπὸ τῆς χαρᾶς τοῦ θεοῦ) and to glorify Him (ὑπὸ τῆς τιμής τοῦ θεοῦ) if anyone serves God with joy in his heart (ὑπὸ τῆς χαρᾶς τοῦ θεοῦ) through the word of God and prayer' (1 T 4:4).

The earliest witnesses to the practice in the 2nd cent. are Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian. Clement, in his Paedagogus (c. A.D. 150), referring to the matter of feast, says:

'It is meet before we partake of food to bless (ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ) the maker of all things and the doer of all things (ὁ θεός τοῦ παρθένου) when drinking' (βούκα). In the Stromateis (c. 200-202) he speaks of prayers and praises (ἐχαίρει παρά τινας), and readings (ἀναγίγνεται τῷ θεῷ) before eating; and praises and hymns (χαίρεται παρά τινας) afterwards (vii. 7). Tertullian, in his Apologeticum, ch. 39 (A.D. 197), refers to prayer before and after meals:

'Now prisci dissimulabunt asperum ad asperam praesagium.

'Aspri ara civitatis divinitus.'
GRACE AT MEALS

And both Tertullian and St. Cyprian witness to the use of the sign of the cross on such occasions. Tertullian, in his treatise de Corsiva (c. 211), writes: "The Western practice appears in two monastic rules. One Rule of St. Benedict says: "Ad mensam siue, ante verum non occurreret, ut simul omnes discerent verum et crearet ..." Simonsae postfactum fuerit, postea persens, qui post eum dictum (c. 48). And St. Columbanus says: "It is the custom in our monasteries for the abbot to give the first blessing, and for the novice to give the second blessing, and for the novices then to give the third blessing, and for the abbot to give the fourth blessing, and for the novice to give the fifth blessing, and for the abbot to give the sixth blessing, and for the novice to give the seventh blessing."

The earliest Western formulary is in the Gelasian Sacramentary (7th cent.). There are six orations ante cibum, and two orations post cibum. The first reads: "Benedicat Dominum, donum tui, et splendor tuus largütur suavitatem. Per tuo."
The fourth reads: "Dona nobis, Domine, dona tua, quae de tua largitati summae-septum. Per tuo."
The sixth reads: "Dona nobis, Domine, dona tua, quae de tua largitati summae-septum. Per tuo."

This later form appears also in the Leofric Missal A of the first half of the 10th century. The second form is: "Post cibos" reads: "Benedicite Domino, donum tuum sit delectatio nostrorum, etSplendor tuus larguatur suavitatem."

The Benedicto ad mensam is similar to the fourth in the Gelasian Sacramentary: "Benedictus nobis, Dominum, dona tua, quae de tua largitati summae-septum, quae vivit et regnat."

The Benedicto post mensam levatam is the first example of the manner of the benefactors in the grace: "Dona nobis, Domine, componas, sancta Deum, qui nos de tuo dono donare dignatus es, per tua planum."

The use of grace at meals is fully given in the customs of St. Augustine’s, Canterbury, and St. Peter’s, Westminster. The shorter form occurs in reference to the meal of the Lord and the four Servitors: "Dictum sanctum et sacrum sub nomen 'Benedicite' et: "Dona nobis, Domine, dona tua, quae de tua largitati summae-septum, quae vivit et regnat."

The full form of grace was used at the common meal in the refectory: "Et non omnino in ordine: 'Dona nobis, Dominum, dona tua, quae de tua largitati summae-septum, quae vivit et regnat.'"
GREECO-EGYPTIAN RELIGION

"Asa cossin.—Omnipotens et omnipotens, Deus, a quo  
nulla est dulce nihil odoriferum, misericordiam Tuam humili  
qui corporis nosse is, quia supremum est; nostram beneficium; ut corda  
nestes exhilarare; ut quae sustinui sumus alimenta, Tu  
hostes. Deo beneficium accepimus a te; per Christum  
Domini nostri."  

"Asa cossin.—Omnipotens et omnipotens, Deus, optima maxima,  
éto pospiusa absque refectis, agimus Tibi gratias, quantae  
possimae maximae; quaeque praeceperit, ut animas nostras  
recipiat; utnonnulla maxima beneficia; ut quae sumi Tibi  
plecturae perfecte intelligamus, diligenter medici-  
mus, ut ad praestanda dona impetus humani; per Christum  
Domini nostri".

The first of these, but for the et between omnis-  
potens et omnipotens, has the liturgical stomp in  
sits rhythm and its language. The second is prob-  able of later date; the language is academic, and  
the Deus optima maxima is not liturgical. Wickham  
Leigh says that these two graces stand almost alone  
(Off. Hist. Soc., vol. lili. [1860]), "Brazenose Quater-  
centenary Monograph", p. 211 f.).

There is reference to the grace in a roll describ-  
ing the feast at the enthronization of George  

Before the feast, as the minister of the Church did after  
the old custom, in syzygy of some proper or godly Caroll.  
After the feast, and before the ale and wine are brought in;  
all the Church must say grace, and by joining do syzigy  
(Ireland's Collectanea, ed. Hearne. Lond. 1774, vol. vi.  
p. 192).

The French language has preserved the old  
name bénédiction for 'grace.' To say grace is dire 
la bénédiction, or dire ses graces. The English phrase  
'Thank you' seems a reminiscence of the Jube, 
donne, beneficier of the Church. The Italian has 
benedizione della tavola, the Spanish 
beneficio la mesa.

The English grace at meals in common use is  
this:

Before meals:—For what we are about to receive the Lord  
make us truly thankful, for Christ's sake. Amen.
After meals:—For what we have received the Lord make 
as an offering of sacrifice to God. Amen.

The grace before meals has an echo of the  
'sumus sumpturis.' of the fourth form in the 
Galssen Sacramentary.

Another English grace also used in England is  
this:

Before meals:—Bless, O Lord, these gifts to our use, 
and our service of the same. Amen.
After meals:—For all and His mercies, God's holy 
same be praised, for Christ's sake. Amen.

A short Latin grace also used in England is  
this:

Before meals:—Benedictus benedictis, per Jesum Christum 
After meals:—Benedicitio benediciatib, per Jesum Christum 

French and English Roman Catholics have the  
following form:

Before meals:—Dieu, benedicte. Amen.
After meals:—Priez Dieu. Amen.

The old College grace among English Roman 
Catholics is much the same:

Before meals:—Benedicte Dominus, nos et hae deae 
sumus sumpturis per Christum Dominum nostri. Amen.
After meals:—Agimus tibi gratias, omnipotens Deus, 
pro univerbe beneficium tuis, qui vivi et regnas in secula seculorum. Amen.

The appearance in English in the following forms of  
grace:

Before meals:—Bless us, O Lord, and these thy gifts, which  
we are about to receive of thy bounty, through Christ our  
Lord. Amen.
After meals:—We give thee thanks, Almighty God, for all  
your benefits, who livest and reignest world without end. Amen.

The Graces of the Seventeenth or Godly Caroll.

It used to be regarded as the duty of the head  
of the house to say grace at his own table, as  
is indicated by a document in the Records of  
the Borough of York, 18th August 1712,  
where he omens the false modesty of the 
English gentleman:

"Our English modesty makes us shamed in all the  
Exercises of Piety and Devotion. This Humour prevails  
upon us daily; insomuch, that at many well-bred Tables, the Master of  
The House is so very Modest a Man, that he has not the  
Confidence to say Grace at his own Table: A Custom which is  
not only practiced by all the Nations about Egypt, being  
conquered by the Persian themselves. English Gentlemen who  
travel to Roman Catholic Countries, are surpris-  
ted to meet with People of the best Quality knowing  
in their Churches, and engaged in their private Devotions, tho'  
it is not at the House of Publick Worship. An Officer of the  
Army, or a Man of War and Pleasure in those countries,  
would be afraid of passing not only for his Meat be not in  
bred Man, should he be seen to go to Bed, or sit down at Table,  
without offering up his Devotions on such occasions.'

At a public dinner, the Chaplain or the Reector  
or Vicar of the parish, or some other clergyman,  
is called upon to say grace. This is also an old  
custom in some private houses. There is also  
the custom of the younger children saying grace  
on behalf of the family. Is it in reference to  
our Lord's words: 'Ye, have ye never read, Out  
of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfec- 
ted praise' (Mt 21:16)?

The metrical graces in general use in schools  
were written by John Cennick, a friend of the  
Weleys. They were first published in 1741 in  
His Sacred Hymns for the Children of God, in the  
Days of their Pilgrimage (London, 1741, p. 198).

Hymn cxcx. Before Meal:—

Before present at our Table, Lord;
Be HERE our silent prayer;
Thy Creatures bless, and grant that we
May feast in Falmouth with Thee.

Hymn cxxxi. After Meal:—

We bless Thee, Lord, for this our Food;
But more for Jesus' Flesh and Blood;
The Means to our Spirit's giv'n;
The Living Bread sent down from heav'n.

There are four more lines in this latter grace,  
but they have not come into use. The Eucharistic  
character of Cennick's Grace after Meat is lost in  
the version published in Bickersteth's Christian  
Pestimony (c. 1833). This more modern form  
reads:

We thank Thee, Lord, for this our food,
But bless Thee more for Jesus' blood;
May Benners to our souls be given,
The Bread of life sent down from heav'n.

These metrical graces in their original form  
breathe in every line the inspiration of the Bene-
dictions of the old Service Books of the Western  
Church.

LITURGIA.—DACL, art. "Bénédiction de la Table;" RS,  
art. "Meals;" DOA, art. "Grace at Meals;" H. A. Wilson,  
American Sacramenties, American, 1894; Henry B.  
Hope, "The Blessed Sacrament," London Society,  
vol. xii. [1871], xxiii. [1890], xxiv. [1900], xxxii. [1837];  
J. Julian, Diss. of Hymnology, London, 1826, art. "Grace,  
American." (W. T. Brooks); Von der Goltz, "Die Auslegung der  

THOMAS BARNES.

GREECO-EGYPTIAN RELIGION.—II. Introductory.—The Macedonian conquest of Egypt is,  
for practical purposes, the starting-point for any  
account of Greeko-Egyptian religion. Before that  
time there had been little, if any, interchange of  
religious ideas between the two countries; such  
knowledge as the Greeks possessed of Egyptian  
gods and worship was of the most superficial  
nature, while there is no evidence, and no likeli- 
hood, that the Egyptians cared to make any inquiry  
as to Greek theology. There had been a commercial  
intercourse across the Levant which, so far as can  
be judged from archaeological finds, extended back  
to the period of the earliest Egyptian dynasties;  
and at least four centuries before the time of  
Alexander the Great a factory for Greek merchants  
didly established at the mouth of the Nile. But  
those who sojourned at Naukratis, though they doubtless reported to their friends in  
Greece such information as they were able to  
collect about the customs of the strange country.
which they had been privileged to enter, would have little chance of learning more of its religion than could be gathered from observation of the nations, and in the external details as the forms in which the gods were represented or the manner in which the festivals were conducted. A certain number of Greeks penetrated further into the interior, and were more closely united as the army; but it could hardly be expected that these soldiers of fortune would furnish any reliable account of the mysteries of their own temples. Even after the Persian conquest of Egypt, when the valley of the Nile became more open to foreigners, a Greek traveller with some pretensions to training in the collection of facts was unable to add to the existing stock of information on Egyptian religion anything more than what filtered to him through guides and interpreters; and, if a Greek student actually went to live in Egypt, in order to learn something of the wisdom of the Egyptians, his lessons would appear to have been confined to secular science. Neither Herodotus nor Plato displays any kind of acquaintance with the philosophy of Egyptian religion.

While the Greek visitors to Egypt gathered little knowledge of the Egyptian gods, they did not appear to have taken any interest in the Greek gods whom they might have studied at Nankratis. There were, in the Greek quarter of that town, a number of temples; if there existed a strong by the Greeks of the Egyptian religion, the temple of Zeus at Nankratis, is not recorded to have been visited by any visitor, nor is there any evidence of the existence of a Greek temple at Nankratis. The picture given by the Greek writers is that of a temple of Zeus, with a statue of the god inside, and a statue of the goddess outside.

It is true that a few sporadic instances are recorded in which a member of one nation would appeal to the Greek gods, either out of a desire to be recognised by the other. The Egyptian priests, on the other hand, were probably nothing loth to adopt these new followers of their gods. It was no more alien to the Egyptian than to the Greek religion to identify one of their own deities with a foreigner. Indeed, the Egyptian theology was already a fusion of many systems, drawn from all the nations which had occupied or influenced Egypt through their history. From time to time fresh gods had been introduced, only to be absorbed into the general medley of Egyptian religion; and the various rites and results of the power of the priests had tended to increase the complexity. When the priest held a commanding position in the country, it was all to their advantage to multiply the number of gods and assure fresh endowments for their new creations; when an unsympathetic ruler crushed them and took away their property, they amalgamated gods so that one worship could be supported by the revenues which were no longer adequate for two. It was a small matter to add a fresh set of identifications to those which had been formulated in the past. And the adhesion of members of the conquering race would be welcome to the Egyptian priests, not only on account of the material value of their support, but also as a guarantee that the native religion would receive recognition from the new rulers.

The general result of these tendencies was to produce throughout Egypt a popular acceptance of native gods as the equivalents of Greek ones,
with a crude and imperfect fusion of religious ideas, which formed one, though not the most essentially important, element in Greco-Egyptian religion.

At one point, however, the circumstances were in every way different—at Alexandria. The old temples of the Egyptian village of Rakotis might have been adequate for the religious needs of the new city, and fresh provision for worship was therefore necessary. The Egyptian population of the city would have been sufficient to maintain a cult of a distinctly Hellenic character; but it was drawn from sources too diverse to furnish a preponderating element in favour of any particular Egyptian deity. At the same time, there was too strong an intellectual element in Alexandria to permit of the crude equations which passed muster in the country being accepted for the capital. Above all, this was the residence of the King, who had to solve the problem of governing his mixed races of subjects without doing violence to the ideas of either Greek or Egyptian—so it Hellenic improvements into the immemorial polity of the Pharaohs—and not the least difficult item in this problem was the religious question. Practically, it was imperative that a presiding deity for the new city and an official cult for the new dynasty should be found of a character which would be acceptable alike to Greeks and to Egyptians. Of the three gods of the first Ptolemaic dynasty, Ptolemy and his advisers were equal to the task: an effective solution was reached in the invention of a new and a new religion.

2. The triad of Alexandria.—(1) Sarapis. The origin of the worship of Sarapis has been traced by different writers to various lands; and possibly even so. The description is, in some measure, matter of fact, Sarapis came into theological existence at Alexandria in an altogether unusual manner: he was virtually the result of the in some. He was the god of the philosophers who collected from all sources and fused together whatever ideas or attributes would be of service for their new conception; and the success which attended their work is shown not only by the wide acceptance of the divinity whom they formed, but by the difficulty which subsequent students have experienced in discovering the origin of either Greek or Egyptian traditions.

The type under which Sarapis is represented is distinc- tively Hellenic; and there is no reason to doubt the statement of ancient historians that the god stood in the temple at Alexandria, which determined this type, and is well known from many copies, was imported from Sicily, and was originally a Babylonian worship. The statue of this Sarapis, made by Bryaxis, was more as to the source from which the name of Sarapis was derived; probably it is not Egyptian, and it has been traced, on fairly strong evidence, to a Babylonian origin. It is not necessary to suppose that it came, with the statue, from Sicily; the name, at any rate, would be learnt at Babylon by Ptolemy and his companions, and the statue certainly did not represent a Babylon- a god, and would not have been thought by Ptolemy to do so. Ptolemy’s committee may well have selected the Babylonian form and the Egyptian as suitable elements for their new eclectic divinity, without the existence of any previous connexion between the two. Some of their reasons for the choice may be found. Though the name of Sarapis was not Egyptian, it had a superficial resemblance to Osiris, the Greek form of the name under which the dead Apis-bull was worshiped. 1

1 There may also have been a temple of Osiris at Rakotis; a early Ptolemaic religious handbook (Cairene Catalogue, Demost. Pappus,” no. 2160) mentions the House of Osiris. The name of Rakotis itself may have suggested a link in the chain of connection, as Eusebius identifies the Rakotis of a Cairo inscription (Cairene Catalogue, Demost. Inscrift., no. 2160) with the house of Osiris.

2 Ptolemy, 44 B.C., Art.), Sarapis;” further articles in Elio, 1921 (1200) 120 and by E. Schmitt (cf. 1921 (1217). 2

3 Artelis, A., Elio (1921) 22.

4 OTG III, 695.

5 A description of the work on the site of the temple at Alexandria is given by U. Bolt, D. epos de sertiz ecole de le Sarapis, Alexandria, 1850; additional details in Ad. 1854, 60.
trusted, the temple itself was of Greek architectural style; 1 and with this the scanty remains found on the spot agree. Besides the actual shrine, there must have been a great mass of other edifices around it, which served for secular purposes, such as the library and the archives, though included under the general name of the Sarapeion. 2

The records of the worship have vanished with the waste and the interesting discovery was made on the site, in the form of a statue of an Apis-bull dedicated to Sarapis in the reign of Hadrian, 3 which shows that the connexion of ideas which had originally arisen from the similarity of the names of Sarapis and Osiris still persisted. At Memphis, a second great centre of the cult of Sarapis, there was an Apis-element even more marked, as was only natural in the home of the worship of Apis; by the side of the funerary temple of the bulls there arose a Greek Sarapeum, which seems to have been the chief in a considerable group of religious or semi-religious buildings, and to which the older shrines, such as those of Apis and Ptah, became subordinated. In this case, also, excavation of the site has provided little evidence of the nature of the temple or of the worship; the architectural remains are of a very obscure character, and the minor objects found have little connexion with Sarapis. Papyri show, however, that the place harboured, besides the priests of the temples, a number of recluses, and provided an industry in dream-interpretation, the widespread interest of which in the interpretation of dreams was discovered. 4 The cult of the sacred bull, however, lasted on until Roman times, or at least, with the name of Osiris, or Osportalis, occurs regularly in demotics, and occasionally in Greek, documents. 5 At the third great temple, that of Abydos, it was not Apis, but Osiris, that seems to have had almost become a Greek translation of Osiris. Thus the stele placed over the graves in the great cemetery of Abydos, which were commonly decorated with the image of the dead man in the lower world, according to Egyptian tradition, when inscribed in hieroglyphics or demotics are addressed to Osiris, when in Greek to Sarapis. 6 Perhaps the clearest instance of the equation is to be found in a bilingual inscription, where not only the name of Osiris in the Egyptian round is given, which corresponds with Osiris in the Greek, but the name of a man Pseuseres is translated as Sarapion. 7

On the Egyptian side, therefore, it may be taken that the worship of Sarapis to a certain extent absorbed or associated with that of Osiris and of Apis; and at the same time from the Greek point of view he was identified with several Hellenic gods. As the supreme deity of Alexandrian theology, he naturally took the place of Zeus; and the compound title of Zeus-Sarapis is a common one. This equation again rested on Egyptian connexions, and through the old form of Zeus Ammon brought in the attributes of Amen-Ra from native traditions. Amen-Ra being a sun-god, Zeus Ammon Sarapis was further united with Helios—a union which was probably strengthened by the solar elements in the worship of Osiris and Apis. The traditional association of the type-statue of Sarapis linked him with Hades; and in this again the Osiris idea would be another point of contact. In view of the worship of Osiris, finally, to emphasize the universal nature of his domain, over sea as well as over land, sky, and the lower world, Sarapis assumed the attributes of Poseidon. Assertions of these identifications are to be found not only in inscriptions bearing such titles as Zeus Helios Sarapis, 8 or, carrying translation further into the Roman world, as Jupiter Neptunus Sarapis; or in types such as that found on Alexandrian coins, where Sarapis wields the horn of Ammon and the radiated diadem of Helios and carries the trident of Poseidon, to which attributes are added the staff of Asklepios and the cornucopia of Nilus; 9 but, in the more emphatic statements of a graffiti, as Zeus Apollon Sarapis, Zeus Apollon Baal, and of the emperor Julian, as Zeus, as Άσκληπιος, as Πόσειδος. 10

There are two facts which appear to point to a marked individuality in the worship of Sarapis. Although he is addressed by compound names, it is very rare to find a distinctive epithet attached to them. Practically the only special title which is given to Sarapis is that of Iason, which occurs in inscriptions at Xois 11 and Koptos, 12 and may be due to his identification with Zeus. This title recalls the manner of Zeus Julianus of him by his name of Iasios, 13 and which he assumed in Alexandria. There is hardly any variation in the form under which he is represented; usually he appears in the type which is accepted as that of his statues at Alexandria, bearing a high crown, wearing on his head the modius, resting his left hand on a sceptre, and extending his right over a three-headed Kerberos before his feet; more rarely he is shown standing with the palm of the hand on his hip. The only remarkable type, in addition to the compound one noted above, is one which is found on Alexandrian coins of the 2nd cent. A.D., and was also used on seal-rings, where a serpent is shown with the head of Sarapis, sometimes associated with a second serpent with the head of Isis. 14 The popularity of this type might be due to the connection of Sarapis with Gnostic influence; in origin it may be a reminiscence of the sacred serpent of Re, or of the representations of some of the infernal deities as they appear in the royal tombs of the New Kingdom.

The widespread popularity of the worship of Sarapis may be deduced from records of many kinds. The official importance of his temple at Alexandria, as practically the centre of the State-religion, made it the home of the great library and the depository of the archives; and the consecration of this temple was an honour accepted by Romans of high rank. 15 A more interesting light on his position in the minds of the people generally is thrown by the papyri from Oxyrhynchus, in which are found invitations to banquet at Sarapeion, or elsewhere, 16 with which may be compared the statement of Aristides, that the men make Sarapis their companion at feasts and name him as guest and host; 17 the idea of banquet.

3 The 'Serapeum-papyrus' is discussed by W. Otto, Praktorn u. Text, vol. i. 115. For some of the papyri in question is given in ibid. 119. See also H. Ricke, Die koptischen Mysterienreligionen, Leipzig, 1910, p. 71 f.
4 Codex Catalogus, 'Greek Sculpture,' no. 2767.
5 Examples in demotic are Codex Catalogus, 'Demotic. Demotic,' nos. 1179, 1180, 1181. See p. 1179. The iconography of Osiris is given in nos. 2908-11. Similar stele are found in other connexion with the names of Abydos, as in the case of the statue of the demotic and Sanchatt; but Abydos is the home of the type.
6 Cf. III. 2128.
7 E.g. Ammon brought in the attributes of Amen-Ra from native traditions. Amen-Ra being a sun-god, Zeus Ammon Sarapis was further united with Helios—a union which was probably strengthened by the solar elements in the worship of Osiris and Apis. The traditional association of the type-statue of Sarapis linked him with Hades; and in this again the Osiris idea would be another point of contact. In view of the worship of Osiris, finally, to emphasize the universal nature of his domain, over sea as well as over land, sky, and the lower world, Sarapis assumed the attributes of Poseidon. Assertions of these identifications are to be found not only in inscriptions bearing such titles as Zeus Helios Sarapis, or, carrying translation further into the Roman world, as Jupiter Neptunus Sarapis; or in types such as that found on Alexandrian coins, where Sarapis wields the horn of Ammon and the radiated diadem of Helios and carries the trident of Poseidon, to which attributes are added the staff of Asklepios and the cornucopia of Nilus; but, in the more emphatic statements of a graffiti, as Zeus Apollon Sarapis, Zeus Apollon Baal, and of the emperor Julian, as Zeus, as Άσκληπιος, as Πόσειδος, as Ηλιός ὕπερ Σαραπίου. 8 There are two facts which appear to point to a marked individuality in the worship of Sarapis. Although he is addressed by compound names, it is very rare to find a distinctive epithet attached to them. Practically the only special title which is given to Sarapis is that of Iason, which occurs in inscriptions at Xois and Koptos, and may be due to his identification with Zeus. This title recalls the manner of Zeus Julianus of him by his name of Iasios, and which he assumed in Alexandria. There is hardly any variation in the form under which he is represented; usually he appears in the type which is accepted as that of his statues at Alexandria, bearing a high crown, wearing on his head the modius, resting his left hand on a sceptre, and extending his right over a three-headed Kerberos before his feet; more rarely he is shown standing with the palm of the hand on his hip. The only remarkable type, in addition to the compound one noted above, is one which is found on Alexandrian coins of the 2nd cent. A.D., and was also used on seal-rings, where a serpent is shown with the head of Sarapis, sometimes associated with a second serpent with the head of Isis. The popularity of this type might be due to the connection of Sarapis with Gnostic influence; in origin it may be a reminiscence of the sacred serpent of Re, or of the representations of some of the infernal deities as they appear in the royal tombs of the New Kingdom.
8 The widespread popularity of the worship of Sarapis may be deduced from records of many kinds. The official importance of his temple at Alexandria, as practically the centre of the State-religion, made it the home of the great library and the depository of the archives; and the consecration of this temple was an honour accepted by Romans of high rank. A more interesting light on his position in the minds of the people generally is thrown by the papyri from Oxyrhynchus, in which are found invitations to banquet at Sarapeion or elsewhere, with which may be compared the statement of Aristides, that the men make Sarapis their companion at feasts and name him as guest and host; the idea of banquet.
GREECO-EGYPTIAN RELIGION

ing with the gods has a Homeric flavour, which may be explained by the fact that the Greek-speaking population of Egypt was thoroughly soaked in Homer. Another proof of the importance of Sarapis may be found in the frequency with which his image was used as a device on signboards; passing the seals of witnessing documents of Oxyrhynchus show six instances of figures of Sarapis out of a total of thirty-five signets, and in a collection of one hundred and ten types of sealing found at Karanis in the Fayyum, twenty-two bear representations of him; in each case, the only god who occurs nearly so frequently, is Herakle. Perhaps the most noteworthy evidence, however, is given by private letters; if the writer expressed a prayer for the welfare of a friend, it was almost invariably addressed to Zeus, but other gods are found only in sporadic instances.

But, despite these constant invocations of Sarapis, and despite the statements of Aristides, it may be doubted whether this deity was really regarded either by Egyptian or by Greek as one who took an intimate part in human affairs. To the multi-
titude, he was probably the official supreme ruler of the universe, to whom prayers might be addressed and offerings made; but he was not a domestic god, in the sense of one whose image would be placed in a household as its immediate protector. Statuettes of Sarapis in terracotta or bronze—the cheapest material available in Egypt, and therefore commonly used for the production of representations of gods for the masses of the people—are comparatively rare; in this respect he did not inherit the position of Osiris, bronze figures of whom, in all degrees of workmanship, from the very crudest to the most refined, are found in profusion among the remains of the period of the New Empire. He might be equated by theologians with Osiris and with Aphis; but the former, as Harpokrates, and the latter, as Serapis, were unlike possessed connexions with the visible world from which Sarapis was far removed. And it would appear that the real importance of the worship of Sarapis was due to the express sanction of the State, and that it was mainly followed in the great temples without exercising much practical influence on the daily life of the people.

(2) Isis.—In accordance with the religious ideas of Greeks and Egyptians alike, Sarapis had to be supplied with a consort; and for this purpose the chief of the goddesses of the Theben gods was chosen. To some extent, no doubt, their selection was guided by the fact that Isis was associated with Osiris as his wife by native Egyptian theology; but there were more important considerations than this. Probably the determining factor was the extent to which the worship of Isis has absorbed or overshadowed that of other female deities during the New Kingdom period; and a further reason for her selection may be found in her identification by Greek writers with Demeter,* which gave her a connection with a very popular Greek divinity. But the Alexandrian conception of Isis developed on very different lines from that of Sarapis. There is, of course, in her case no need for a fresh definition of power; she was sufficiently well known throughout the land of Egypt, and her temples existed everywhere. She accordingly remains far more distinctively Egyptian than Sarapis; her equation with Demeter had practically no influence on her cult, and the Greek attributes and Greek ideas which were attached to the worship of Sarapis find no parallel in that of Isis.

The most famous centre of the worship of Isis was at Philae, where extensive buildings dedicated to her and the gods connected with her, and erected almost entirely in Ptolemaic and early Roman times, are still extant; and this was one of the last strongholds of the old religion unsoaked by Christianity. As late as the middle of the 5th cent. A.D. devotees still visited the shrine, yet the importance of the goddess is more definitely shown by the fact that she was enshrined in a special clause in a treaty between the Roman emperor and the barbarian Nabatae, whereby the latter secured access to Philae at stated times for purposes of worship of Isis. These temples must have possessed extensive property and revenue; the whole of the land bordering on the first cataract seems for a time to have been donated and the income derived from the customs levied on goods passing the Egyptian frontier at Syene, while the priests collected offerings of flowers at Philae, at least as far away as Thebes. At the other end of Egypt, there seem to have been several temples of Isis at Alexandria and in the vicinity; probably her chief importance there, apart from her association with Sarapis, lay in her position as protecting deity of the Pharos, which brought her the homage of the sailors and others connected with the port. It is noteworthy that one temple of Isis represented on Alexandrian coins is of Egyptian style, whereas all the other religious buildings which appear in the coin-types of Egypt show the influence of Egypt. Elsewhere in the Nile valley references to temples or shrines of Isis are numerous; but everywhere these temples, so far as can be judged, might be classed as secondary to those of the chief local divinities or of Sarapis. For instance, the temple of Isis at Tentyra, which was rebuilt under the Ptolemies and Augustus, is overshadowed by the neighbouring temple of Hothor-Aphrodite at Oxyrhynchus the Iasion, which is mentioned on papyri, was assigned only one guard, as compared with seven for the temple of Amon at Philae. The temple of Sarapis; 7 and the frequent allusions to shrines of Isis in the villages of the Fayyum suggest wayside chapels rather than important buildings.

Isis was rarely identified in actual worship with any Greek goddess. It has already been remarked that her equation with Demeter, stated by Herodotus, had little influence on later belief, though it may perhaps be traced in some Alexandrian representations of her. Very occasionally, also, she was assimilated to Aphrodite: this was due to the fact that Harmachis, an Egyptian representative of Aphrodite, had tended in earlier Egyptian theology to become identified with Isis. This is one respect in which the development of the worship of Isis presents a marked contrast to that of Sarapis, and another is in the matter of epithets. While Sarapis, as has been seen, scarcely ever received any special title, Isis was constantly localized by distinctive names.

Thus at Alexandria, she was known as Isis Phariae, Isis Plouta, Isis Samothracia, and Isis of Mesembria; in the temple of Malakas she is mentioned; 14 in the Fayum, Isis Neoclesas 15

1 CIG III. 4946, 4945.
2 Prius, fr. 31.
3 The evidence as to the property and revenues of the temple of Philae is collected in F. Schegg, Oxyrhynchite, Leipzig, 1901.
4 U. Walden, Griech. Ornament, Leipzig, 1904, nos. 479, 481, 484, 575; BM Cat. pl. xxvii, nos. 553, 579; Dettoei, pl. xxx, nos. 1161, 1172.
5 CIG III. 4715.
6 E.g. P. Todt, p. 70; ed.; Greek. Orn. aus dem Monu. Mus. zu Berlin, 1876, pl. 50; BM Cat. nos. 1159, 13871-2; Castro, ‘Greek Bronzes,’ nos. 3703-4.
7 P. Oxy. 48, ii. 14.
8 BM Cat. pl. XXXVI, nos. 1113, 1119; Dettoei, pl. xxv, nos. 1754, 1757.
10 In Colin-type BM Cat. pl. XVI, nos. 1121, 1139; Dettoei, pl. x lv, nos. 259, 268.
11 CIG III. 4689.
12 BM Cat. pl. xvi, nos. 1121, 1139; Dettoei, pl. xlv, nos. 259, 268.
13 E. Sch Grab, Die Pest von Antinoe (Wien, 1884), p. 70; Dettoei, pl. xlv, nos. 259, 268.
14 CIG III. 4689.
15 BM Cat. pl. xvi, nos. 1121, 1139; Dettoei, pl. xlv, nos. 259, 268.
16 CIG III. 4689.
deity, whose priests were much in evidence at her many wayside shrines, and who kept themselves before the public for the purpose of raising money, as was rendered necessary by the enormous endowments—in doing which they turned to practical use the traditional knowledge, especially of medicine, of which they were heirs; but that, so far as her personality actually appeared in her outward manifestations, it was in virtue of her position as mother of another god—Harpocrates.

(3) Harpocrates. Harpocrates, who was the deity selected to complete the Alexandrian triad, was, like Isis, distinctly Egyptian in origin; but the lines on which his worship developed were different from those taken in her case, as we see in that of Sarapis. Harpocrates did not, like Sarapis, absorb the powers and functions of other independent deities under one name and type; nor did he, like Isis, become localized by distinctive epithets. Originally he was a special form of Horus; and, starting from this point, he gradually took over not only the name of Horus, but also those of all the other special forms which had been accepted in different districts.

There is no record of any temple in Egypt dedicated primarily to Harpocrates; where he is mentioned in connexion with any temple-worship, it is always in association with other gods, of whom Isis is normally one; for instance, at Philae the group is Isis, Sarapis, and Harpocrates; at Kopios, Isis, Harpocrates, and Pan (Min); in the Fayum, Isis, Sarapis, Harpocrates, and some form of Souchos; although individual priests of Harpocrates occur, and offerings might be made to him alone. It would appear that, to the priests, he was pre-eminent, as his name implied, Horus the child, and was not to be separated from his mother Isis.

The equation of Harpocrates with other forms of Horus involved many ramifications, which illustrate the complexity of later Egyptian religion. Under the New Empire, Amen-Ra, the predominant deity, had supplanted, by a nominal identification, many local gods; thus at Harkoepolis Magna he was regarded as the equivalent of Har-Heh; at Mendes and Heliopolis, of the sacred ram; at Saen, of Sebek, the son ofNeith; at Memphis, of Ptah; at Kopios, of Min; at Thebes, of Montu. And, in his turn, Amen-Ra had been ousted by Horus in almost every place; so that, in the Ptolemaic period, while Sarapis took the name of Ammon from Amen-Ra, Harpocrates, as successor of Horus, secured the local attributes of the gods with whom Amen-Ra had been identified.

Thus at Harkoepolis Magna, where Har-Heh had been translated by the earliest Greek visitors into Heracles, there appeared the compound Heracles-Harpocrates, who is represented on some coins with the club of the Greek hero surmounted by the hawk of Horus, and wearing a lion's skin and a modius. Another Alexandrian coin-type shows Harpocrates accompanied by a ram, which may refer to either the Mendesian or the Heliopolitan form; and terracotta figures of Harpocrates seated on a ram are uncommon. In coins of the Macedonian coinage there is a comparison of Heracles and Harpocrates in the hand and shoulders of Harpocrates placed on the body of a crocodile, derived from the union of Harpocrates and Sebek. Hypothetical statements of Harpocrates, common in terracottas, point to his equation with Min. The type of Harpocrates with the gores, formerly sacred to Amen-Ra at Thebes, shows how he had taken over the attributes of the older god in the centre of his worship. Other special forms of Harpocrates of Memphis, whose emblem is a pomegranate, and Harpocrates of

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1. **APF** I. (1901) 205, no. 17.
3. **P. Tiba.**, 5; **P. Lyc.**, 264, 8.
4. *P. Lyc.**, 264, 8.
8. For references to coin-types of Pharaohs, see above, p. 259, notes 10 and 12; as city-goddess, Dastari, pl. xxiv. 274.
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The variety of any record of the worship of Haroprocator in the account of the imagination and habits of the inhabitants of Egypt generally, which is given by the middle period of the later Christian writers, is more than compensated by the evidence as to his popularity among the inhabitants of Egypt, generally, which is given by the middle period of the later Christian writers. The name of Haroprocator, 1 or Haroprocator (Greek, Ἐρμος), 2 a native of Thessaly, was in use from antiquity, and the functions attaching to the second, would readily suggest to a Greek mind an identification with Hermes Psychomanteus; and from this identification a type arose which represented Hermonubis in the form of a Greek god, crowned with a modius, and carrying a palm-branch and a caduceus. 3 This type was almost entirely Greek or Alexandrian, but it was occasionally varied by the introduction of an Egyptian element, the head of Anubis being placed on the human body of Hermes. 4 Another variation was produced by the substitution of a radiated discus for the modius, possibly with some recollection of the solar attributes of Horus derived from the original Egyptian name; 5 this form is the Hellenic Hermonubis, whose character with Zeus and Jupiter is the subject of a note already mentioned. But Hermonubis did not absorb the worship of Anubis; the compound name is rarely found, while invocations, and dedications to Anubis, are fairly frequent; and it was Anubis, not Hermonubis, whose name spread from Alexandria throughout the Roman world, and who was worshipped with Isis and Osiris by Roman devotees.

The equation of Hermes with Anubis, and their union in Hermonubis, did not prevent the further identification of Hermes (or his Syrian equivalent) with other Egyptian deities. The early Greek travellers had regarded Thoth, the god of learning, as the Egyptian equivalent of Hermes, and it would appear that, at any rate as late as 100 B.C., this equation was still current. There is a common confusion between Thoth and Anubis in the Fayum, as in documents from Kerkosaria (Kerkosaria et Epyos) — shrines where Hermes was associated with the sacred ibis of Thoth — are mentioned as distinct from the protectors of the dead. 6 The presence of the same idea is seen in the later Hermesiankis, the special depository of all magical knowledge, 7 and in the magical papyri of the Roman period. Hermes plays an important part in this connexion. It may, however, be noted that his identification with Anubis was remembered here also; the four shapes of Hermes in the short story of heaven are given as ibis, cynocephalus, snake, and wolf; 8 and, while the first two of these are the sacred animals of Thoth, the wolf almost certainly represents the jackal of Anubis.

A further development resulted from the Hermes-Thoth equation. Thoth had been combined, in the local worship of some districts of Egypt, with Khonsu, in virtue of common solar attributes; and, as Khonsu had been identified independently with Herakles, the Egyptian Thoth-Khonsu, or Khonsuth, as the name appears in use for a personal one, became to the Greeks Hermes-Herakles. 9 Such a combination is obviously foreign to the Greek spirit; although the spheres of influence of Hermes and Herakles might touch at one point. In the gymnasia, the two gods could hardly have been fused by any one who regarded them simply from the Greek standpoint. The same idea is traceable in a dedication to Hermes and Anubis, as well as to other gods whose names are lost, with Ammon, the head of the solar group. 10 It may also be noted that, as Elephantine, Hermes was identified with Petennis, 11 and at Pecknis in Nubia with Pantnus; 12 but, as both of these names are purely local titles, as to the commutation of which nothing further is known, it is useless to conjecture the reasons for the identification. The name of Hermopolis Parva in the Delta.

1 BM Fr., pl. xvi., no. 1189; Dandet, pl. xiv., nos. 1765, 2850, 3977, 4011; Berlin Mus., xiv., nos. 1558, 1559, 5586.
2 BM Fr., pl. xvi., no. 1180; Dandet, pl. xiv., nos. 1765, 2875, 4011; Berlin Mus., xiv., nos. 1558, 1559, 5586.
4 BM Fr., pl. xvi., no. 1180; Dandet, pl. xiv., nos. 1765, 2850, 3977, 4011; Berlin Mus., xiv., nos. 1558, 1559, 5586.

12 JHS xvi., (1906) 42.
13 BM Fr., pl. xvi., no. 1558; Dandet, pl. xiv., nos. 1765, 2875, 4011.
14 P. Syr., 44, 52.
17 BSA, xiii., (1898-9), 42.
18 JHS III, 638.
19 JHS, III, 638.
also suggests that there Hermes was regarded as the representative of Horus, the old god of the city.

The case of Hermes is fairly typical of the confusion of names and ideas which arose from the mixture of Greek and Egyptian theology. As has already been seen, the identifications made between these gods by the two nations were based more on grounds of convenience and interest than on any carefully considered principle, and so they might vary locally according to the circumstances of the establishment of each district. It will suffice to summarise more briefly the principal equations which are recorded in the cases of other deities.

(3) Zeus had been identified with Ammon by early Greek travellers in Egypt; both in the Libyan Oasis and at Thebes they became familiar with the god, whose priesthood, though despised in importance, still formed one of the most powerful corporations in the country; and, partly no doubt under the impression produced by this political influence, partly from the natural tendency to equate the god who seemed to be chief of the Egyptian deities with the one who held a corresponding position among the Greeks, Ammon was transformed into Zeus Theosios, to whom early Greek dedications have been found. The type of Zeus wearing a ram's horn as Zeus Ammon is commonly found in Ptolemaic and Roman times, having been popularised by the local legend of the birth of Alexander. In a Latin inscription from a quarry near Thebes, the title is used, in the name Jupiter Ammon Chnumis, the last obtained from the cataract-god Khnum, who had previously been identified with Ammon, and was similarly associated with the ram. Theacular attributes of Amen Ra of Thebes further led to the adoption of the form Zeus Helios in the Theban; and, as has already been seen, both Zeus Helios and Zeus Ammon were united with Sarapis.

(3) Hera, on the other hand, rarely appears in Egypt. Herodorus states that she was one of the Greek deities whose names did not come from Egypt; in other words, there was no Egyptian goddess with whom she was popularly identified. At first cataract, however, she was equated with the local goddess Sais, whose temple seems to have been known to the Greeks as the Heraion. Another Heraion is mentioned in Thebes, which was probably the temple of Nut, the consort of Osiris, and the local god of the district. Hera was considered as the ruler of the world, and would naturally follow that of Amen Ra with Zeus.

(4) Kronos was identified with Geb by the early Greek writers of Egyptian religion; but there is little later evidence in support of this identification, which was probably derived from a comparison of the theology of Heliopolis with that of Homer. There is, however, a stele from Koptos, on which the Greek inscription gives a dedication to Kronos, while the scene above shows the emperor Tiberius making offering to Geb and Nut. At Elephantine, Kronos is called Pataetius, obliquely a purely local name; and at Tebtunis in the Fayum he was equated with Soknebtetis, the local god of Geb, who is known to have been identified elsewhere with Geb.

(5) Apollo, in the system of Herodotus, was the representative of Horus in the identification being dorously based on the fact that both were sungods. In pursuance of this idea, the town of Harhebet became Apollinopolis Magna, and that of Har-ner, Apollinopolis Parva; and to the same cause may be ascribed the great popularity of Apollo as a personal name amongst the Greek-speaking inhabitants of Egypt, just as names derived from various forms of Amen were the commonest amongst those who adhered to the native language. The identification of Apollo with Haroeis occurs at Onouros, Apollinopolis Parva. An early Ptolemaic inscription from Naucratis gives an interesting triad in Sarapis, Isis, and Apollo, in which Apollo seems to take the place of Harpocrates as an equivalent Horus-form.

(6) Artemis was equated with Bast (Bubastis), according to Herodotus; and, as Bast was a cat-deity, Artemis seems to have been taken by analogy as identical with another goddess, Pakhet, who was worshipped in cat-form at the spot known to the Greeks as Spes Artemidio. There are, however, no records on monuments to show that this identification had any practical recognition in actual worship.

(7) Leto is in much the same case; Herodotus states that she had an oracle at Buto in the Delta, which presumably means that she was identified with Una, the tutelary goddess of that town; but there is no further evidence as to this, nor as to her apparent equation with Hethra as presiding deity of the town known to the Greeks as Letopolis.

(8) Athene was perhaps the one of all the Homeric gods as to whose Egyptian origin Greek writers were most certain. The town of Saia in the Delta was declared to be the mother city of Athens, and Athene to be derived from Neith, the goddess of Saia. But, though Athene was certainly worshipped at Saia by the Greeks, it was, so far as any extant evidence shows, under her Greek name alone, and in purely Greek form. At Oxyrhynchus she was identified with the local goddess Theoria (Taureis), in the temple of Nut, and the local temple known as the Theoreion, and references in papyri are, with only one or two exceptions, to Theoria simply. In art, however, it is the Greek type of Athene which is found on coins and signs of Oxyrhynchus; this is doubtless due to the fact that Theoria was a hippopotamus goddess, and the representation of such a type would not appeal to the Greeks.

(9) Ares was another deity for whom the Greeks found an Egyptian equivalent at an early date in Onouros, a warrior-god; but in this case also the identification seems to have been a literary one merely, without any practical effect.

(10) Abydos was much more important in the popular than in the official religion of Graeco-Roman Egypt, so far as extant evidence proves. Statuettes of Abydrides, sometimes of purely
Hellenic type, but more usually showing traces of Egyptian influence, are commonly found; and inventories of property suggest that these statues—usually formed part of a lady’s outfit.²

Hathor, the Egyptian goddess of love, was the natural equivalent of Aphrodite, and at least two towns of Hathor—the modern Atfih and Gebel-n—were associated with Aphrodite in the Greek. As the latter, where Hathor was the consort of Sekhmet, Greek papyri mention priests of Aphrodite and Sekhmet, and they were familiar with the coinage of the Ombos.⁴ At Dendera also, in the chief centre of the Hathor cult, Aphrodite took the place of that goddess, and the Greek dedication of the temple, rebuilt in the early years of Roman rule, is in her name.⁴

(11) Φεια was identified with the ithyphallic Min at Panopolis and Koptos, as appears from the Greek name of the former town and from dedications at both places.¹ The functions of Min as guardian of the desert roads were naturally transferred to Pan, and graffiti addressed to him are found at many points in the desert, scratched on rocks or walls by travellers and hunters, as well as more formal dedications.²

(12) Dionysos, perhaps the best instance of the divergence between literary and popular appearances of gods in Egypt. Herodotus states very elaborately the identification of Dionysus with Osiris,¹ but there is hardly any evidence that Dionysos inherited any part of the worship of Osiris, or took his place in the minds of the Greek-Egyptian population. As a matter of fact, Osiris, from the Alexandrian point of view, was absorbed by Sarapis, as has already been shown, and the only religious records which mention Dionysus in Egypt refer to a purely Greek cult, except in one locality. At the first cataract, Dionysos is equated in inscriptions with Petenemantos,² whose name suggests that he was a chthonic god. (13) Demeter similarly was identified by Herodotus with Isis;¹¹ but the literary identification did not affect popular worship.¹² The position held by Isis in the Alexandrian triad rendered it both unnecessary and unlikely that she should take the name of any Greek deity.

(14) The ptolemaic period was equated with Ptolemaic Period, perhaps in view of the record of the latter as constructor of the universe; and the great temple of Ptolemaic Period at Memphis is referred to in Greek documents as the Heliopolis. But this temple was rapidly declined in importance. Ptolemaic Period was worshipped there as Ptolemaic Period-Sokar-Osiris; and, as Sarapis absorbed the attributes of Osiris, the Sarapis grew at the expense of the Heliopolis. It is therefore not remarkable that Heliopolis, not an important god in Greece itself, plays no part at all in Greek-Egyptian worship. A record of the mixed type is, however, given by a coin of Hadrian, on which the god is shown with Egyptian head-dress and Greek robes, carrying the sceptre of Ptolemaic Period and the tongs of Heliopolis.¹³

(15) Asklepios was provided with an Egyptian equivalent in the deified sage Agathos, whom later generations had claimed as a son of Ptolemaic Period and a god of healing. A chapel dedicated to Imhotep seems to have been attached to his reputed father’s temple at Memphis, and this was called the Asklepieion by the Greeks.³ There was a similar chapel at Philae;² and the upper court of the temple of Hekate at Deir el-Bahri, on the west of Thebes, was transformed in Ptolemaic Period times into a kind of sanatorium, whose walls are scribbled over with invocations of Asklepios in his Greek-Egyptian association.⁴

(16) Hestia was, according to Herodotus, not Egyptian.³ Like Hera, however, whom he placed in the same class, she was equated with one of the cataract-deities—Anukis—of Elephantine,² but the reason for this identification is not clear.

(17) Heraclis shows more variation of form, due to his equation with two distinct Egyptian deities. It has been noticed already that he was identified with the lunar god Khonsu at Hermopolis Magna, and Apollinopolis Magna, and that in this connexion he was united with Hermes.² At Heraclis, however, he was taken to represent the local form of Horus, Har-reshit, and gave his name to the town; and then, by another confusion which has already been mentioned, he was transferred to a second form of Horus—Harpokrates—represented by the nome-coins; and a compound Harakles-Harpokrates is mentioned in a Greek inscription.²

From a survey of the foregoing summary it will be seen that the identification of Greek and Egyptian gods proceeded on the most superficial lines, and was often purely academic. A certain amount of cross influence between the two systems of theology may perhaps be discerned in the case of Zeus-Ammon, Apollo-Haroeris, Athene-Neith, Apollo-Hathor, Hermes-Isis, Pan-Min, Hepsibaoi-Ptolemaic Period, Asklepios-Imhotep, and Heraclis-Khonsu; but the equations of Hera, Kronos, Artemis-Leito, Aris, Dionysus, Demeter, and Hestia with Egyptian deities do not appear to have anything more than nominal so far as the actual worship either by Greeks or by Egyptians was concerned. In fact, the identification was practically a mere matter of convenience; the Greek section of the population, who clearly prided themselves on their Greekness, preferred to address the gods whom they worshipped by familiar Olympian names rather than use the Egyptian titles even in a Hellenized shape, though the latter class of forms occur; and the priestesses of the Egyptian temples met the wishes of the Greek worshippers by the simple process of allowing their own gods to be invoked by the Greek names, which seemed at first sight most suitable. As this process was not based on any general agreement as to the identity of various gods, except in so far as accepted traditions, such as those recorded by Herodotus, were remembered, there arose cross-identifications according to local circumstances.

4. Egyptian gods worshipped by Greeks without equation. There were a few Egyptian gods who had no recognized Greek equivalents, but were nevertheless so far accepted by the Greeks as to require mention in connexion with Greek.

² G selfish. Vol. 1. 717. ; Corp. Papyr. Raineri. 52, 1; 7, 27.
² P. Oxy. 292. 82.
⁴ P. Grec. 44. 1; II. 82. 25; 4. P. Lond. 678. 5, 678. 5, 16009.
³ 25, 928. 10.
⁴ B O C. 1163. 167.
⁵ CTG. 1163. 167.
⁸ Herod. ii. 42.
⁶ Herod. ii. 59.
⁷ Some of the coin-types may be intended to represent Demeter, though the meaning of the godesses was not much influenced by popular beliefs; they were rather academic. In this connexion the occurrence of Tripolides on coins may be noted; he is certainly not a person who had any worshippers in this sense.
⁸ P. Lond. K. 18.
⁹ P. Lond. 44.
Egyptian religion. These were such as offered no traits for ready identification with the Homeric gods, but possessed so much popularity among the native population that they received the attention and the worship of the Greeks.

(1) The most noteworthy example of this class of deity is to be found in the case of Bes, who, though he may have been introduced into the Egyptian pantheon at a fairly early period, did not attain a position of any importance until the time of the New Kingdom. Even then he does not seem to have received any official appointment, as would be expected by the dedication of a temple to him; but he was a prominent figure in popular magic. Similarly Geb, an earlier person of the Graeco-Roman period, Bes is not mentioned in religious inscriptions or represented on the walls of temples; but he must have been widely worshipped among the references to Geb which occur in the Fayum papyri, they are common, and bronze figures are not infrequent. Later, with the recrudescence of magic, he grew in importance, and even seems to have ousted Sethos from the chief place in the temple of Abydos, where an oracle of Bes was established and flourished till its suppression in the reign of Cleopatra. The headage to date the existence of the walls of the temple beside the earlier inscriptions to Osiris and Sarapis. At Memphis also Bes seems to have obtained a footing in the Sarapeion in Roman times, as a room has been found there decorated with figures of him and his worshippers. The graffiti of Abydos and magical papyri suggest that the oracles of Bes were given through dreams, and this may have smoothed his way into the Sarapeion of Memphis, where there was an old-established system of incubatory divination.

(2) The crocodile-god Sebek was also usually worshipped without exception to any Greek deity, at any rate in his chief seat, the Fayum. At Ombos he had been previously identified by the Egyptians with the crocodile of the Nile. He was a child of Sethos and a son of Geb with Kronos by the Greeks involved that of Sebek with Kronos, which is found at one spot in the Fayum—at Tebtunis. In the great majority of the references to Sebek which occur in the Fayum papyri, however, there is not trace of any Greek connexion; and the representations of him in the Graeco-Roman period are always in pure animal form. There was no lack of Greek settlers in the Fayum, but they seem to have been perfectly content to offer their homage to this god in his Egyptian form, only softening his name to Soutches. How closely associated his worship might be with Hellenic ideas is shown by two late Ptolemaic dedications to him, probably from Crocodilopolis-Arinoth, which were set up to mark the enclosures appropriated to schools of ichthyophagi of certain years. The temple of Sebek at Arinoth was the chief one of the nome, and in its precincts was a lake where the sacred crocodiles, his embodiment, were kept, and worshipped, providing one of the regular sights for tourists; and there were numerous other temples or colleges of priests of Sebek in the surrounding villages, such as Echmebeth, Naba, Tebtunis, and Kerkeosiris. Moreover, he was worshipped in many local forms in villages. Thus at Sopheneop Bisau there was a great temple of Sobastos—Sebek, lord of the island—in which he was associated with Isis-Nereus; the papyri from this town have furnished many references to his priests and his cults, while inscriptions record grants of corn by Ptolemaic officials and also sacred areas by a Roman prefect; he is represented as a crocodile with a fish's head, and which, shows him to have been connected with Horus, as in Upper Egypt Sebek had formerly been united with Horus in the more ancient town of Dakake. There there was a second, apparently subordinate, form of Sebek worshipped as Sokoptis or Sokopionis. Sokoptuwas was supposed to be the local type of Sebek, which he is called as Crocodilopolis-Arinoth, or Arinoth as Sokoptuwas. At Karasin, where the temple has been excavated, and has yielded building dedications under a late Ptolemy, Nero, Vespasian, and Commodus, Sebek was known as Petoscrus, a name found also at Kerkeosiris and possibly applied to the god at his chief temple at Arinoth. The crocodile-god might also be addressed by other titles than that of Sebek or compound of it; for instance, Phemsebi or Phemosebi is described as belonging to this group, and similarly Pepeus of Karasin and Petoscrus, and the catalogue of his local names does not throw light on his worship.

(3) The position of Sebek as regards the Greeks may be paralleled by that of the hippopotamus-goddess Taurt. As has been mentioned above, this goddess was nominally identified with the Greek Athene; but in actual practice she seems to have been worshipped independently. No Greek would be likely to associate them with a hippopotamus; and, if it seemed advantageous to them to pay homage to Taurt, he addressed her as Thescius.

It is very doubtful, however, whether in such cases as those of Bes, Sebek, and Taurt there was any influence exercised on the Egyptian worship by the Greek worshippers which would produce a result described as Graeco-Egyptian. The utmost that can be traced is in the modification of the Egyptian names to suit the Greek; and a similar modification, in rarer examples, is cited in regard to a considerable number of purely Egyptian deities which happen to be mentioned in Greek documents.

5. The decay of the Greek element.—The attempt of the earlier Ptolemies to plant a new State-religion in Egypt, like their attempt to Hellenise the country, was doomed to failure; the imported elements in the gods and in the human population were alike absorbed and disappeared. By the 3rd cent. A.D. the descendants of the Greek colonists, except perhaps in Alexandria, had become practically indistinguishable from the mass of the natives of Egyptian race, and in the same way the old Egyptian deities had reasserted their position, and had obliterated the Greek equivalents who formerly shared their worship.

(1) The clearest illustration of the recrudescence of native religious ideas may be found in the case of Osiris. He should, under the Ptolemaic system, have been entirely supplanted by Sarapis. But, as has already been seen, at Abydos, Osiris held his ground, at any rate amongst the Egyptian-speaking part of the population, and apparently his worship was so far recognised that Strabo records him as the god of Abydos; his name appears in demotic inscriptions as the equivalent of that of Sarapis in Greek; occasionally even Greek inscriptions of homage on the temple-walls are addressed to him instead of to Sarapis. There are other indications that he was sometimes treated by the Greeks as distinct from Sarapis; thus a Ptolemaic
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alter is dedicated to Osiris with Sarapis, Isis, and Apis. Oxyrhynchus in Roman times there was an Osirion as well as a Sarapion, and a priestly college served Thoeris, Isis, Sarapis, and Osiris with other gods; and a late Ptolemaic inscription found in the Paphos area shows that an Osirion existed there also. About the end of the 1st cent. A.D., however, Osiris appears to be recovering the honors taken from him by Sarapis; for instance, the old Egyptian wrangles of enmity to Osiris to give water to the dead, which had been preserved in demotic texts, begins to occur in a Greco-Roman context, with translation of Osiris into Sarapis; and in the magical papyri of the next two or three centuries Osiris is a leading actor, while Sarapis is scarcely mentioned. (A) A similar revival can be traced in the cases of Apollo and Horus as against their Alexandrian equivalents Hermaphrodite and Harpocrates; and Isis had never been thoroughly Hellenized. In all these instances it is the Egyptian deity who recurs in the magical texts and remains a god of power long after the general acceptance of Christianity in the country. Isis and Horus are mentioned side by side with Jewish archangels and Jesus Christ. The importance of this apparent revival of old Egyptian ideas in the Roman period may perhaps be somewhat exaggerated at present by the comparative paucity of records concerning the worship of the lower classes of the Egyptian population after the Greek conquest. There is a fair amount of documentary evidence as to the State religion and the gods who were preferred by the upper and middle classes. But there must always have been a large substratum of fideistes who continued to write Greek or write in any form, among whom the old traditional beliefs, as well as the old language, persisted. Durandus, in fact, is not uncommon in content, as compared with those in Greek, during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods; but they testify to a survival of the Egyptian totemism which made it possible to recover its position not only as a national but as an official language even when the external sanction of Greek was withdrawn. Similarly, there must have been a steady adherence to the old forms of worship among the peasants, which is not recorded on monuments, but which caught the attention of Roman writers, and which the early Fathers of the Christian Church had to combat; for instance, the attacks of Clement point to a prevalence of animal-worship which would never be suspected from any Greek inscriptions; and it was this persistent belief which reappeared in the Egyptian magic of modern times.

Summary.—The official Greek-Egyptian worship was based on the Alexandrian cult of Sarapis, Isis, and Harpocrates. Only in the first of these three deities was the non-Egyptian element of material importance, and all derived the greater part of their local acceptance by inheritance from the native religion. The Greek inhabitants of the country frequently offered homage in the Egyptian shrines, addressing the god by a Greek name chosen on a superificial system of equation; or, if the particular deity could not readily be identified with a Greek equivalent, they were ready to adopt the Egyptian name. Meanwhile the native priests adhered to their old gods, and their faith gradually merged the worship of the country of the East with that of the West, which had been introduced, and made it in the days of its decline once more distinctively Egyptian.

No attempt has been made, in the present article, to trace the development of the worship of Egypt in Egypt. The reason for this is that the cults of Isis, Osiris, and Apollo were regarded by the early Christians as Egyptian, and the Eastern church was (in the West generally, Osiris could not be Egyptian. The account of the festival at Otricoli given by Apuleius contains hardly anything that would be recognizably as Egyptian as that of the Roman festival of Isis. Incidentally, however, it may be noted as significant that at Rome, and in the West generally, Osiris reached his climax as the universal god of wisdom and fertility. In Egypt, the osiris was the usual object of worship in Isis. In the Greek parts of Asia, and to a certain extent in Rome, the Osiris had been introduced under Ptolemaic influence; but, when the Romans had reached the point of crowning Oriental gods, Osiris was coming to the fore again.

LITERATURE.—An excellent summary account of Egyptian religion in the recent Handbook of Egyptian Religion, ed. A. D. Griffith, London, 1907. The fullest treatment of existing materials in regard to organization of worship is in W. Otto, Priester und Kult im alten Ägypten, Leipzig, 1908-09. J. von Kauter, Geschichte des heidnischen Tempels, Berlin, 1891, gives a review of the philosophical atmosphere in which the cult of Osiris developed, in bk. vi. ch. 6; see especially Kauter's introduction, which is private. For the worship of Egyptian gods outside Egypt, see G. Lafaye, Histoire du culte des dieux egyptiens à l'étranger, Paris, 1883, and A. Roehrs, De Sarapis et Isis en Grèce ailleurs, Berlin, 1903; also W. Drexler, in H. Scheller, xii. (1898) 1-24, on 'Isis and Sarapis in Asia Minor,' and the catalogue of localities of Isis-worship abroad, in Beschreibung, x.x., 'Isis.' The chapter on Egypt in T. Curtius, The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism, Eng. tr., Chicago, 1911, pp. 75-129, gives a valuable account of the influence of Isis-worship in the Far East as well as Rome.

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GRAIL.—The Graal (Graal, 'old ones'), or Phokrides, first appear in Hesiod (Theog. 270-273) as daughters of the sea-deities Phorkys and Keto, and sisters of the three Gorgons. They are beautiful (unless in later writers, refer to the mother only), and well-dressed, one being <i>gyptos</i> and the other <i>pyrpsi</i>. They are also <i>psyron</i>-haired from birth (ἐγεραύνων χίλια), but their hair is not long. It is, however, unlikely that this phrase is spurious; and it is simpler to consider the two lines genuine, removing all difficulty by reading <i>θηρίας</i> for <i>γαλας</i> in line 270. Two sisters only are named by Hesiod—Pephrados (φυλοφρον) or Pephrado or Tephreos, and in other writers, Memphrados or Paphrido or Pephrado or Paphreos (φυλοφρον), but it is probable that a third name—Deinos or Dino—should be substituted for the word <i>paphreos</i> in line 273. In the following passage, lines 274-286, Hesiod names the Gorgons, and gives very briefly the elements of the Persians and Medes legend; but he does not represent them as hideous (see art. GORGON). In Aeschylus (Prometheus of the Caves), the Hesperides, and the early Hesperides have become monsters (θερίας), living in the Gorgonian plains of Kithene, which was in the far West, or possibly in the far East. His Phorkides are three aged maidens (θεριάς), swan-shaped (κυδωνιδες), with one eye and one tooth in common, never shining up by sun or moon. To this must be added a statement in the lost Phokrides of the same dramatist, recorded by the prooemiers of Charax (Catasterismi, 22), and the poet Hyginus (Astr. li. 12), that they were <i>pyrpsi</i> of the Gorgons; the same play also added a cave (Εἰσχρος, ed. Sidgwick, frag. 261 f.). Aeschylus' epithet κυδωνιδες seems inconsistent with his <i>pyrpsi</i> (swan-white), should be substituted; the pronouns might be quite in Aeschylus' manner. In Aeschylus the Gorgons too have become pyrpsi, not only winged, but δικαιοσύνης and δικαιοσύνης; and the sight of them is fatal to life.

After this, they are frequently mentioned, their sisters disappear from extant Greek literature till the time of the mythologists. Apollodorus (ii. 4. 2), after Pherecydes, makes them in some way guardians of the Gorgonian Parnassus.
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snatches away the common eye and tooth while these are being passed round, and then restores them in exchange for instructions how to find the Grail. No image of the Grail is known; the magician gives the cap, shoes, and sword. Palephatus (de Incrud. 32) makes the Grail reveal to Perses the way to the Gorgons. Hyginus represents Perses as already possessed of the cap, shoes, and sword, which he has already given to the Grail; and the tooth while the holders are passing them on to relieve guard, and throws them into the Tritonian lake. There are antithetical variations of detail in writers such as Tzetzes, Ovid, Nonnus, etc. (see the references in Roscher).

The Grail very seldom figure in art. Miss Harrison describes (Placing of Gr. Rel., Cambridge, 1903, pp. 194-96) and figures (fig. 35) a cover of a pyxis in the Central Museum at Athens, on which the Grail is represented with dolphins, accompanied by Phorikes, Poseidon, Hermes, and Perses (who is waiting to catch the eye from two of them while the third holds the tooth); they appear to be young and lovely. Miss Harrison says this is the only known representation in vase-painting. A. Rapp (Roscher, I. 1737 f.) is disinclined to accept Panaikis's interpretation of an incised stone and an amphora (the latter in the British Museum) as representing ‘Perses and Grail’; but he attains more importance to an Etruscan mirror as described in the sale catalogue of the Castellani Collection at Rome in 1854.

From the above facts it is clear that the mythus of the Grail was confused and possibly contaminated at a very early date and is extremely varied to some extent with the attempt at interpretation. The details, therefore, may not admit of any single or consistent explanation. Their parentage, complicated and obscure, is not easy to identify, and the association with dolphins connects them with the sea; sea-gods are also credited with mysterious knowledge of secrets, and are frequently of remarkable appearance. The Grail, therefore, is an emblem of the marine affinities, and in modern Greek folklore have become mermaids (see J. C. Lawson, Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion, Cambridge, 1910, p. 186). Hermann (Opusc. II. 1877, 178) goes so far as to make the Grail of Hesiod tide-goddesses, translating their names as 'Aferion' and 'Iferon,' apparently from ἄφερον and ἰφαρον. Similarly, ancient etymologists derive ἱφαρος from ἱφαρος; or ἰφαρος may be from ἱφαρος, and ἰφαρος from ἤφαρος (of sound). Their whiteness is easily connected with sea-fairies, and also symbolizes purity; and the epithets of Hesiod suggest that the Grail may represent the bright clouds of fine weather and especially the sunset (παζορευκος), while their sisters the Gorgons personify the dark clouds of storm and rain. This view was advocated by Roscher, and is apparently supported by Rapp, who sees in the transferable eye and tooth of the Grail, and still more in the baleful glance of the Gorgons, the flash of the lightning and its apparent passage from cloud to cloud. The Gorgons also seem to be credited with a single eye, possessed in common, by a scholiast on Ἐρέχθ. (Herm. 1738.) Mannhardt (Ger. Myth, Berlin, 1858, p. 347, Z. 1876) interprets the eye as the ray of sunlight; while Taylor (Primi Cult., 1903, p. 335) thinks that the Gorgons, one mortal and two immortal, may stand for present, past, and future, their eye being a symbol of the light of the sun. It seems also class the suggested derivations of their names from the roots of φαραιος and φαρος and ποια. The ποια would mean 'the sahen-coloured,' and ποια the 'sahn-coloured.' So might the third name ἱφαρος, if from ἱφαρος, but it is more probably ἱφαρος from ἱφαρος.

The notion that the Grail and Gorgons are volcanoes or gorillas seem fantastic, since it is now generally held that the hideous head or mask of the latter—the Παζορεύς or Ἴφαρος of Hom. Od. xi. 639—is not an original feature of them at all, but an apéry of the Grail, and probably Hipite, origin, introduced into Greece about the end of the 8th cent., and perpetuated in many various types. This conflation would not be difficult to account for in terms of the primitive storm-cloud goddesses capable of malignant glances of lightning, but it may well be due, in the first place, to some etymological confusion between names of similar sound. On these lines the latest mythologists, such as Miss Harrison (op. cit.), regard the Grail and Gorgons as originally traits of sea- or cloud-goddesses and as by-forms of each other, perhaps distinguished as causing good or bad weather. The eye and tooth symbolize their potency, which can be transmitted from one quarter to another; it is a similar conception to the common one of the 'external soul.' At an early period, probably long before Ἡσιάθος, the Gorgons acquired alien characteristics, and their duplet, the Grail, were then worked into the Perses legend in various ways. But some points in Ἡσιάθος's description would still remain obscure, such as the swan-shape of the Grail; to avoid difficulties arising from residence in a hole or cave; and these may be inventions of his own to make them monsters (τυπρεπεσια).

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finds more to describe in the quest than in the goal.

2. Literary development.—In the space of fifty years (approximately between 1170 and 1230) the great body of Grail romance apparently came into existence. But it was not until 1861 that complete manuscripts, most of them merely 15th or 14thcentury transcripts of the 12thcentury MSS. These MSS are found in France, Germany, and Great Britain; and early printed forms are preserved also in Spain, Portugal, and Holland. The MSS are very confused as well as scattered—some fragmentary, and some suggesting interpolations by later hands. Parts of the story connected in one MSS are found elsewhere separated and conjoined with other parts, so that the task of research has been one of very great difficulty. The Germans F. Zarneke (in Hel. Paul and W. Braune’s Beitr. zur Gesch. der deutschen Spr. und Lit. iii. [Halle, 1876] 304 ff.) and A. Birch-Hirschfeld (Die Sage vom Gral, Leipzig, 1877) made prize-winning attempts to introduce some chronological order into the chaos; and, while other scholars have not been able entirely to agree with Birch-Hirschfeld’s analysis, its still supplies a basic framework which is helpful. It must always, however, be remembered that the discovery of some hitherto concealed MS or some biographical fact might afford a key of light on the whole subject, and re-arrange the knowledge now possessed by investigators. Meantime a very wide margin must be allowed in such dates as may be conjectured from internal evidence of the MSS. Much controversy still circles round the names of Chrétien de Troyes and Robert de Boron. Of the dated works, Chrétien’s is the oldest of all, and by Robert de Boron’s works, and as the unifying head of the cycle. Birch-Hirschfeld, however, gave that place most emphatically to Robert de Boron, and of later years Miss Weston also has been inclined to take the same position. The decision is largely dependent on whether we may regard the etymology of Pese Porcel as representing de Boron’s work, and thus much of the explanation by scholars have hitherto placed it. (For Nunt’s division into ‘Early History’ and ‘Quest’ versions, and for the connexion with the Arthurian cycle as a whole, see also Arruza in vol. ii. p. 69.)

It is to be noted that the Celtic Peredur and the English Sir Galahad do not deal with the Grail as such. But they cannot be omitted in an account of the Romance literature, because of their value in the matter of tracing origins. Paxton’s (in ‘La Conte del Graal of Chrétien de Troyes (1180–86): poem printed for the first time by Polivy from the Mons MS, and contained with ‘The Elision’, Gautier, Mantevant, and Gerbert) in vol. ii. of Perceval of Gonesse (1860) gives a synopsis of the Grail MSS and a critical comment on the work (see below). The whole is accessible in an appendix to vol. l. of Furnivall’s Saint Grail, London, 1861–62.


8. The Poems Perseolus (1292–93; see above), found in the Didot MS (1301), also in a Modern MS which Miss Weston thinks both an earlier and better text; accessible in Huchon’s Le Saint-Graal, ed. by Joseph d’Amboise. Miss Weston also gives a comparison of the D and M MS in her Legend I., and Wolfram, ii. London, 1862.

9. The legend of Percival, the ‘Mystic Quest’ (as early as 1200, or possibly earlier), as early as 1200, or possibly earlier, or in the first part of a version corresponding to parts xii. and xiii. of Malory’s Morte d’Arthur, and in its second part of a version of the Parzival.

10. The moral Romanesque of Sir Perceval or the Perceval of Galles from the Thornton MS (1440) in the Library of Lincoln Cathedral; accessible in the Thornton Romance MS (1440, ed. Halliwell).


12. Sie Grail: selections from Hengest MS (13th cent.): a Welsh ‘Quest’ story (with Eng. tr. by Robert Williams, London, 1870): slightly differing from other versions, being in its first part of a version corresponding to Parts xii. and xiii. of Malory’s Morte d’Arthur, and in its second part of a version of the Perceval.


14. Sir Tristrem, by Arthur, by Wolfram von Scharfenberg (1270), written in late years of Wolfram’s life. It is the best interest in a compilation and completion of fragments left by Wolfram and some unknown author who wrote Der Jungfernd Thetisch, ed. K. A. Hala, Quedlinburg and Leipzig, 1851.

The three great names in connexion with this literature are those of Chrétien de Troyes, Robert de Boron, and Wolfram von Eschenbach. Chrétien was the poet of the court. His story is told with a charm of style and a sense of chivalry which give it a very high place in medieval literature. But he does not explain the Grail, nor does he give any suggestion of realising its deeper meaning. Whether this was merely the art of the skilful romancer, who intended to explain and deepen his theme, we have no means of knowing. His death broke the poem off abruptly, to be finished by those who may or may not have grasped his ideas. Robert de Boron was a much less skilled and polished workman. But there was a completeness about his work—especially if we may claim the French Grail and his Song for his own—enough to puzzle scholars. He evidently had a definite and comprehensive plan. He viewed the Grail as a Christian symbol, and made his story carry out the concept. For this reason some have ascribed the fusion of the Grail story with the Saga. But the exact point of contact with the Arthurian cycle remains a problem. To Wolfram v. Eschenbach it was left to give the legend its most spiritualised form. ‘Wolfram,’ says A. W. N. (Steedes on the Legend of the Holy Grail, London, 1888, p. 297), ‘makes his hero win salvation by steadfast faith.’ The Grail is here certainly not the Cup of the Last Supper. But the field of Grail attainment is the field of Christian endeavour, and its banner is charity, the charity which for Wolfram changed the meaning of the quest. ‘What does it (the Grail) mean? ’ into ‘What does my friend mean?’ the Grail. 3. Subject—matter. — It is quite evident that hundreds of stories were floating around, and that the Romance writers could pick and choose according to individual temperament and demand. But the present form is probably due to the blending of entirely different stories. These stories were, however, based on myths of the world’s early days, and were, therefore, near enough to be constantly referred to, and even being each other, while differing in detail to
make a strange confusion when brought together. Thus we get a loosely-connected mass of incident and at least three heroes—Peroval, Gawain, and Galahad. We may set Galahad on one side as quite impossible. He appears now only in the Queste and Grand St. Graal. To this fact is perhaps due the theory that he was invented by Wolfram as a means of obviating the claim of the son of Henry II, more likely in order to detach an early story from its early somewhat pagan associations and make the claim of the Church to the story more plausible because of its saintliness. The knight. Gawain and Peroval are both early heroes. In the Comte de Chretien, Gawain is an understudy to Peroval. But close investigation has led Miss Wynn of the Library Board to show that there are the heroes of two different stories which have fused, and that Gawain is the earlier of the two. It is worthy of note how much closer the connexion between Gawain and the rest of the poem is in Wolfram than in Chretien de Troyes. Persistent features—in addition, of course, to the Grail itself and the question of the 'Cul on servit'? associated with it—are: (a) The Vengeance Quest: the hero sets out with the desire to avenge the fate of his father or uncle—a quite human, and therefore, primitive note. (b) The Castle of the Grail: the hero visits a benediction-spelled castle, where he finds either simply supernatural beings such as the maidens or those—neither gods nor men—who linger under a spell from which only a select few are released. For the possibility of a certain heroic level can release them. The hero, therefore, must know or do certain things. If he fails, the castle vanishes or he leaves it unvisited and unhelped. This is obviously a contribution from the childhood of the world, when mortals were half-aware of supernatural powers, with whom man was at the mercy of their caprice. (c) The Fool Tale: this is a primitive story found among all peoples. It takes various forms, but, apart from incidental details, it is generally the story of a woman (sometimes of a young hero) whose life becomes entangled by certain events grows up away from the world and in ignorance of its ways; he returns to that world and, in spite of his want of knowledge, finds his way back to the hero-band to which his father belonged; and, in time, proves himself to be the greatest of them all. The appropriation of this well-known jack of a legend, simple or complex, forms of the story is easy to understand, whether the writer had in mind a merely charming romance or one laden with inner meaning. And so this is either the Peroval of Chretien's courtyard poem or the Paradis of Wolfram's spiritual allegory. (d) The Fisher-king: the wounded king of the Grail castle is found fishing while he waits for his deliverer. Apart from the Grail itself, and the 'question,' this has been probably the most perplexing feature of the cycle. Attempts have been made to account for the king's occupation in various ways; but all are acknowledged to be not entirely satisfactory. There is, for instance, a possible link with the fish as the Christian symbol, the fish itself appearing in the 'Early History' as that which,caught and laid on the Table, divided the pure from the impure among those who were fed by the Grail. There is also the Salomon of Wisdom of Irish folklore. And, most remote of all, there is even the Babylonian story of Adapa, the wise one and fisher (cf. W. Sturtek, Über den Ursprung der Grallegende, Pilsen and Leipzig, 1906, p. 55). (e) The Lance, the Sword, and the Dish: of these the lance is supposed to be the weapon which pierced the side of Christ, and ranks next to the Grail in the cycle. The sword is sometimes the weapon of the Vengeance Quest, but elsewhere it is sacred. The meaning of the dish is very uncertain. Indeed, there is some reason for suspecting that the romancers had taken over the sword and the dish with little conception as to what they were or might signify.

4. Sources.—As has been indicated, there is no primary form of the legend known to be extant; and there has been much speculation as to sources and originals. It may be taken as fairly certain that the Evangelium Nicodemi or Gestis Filisi (A.D. 429) and its early versions, with its early somewhat pagan associations and make the claim of the Church to the story more plausible because of its saintliness, is the original from which Chretien, Gautier, and Robert de Boron may have drawn, and which Walter Map (to whom the MSS ascribe the Queste) may have compiled; this, it is even thought, might have been the Book of Philip of Flanders, which is spoken of in the Prologue to Chretien; (b) a lost poem by Kyot or Guiot, to whom Wolfram, seeming Chretien's version, ascribes his version of the story (the rare North French poem, the Sonne de Nauvy, has been used in evidence of the existence of some such poet); (c) a lost Brutus; Robert de Boron in his Merlin refers to an 'oistre de Bretagne que on apelle Brutus, que Messire Martin de Rooster translate.' As has been shown above, all these problematical sources would again be of an ideal origin on a mass of traditional tales preserved and passed on by the bards of the time, of whom Master Bihlie or Bliheris, referred to in 'The Elucidation,' may possibly be one. The contact between East and West, and the especially close touch between England and France, in the century from which these stories come, placed the field of investigation a very far-reaching one and the search for origins extremely perplexing.

(1) Celtic theory.—In 1838 the publication of Lady Guest's The Mabinogion and other ancient Welsh MSS called attention to the marked similarity of incident between the three Welsh tales (The Lady of the Fountain, Geraint, the Son of Brian, Peredur, the Son of Peredur) and three Romances of the French trouvres Chretien de Troyes (Fisien, le chevalier au Lion, Erec, and La Comte del Graal). The bearing of this similarity on research into the history of the Grail story was at once seen by scholars, who divided themselves into partisans of either (a) the Insular or (b) the Continental school of interpretation. The former, holding that the Welsh tales were the earlier, and the other that the birth-place of the tales was not Wales but Armorica, whose kings reached them after their return from Troyes. Among the leading exponents of the Insular school were Gaston Paris and A. Nutt; and of the Continental school, Foerster and Goltz. In the main, the Insular Celtic theory has prevailed. The essence of that theory is that the stories—a proto-Mabinogion—passed from the Welsh story-tellers to France through the medium of the Breton Ias, and were set down upon and given literary form by Chretien de Troyes. Some of the stories, translated, returned to Wales, and these we have in the Mabinogion. A. Nutt, in his Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail (London, 1888), has given many instances of what he regards as conclusive proofs that the Mabinogion were very near to the myth roots in their primitive simplicity, and that many of the most important incidents in the French cycle have affinities so close with Celtic folklore that they cannot be overlooked.

(2) Oriental theory.—This is based on the idea that the existence of a unity among the Alexander-romance literature of the Persians and other Eastern mythologies. There are, of course, characteristics which lend themselves to this theory. Rich Eastern colouring appears in most of the stories; there is
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also an Oriental conversion legend; and Wolfram’s Parzival has many features of this kind, including the introduction of Prester John and the Knights Templar. Most scholars, however, have rejected the theory that the mere existence of kindred myths proves little. The Crusades, too, with their continual movement between East and West, while explaining many Eastern features, may be interpreted in the same way. For, if one assumes the Grail itself to be a form of the last eschatological conception of the Holy-of-Dol; if, in the Mahabharata, one comes across nuns, paternosters, baptism, Good Friday; in the Perlesvaus there is a strong tincture of asceticism; and if in Wolfram, that of the German knight, and in its last ecclesiastical form, there is the dove, the Host, and the order of virgin knights, and the Grail vision is denied to a heathen. It may now be taken as an accepted result of scholarship that these Christian elements represent transformations or fusions comparatively late in the history of the Grail idea, and do not give an indication of its ultimate origin, which is much more likely to be found among the elements alluded to in the preceding paragraphs. It is conceivable that a tallisman in the form of a vessel or otherwise, and already revered on other grounds, might be changed into the Chalice of the Last Supper by contact with Christian influence, just as the shrines of certain pagan goddesses were absorbed into the cult of the Virgin. But it is inconceivable that the process should work the other way—that a vessel hallowed by immortal Christian tradition, and itself a food-producing tallisman; it is unthinkable that the Holy Chalice and the lance of Longinus should be turned to the uses of a mere vengeance-quest, as would be the case of a tallisman of a purely Christian origin for the Grail idea.

The problem remains of the time and place at which the Christian influences definitely touched the non-Christian tree and seeds so essential to great fusion. Something of this must have been due to the Gospel of Nicodemus (see above); also Redd II. 544 E., which had been known in the West for some hundreds of years. Much was also due to the Crusades; in Miss Weston’s words (Legend of Sir Percival, ii. 257) "all eyes were turned to Jerusalem," and the effort to wrest the Holy Places, the site of the Death and Burial of the Redeemer, from the hands of the infidel, captured the imagination of all Christendom. Relics of the Passion, fragments of the Cross, the Nails, the Crown of Thorns, were making their way in a continuous procession to Europe; the Holy Lance had been discovered at Antioch; numerous places boasted the possession of the Holy Blood.

It was very natural that a story of a lance and cup should take on a new colouring from the things which were moving Christendom, and that a hero whose primal quest had been for vengeance on an enemy or for the removal of an evil spell should have his goal transfigured, without altering all trace of its former character. One of the spots where the Joseph-legend was first localized, and where the "sang real" was believed to be preserved, was Fécamp. It is possible and probable that there was one of the most definite points of contact between the Christian and non-Christian traditions. But if that was so, a re-colouring of the whole matter in the interests of Glastonbury must have taken place when the Christianized story crossed the Channel and touched again the borders of the Wales from which, before its baptism, it had emerged. The reign of Henry II (1154-89) coincides with three noteworthy things: the climax of the "sang real" interest at Fécamp; the attempt to utilize the Arthurian tradition in the justification of wild Wales; and the ecclesiastical assertion of Britain against Rome, resisted by Thomas à Becket. There was a strong conjunction to Christianize the cup of Celtic legend and to glorify Glastonbury as the home of the sacred Chalice. 1


2 In 1171 the relic was discovered in a pillar, and exhibited above the Holy altar of the Abbey. See Le Roux de Lincy, Rien sur l’abbaye de Fécamp, Rouen, 1845, p. 70 E.
and the ambitions and necessities of Henry II. may have helped to give the legend its final form and home. It was a convenient thing that the sanctity of Glastonbury should rival that of any Continental shrines; and that the antiquity of its traditions should be widely known and revered.

The Grail legends, however thoroughly Christianized, always retained a flavour of heterodoxy; they were, fully or universally received the sanction of the Church. This has been accounted for in different ways—by the fact that they involved too high a claim for the British Church; or because they were so largely coloured by the adventures, and, therefore, by the reputation, of the Knights Templar; or because they embody elements derived from pagan faith. Some of the ancient ecclesiastical suspicion may have gathered round the theme was possibly intensified by the controversy regarding the denial of the cup to the laity. The deprivation caused wide-spread resentment, and the Grail may have taken to itself fresh glory as the symbol of an unsatisfied desire.

St. Gall's Eadmer's ingenious reading of one form of the story—in which he interprets the Fisher King as the Pope, Perceval as Dominic, Galahad as Francis, the wasted land as Britain under the invading Saracens—is, if unconvincing as an interpretation, at least a proof of the ease with which the story can be made to fit a theory. In early days it may have been equally easy to use it to convey an impression, if not definitely to advocate an opinion.

6. Significance and symbolism. Is there any hypothesis that will synthesize these different ideas, and which, actually and historically, even if semi-unconsciously, might have served for a basis of fusion? The likeliest of those that have been suggested is the idea of the quest for the secret of life: it is sufficiently ancient, persistent, and close to the abiding instincts of men. The Adonis rites were concerned with the death and the quickening in the natural world. Some of the ancient mysteries were the expression of the human hunger for the supreme secrets, and a promise of its satisfaction. May not some forms of this quest, and some dreams of its goal, have hidden themselves among the Celtic races, to emerge again in tales about the quests of heroes, the deliverance of a blighted world, or the achievements of a cauldron of plenty? Meanwhile there had come down another line of development the story of another Cup, hollowed by its connexion with the most sacred Name, exalted by the sacramental principle now accepted throughout Christendom, revered as the means whereby souls questing for life found life. Et, Eimer Dei unis substantia, and God and life were together in the cup of sacrifice. So the two life-quests met, being aided in their fusion at once by certain convenient resemblances of external form, by historical causes alluded to above, and not least by underlying unity of essential idea. Through this fusion there was fashioned one of the richest influences which have ever inspired music, poetry, and art; and an abiding symbol for the moral and spiritual idealism of pilgrim humanity. Seen from different standpoints, the Grail became the emblem of mental purity, or of triumphant faith, or of solitary heroism, or of gracious charity; the radiance of it became the radiance of that ultimate perfection which is the aim and reward of those who attain. It is noteworthy that Robert de Boron, before the tradition had time to be deeply esotericized, and Richard Wagner, who has given us a special social role of the Grail, should alike be able to see the spiritual significance of the Grail idea. While the symbol has still a special meaning for

''Godly hearts th industry of gold, Still the blood of faith do hold,''

it also expresses in the most comprehensive way, by virtue of its ancient origins and devotional wanderings, the purest desire and best attainment of the human spirit.

LITERATURE. In addition to the books and articles mentioned above in text and notes, see Lit. appended to art. ARNULF, ARNULFIC CYCLE. Of those mentioned there, the most useful is the present connection are those of Birch-Hirschfeld, A. Nett, and Jessie L. Weston. E. Wechsler (The Sage in the Holy Grail, Halle, 1905) gives a very complete bibliography. See also J. L. Westen's second vol. of St. Perceval Studies, London, 1888; A. Nett's smaller book (popular, but sufficient), The Legends of the Holy Grail, do. 1885; Sebastian Evans, In Quest of the Holy Grail, do. 1896; Paul Hagen, Der Gral, Strassburg, 1886 (also an art by A. Nett, S. Nr. 6, 1885). On the connection between the Grail stories and J. G. von Hahn's Arcanum Expulsionis et Re-Economic Formula. Among modern critical expressions of the Grail idea, the most striking, next to Tennyson's, is that of R. S. Hawker, The Quest of the Sangrani (an unfinished fragment, Exeter, 1864; reprinted in Pastoral Works, London, 1895). A fine practical and devotional treatment is given by J. H. Skrine, in Sermons to Parishes and Masters, London, 1906, p. 211ff.

J. M. E. Ross and MARGARET ROSS.

GRANTH (Skr. granthka) 'book, treatise, code, or section' [Plaita, Hindustani Dictionary, London, n.d., s.v.].—The term granth generally refers to any book, especially to a religious book. In the Sikh religion the Granth denotes the general body of the Sikh scriptures, which comprise two main parts: (1) the Adi Granth or original Granth, which was compiled by Guru Arjan, the fifth Sikh guru, from the writings of Baba Nanak, the founder of Sikhism, and many other religious reformers; and (2) the Dasam Pādahā Bālā Bāī, or Granth (abbreviated to Dasam Granth), or 'Granth of the tenth Pādahā,' viz. Guru Govind Singh, the tenth and last guru of the Sikhs. All Sikhs have the authority of (1); but that of (2) is confined to the extremist sections of the Sikh community. From Granth is derived granthswā, 'an exponent of the Sikh scriptures,' 'a reader or custodian of the Granth' (see Ernst Trumpl, The Adi Granth or Holy Scriptures of the Sikhs, London, 1877; and Max Arthur Macauliffe, The Sikh Religion: its Sacred Writings, and Authors, 6 vols., Oxford, 1906).

The Adi Granth in its present form was compiled by Guru Arjan (1561-1606), but after his death some of Teg Bahadur's verses were added to it, with a single dictich of Guru Govind Singh. The compilation included not only the extant writings of the earlier gurus, but also those of many bhagats, or devotees, such as Ramānanda and his disciples, Dāhni, the Tāj, Pipa, Ravidēsa, Kabir, and Nanak, as well as Khālīq Yādā, the Shāhīm pījā, and Dāhmi. Those of the last-named are of special linguistic interest, as he is considered the first Marāthi writer. Further, Guru Arjan appears to have added a number of compositions composed for the occasion by various bhācchā (Bābīs), or professional bards; but these are of little interest. The Granth itself comprises a Jāgīr, or introduction, by Nanak himself, the Su-dār, or extracts from the Bād Aṣāt and Bād Gūjāt, which are used as an even-song by the Sikhs, the So-pūrkhā, or further extracts from the Bād Aṣāt, by Guru Rām Dās, and the So-hild, or extracts from the Bād Gūrē, Aṣāt, and Dāndhanurā, which

1 Baba Nanak, Angad, Amar Dās, and Ram Dās, predecessors of Arjan.
2 Macauliffe describes these as pāngayris of bards who attended on the gurus or ascetics, and rewarded those who sang their praises.
3 The Su-dār or So-dār is claimed by Macauliffe as one of the Rākhiāa, a collection of the hymns recited at sunset by the Sikhs. The hymns in this collection were composed by the Guru Nanak, Amar Dās, Ram Dās, and Arjan, in the two modes called cecilistical interest to serve should alike be able to see the spiritual significance of the Grail idea. While the symbol has still a special meaning for...
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are used as a prayer before retiring to rest. The morning service of the Sikhs consists in the recitation of the Japji, followed by the Anda Vir, which was composed almost entirely by Guru Nanak, though it includes some stanzas by Guru Angad. Anda Vir meant originally a dirge for the brave slain in battle, but the term came to mean a song of praise. Anda Vir were composed in stanzas called pasis, "ladders," which were chanted by professional minstrels. The Granth of Guru Govind Singh contains its Japji, the Akal Ustad (or praise of the owner), the Vachan Kirtan, which is a wonderful drama, in which the Guru gives an account of his parentage, his Divine mission, and the battles in which he had been engaged. His militant character is illustrated by the inclusion of three abridged translations of the Devi Mahatmya, an episode in the Markandeya Purana, in praise of Devi, the goddess of war. Then follow the Gurbani, which is the collection of the compositions of the ten Gurus, and accounts of 24 incarnations of the Deity, selected because of their warlike character; the Haudre de shobh (a collection of warlike proverbs and maxims); the Shastar Nama (a list of weapons used in the Guru's time, with special reference to the Creator's attributes; the Jaam Charit (or tales illustrating the qualities and defects of women); the Zafarnama (an epistle of the Guru to Aurangzeb); and several metrical tales in Persian. According to Thompson, the body of the Granth contains over 100,000 Edges, including those from which extracts are inserted in the following parts, and a 31st Edge, called the Jaiwar, which was composed by Teg Bahadur. Among these Edges, or modes, are distributed the verses of the various gurus, and to each Edges sayings of one or more bhagats are appended, but without a fixed arrangement. The first three Edges are the most important. Macaulay's account agrees in essentials. He describes the hymns of the gurus and saints as arranged according to the 81 Edges in which they were arranged, and adds (vol. i. p. 1): "The first nine gurus adopted the same Nanak as their ram de phume, and their compositions are distinguished by mahakshie or quarters. The Granth Sahib is blessed to a city, and the hymns of such guru to a ward or division of it. Thus the compositions of Guru Nanak are distributed in the first Ward; the compositions of Guru Angad the second Ward, and so on. After the hymns of the gurus are found the hymns of the bhagats under their several muscular measures." But, despite its varied origins, the Granth is to the Sikhs the embodiment of their gurus.

The Granth is concluded with a bhagat, which comprises a number of Shloks, and minor pieces by various gurus and bhagats. Owing to the diversity of the languages, the book is not written in any one language, but in various vernaculars of modern India. Thus Namdeva wrote in an old form of Marathi; and the Brahman Trilochan closely resembles him in style. Jaiwai used a curious mixture of Sanskrit and the modern vernacular, while Ramadheva's idiom is the old Hindi, differing little, if at all, from that of Kabir and his disciples. His successors were all natives of the Panjab, and he used an idiom closely resembling the Hindi, doubled by phrases and expressions of the Panjabis, to whom they owed as much as religious teachings. The result is that parts of the Granth, e.g. that of Govind Singh, which is in pure Hindi, are unintelligible to the modern Sikhs.

The metres of the Granth, which is wholly in verse, are either old Prakrit metres or of a later type, the verses being measured by quantity only, and they are always set in long prose lines. The nature of the Granth is not obscurely indicated in the fact that of "grace" and "gratitude" are as root one and the same term, and represent the

GRATIÆ.—See CHARITIES.

GRATITUDE.—There are many human emotions that can be understood only when directly in connection with the social nature of man. They presuppose the fact that man dwell together in communities—have common interests, share common experiences, run common risks, and find unity to be power. To this class belong the tender emotions—those that are excited by concern or regard of one person for another, and that are essentially of a cementing and beneficent kind. Supreme among these is love, which carries along with it parental, filial, and similar affections—a love of kinsfolk, love of country, and the like; next are friendship and the allied feelings of esteem and admiration; then come the benevolent affections or affections of good-will, including sympathy, compassion, pity, and the like; and last of all may be instanced gratitude, which has distinct relations to all the others just enumerated.

1. Nature and Origin of Gratitude. Gratitude has been defined as "that delightful emotion of love to him who has conferred a kindness on us, the very feeling of which is itself no small part of the benefit conferred." (Thomson, op. cit., i., 94, xliii.) The definition, though correct so far as it goes, is not adequate; it does not reach the root centre of the conception. We wish to know what is the nature of the emotion which initiates, and how it manifests itself.

(1) First, then, we observe that what arouses the emotion is not the magnitude of the benefit conferred (although this may react upon it), but the display of friendliness, affection, and good feeling on the part of the benefactor—such manifestation of good-will and kindly consideration for the recipient as cannot be claimed or exacted. There is no claim, properly speaking, in true gratitude: giver and receiver both gain, but neither claims. Hence, gratitude is not, as some have so frequently represented it to be, mere 'bread and butter' affection; nor is it the prudential 'regard for favoured company.' These are purely selfish considerations, marks of an unworthy calculating egoism, which debase the emotion and transform it into what is mean and ignoble. Gratitude is an unselfish joyous response to kindness—a response that is immediate and spontaneous; the ultimate meaning of which is that human nature is so constituted that affection and unity between persons is the foundation of it, ill-will and enmity (all indications to the contrary notwithstanding) being abnormal and deprived. Hence the biting force and odious character of ingratitude. 'Now, blow, thou wintry wind, thou art not so unkind as man's ingratitude.' (As You Like It, ii. vii. 174 ff.) Now, why? Not simply because the ungrateful man does not fully value one's gift (that would be a small matter), but also because he throws back one's good-will with coldness and thereby cuts one off from a place in his affections: in him, as Kant puts it, 'the duties of philanthropy are always recognized, and the want of love is transmitted to a title to hate those by whom he has been first beloved.' (Metaphysics of Ethics, tr. J. W. Sempie, Edinburgh, 1886, p. 805.)

The nature of gratitude is not obscurely indicated in the fact that "grace" and "gratitude" are as root one and the same term, and represent the
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reveres and the opposite side of the same fact—more clearly expressed, perhaps, in Greek, where the one word <i>εὐχαριστεῖν</i> is expressive of both. The Greek term shows that the emotion is essentially a social one, and works in the atmosphere of unity and love, and is, therefore, a species of 'brotherly affection.'

(2) On all hands it is allowed that gratitude is a joyful and pleasant emotion, though there may be in it an element of pain—more especially when it begins to solicitate for the object of it. But, when this is granted, the source of the joy is matter of dispute. It has sometimes been maintained that gratitude arises either from our appreciation of the value of the gift or from some kind of affection; or from recognition of the fact that the benefactor has sacrificed something for our sake. This needs examination. There is no doubt that the value of the gift frequently comes in to augment the joy which we experience, especially when the benefit takes the form of freeing us from pain or from an embarrassing situation. It is equally indisputable that a well-balanced nature esteems sacrifices that are made on its behalf. But, although these facts may be necessary to the full explanation of the intensity of the joy that some cases of gratitude exhibit, they do not account for the essence of the emotion itself. For example, a munificent gift that brings a man domestic comfort, where puerility and pinching have been the order of the day, may be no less delightful than a gift of an equivalent amount that will not be grateful for it unless, with a cheerfulness and satisfac-

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tion, and that in a very marked degree, for it is a gift to the heart of a man who is himself a benefactor. The gratification of a benefactor, though it may be tinged with the considerations of the occasion, is due to the generosity of the giver and not to the pietas of the recipient. Therefore, the former aspect of gratitude as a source of joy may be considered as necessary for an adequate explanation of the latter.

(3) From all this it will be at least apparent that, in gratitude, there is an element of admiration, by the recipient, of his benefactor as a man who finds it in his heart to bestow what cannot legally be claimed of him, and who is moved by non-envious altruism. Generosity and disinterestedness are by their very nature impressive, and admiration is conditioned by mutual respect.

(4) From this it will be apparent, also, that gratitude is near neighbour to sympathy: it is not sympathy, but it involves it. Unless the recipient could place himself in the position of the giver and realize his kindly feeling and good intention towards him, gratitude could not arise; nor could the benevolence that actuates the giver have its effect. Take him to himself the situation and the responding good will and tender affection of the recipient. What sympathy does is to enable us to realize, whereas gratitude is the rend and the ability to present—the reason.

Feeling or sense of inferiority.—It has often been a question keenly debated, whether gratitude does or does not smug in a position of inferiority hurtful to his self-respect, and conse-

sequently, whether it should not be looked upon as a clinging and undesirable emotion. At any rate, in old Greek days, it was very much regarded in this light; and one of the reductio of the high-minded man (μεγαλεύοντος) of Aristotle is that, if he has to receive a favour, he hastens to pay it back with a greater, so as to escape from the disagreeable feeling of indebtedness.

'lt is his nature,' so we read (Rhet. Hoi. i. 2. 54 τ.), 'to confer benefits, but he is Sanchez to receive them; for the former is the part of a superior, the latter of a suitor. And, when he has received a benefit, he is apt to confer a greater in return; for thus his creditor will become his debtor, and he in the position of a recipient of his favour.' It is thought, moreover, that such men recognize those on whom they have conferred favours better than those from whom they have received them; for the recipient of a benefit is inferior to the benefactor, but such a man wishes to be in the position of a superior. So he is to be reminded of the one, but dislikes to be reminded of the other.

In like manner, Cicero, in the Latin world, discusses rather coldly on the topic of benefits—when they should be received, and how and in what manner they should be conferred. As might be expected, he views the matter from a shrewd, practical, common-sense standpoint, and indulges in sage counsel of the prudential stamp, delivered from the moralist's platform, without much lecturing and with little sympathetic interest (see de Officiis, l. 14-17). And even Seneca, in his de Beneficiis, does not get rid of this feeling of inferiority in the recipient—only by the process of stimulating, and suggestive though his treatise be.

Now, that 'giver' and 'receiver' indicate two different relationships cannot be denied. The situation is a delicate one as between recipient and bestower; it may, further, be allowed that 'it is more blessed to give than to receive.' But, when the gift takes the form of a personal grace, will, in which, therefore, the giver imparts himself, and when the responding gratitude in the recipient is the offer of his self in exchange (which even sincere 'thanks' always implies), there is no galling inferiority involved—certainly not such as would infringe on one's self-respect—but an exchange of love, generous and free, in so far as each self is given and each is accepted or received. Surely, if it is not derogatory to our dignity to learn of a person wiser or better than ourselves, it is not derogatory to our dignity to receive a benefit from one who is friendly to us and who has both the power and the will to confer it. As finite beings, we are naturally limited in our ability to supply our own needs; and, as such, human beings are bound to each other in mutual obligation from our birth to our death, nobody being excepted. Thus, for example, all need help, impose no derogatory inferiority on any. On the other hand, if the gift bestowed were accepted simply because of its extrinsic value—simply because, for example, it is a certain desirable sum of money—then disparaging inferiority would, indeed, be implied in gratitude (we have demeaned ourselves); but, inasmuch as the real origin of gratitude is to be found, not there, but in the gift of the giver's own self, it is altogether different. Hence, paying back the benefit or favour at the very earliest moment, so as to rid oneself of a distasteful obligation, becomes an irrelevant consideration here, and the thought that it vitiates, if it does not actually destroy, the noble emotion. The idea of paying back, so far as it really enters into the situation, is simply readiness on the part of the person benefited to braid the benefactor, should necessity arise: the rend and the ability to present—the reason.

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GREAT MOTHER.—See MOTHER OF THE GODS.

GREAT SYNAGOGUE.—See JUDAISM.

GREAT VEHICLE.—See MARIYAMA.

GREECE, GREEK RELIGION.

[This text discusses the religious and mythological traditions of ancient Greece, emphasizing the role of the goddesses and the influence of religion on society and culture.]

"Yet, feeling of dependence is only the other side of gratitude—the Creator giving Himself freely to the creature, and the creature responding to the significance of this by dedicating himself unreservedly to the Creator. Love craves for love, and rests in it when found."


WILLIAM L. DAVIDSON."
for the religious history of the 10th and 9th centuries B.C. in the Homeric poems, and of the 8th and 7th centuries in the poems of Hesiod and in the "Homer" hymns; it is less true of the great Lyric movement which followed upon that, when the greatest poets devoted themselves to the composition of songs for festal-religious occasions or to compositions for the dedication of temples or altars. Besides these, whose great names and fragments of whose great works survive, there was another less distinguished group of special "hymnic" poets, who composed hymns for the service of certain mystery-cults, and whose compositions were preserved as liturgical documents by the priestly families that administered them, such as the Sententious ethical-political poetry of the 8th cent. — the eloquence of Theognis and Solon — is instinct with religious emotion and reflection. And the greatest product of the poetic genius of Hellas — the tragic drama — is of a religious character in respect both of its origin and much of its subject-matter. Finally, the later learned poetry of the Ptolemaic period — the Cassandra of Lykophron, the hymns and other works of Callimachus, the Epic poem of Apollonius Rhodius — is full of antiquarian religious lore. At this period, our subject is more deeply indebted to the great prose-writers of Greece, the philosophers, historians, and orators: among the philosophers, especially to Plato, who more copiously than any of the rest devoted himself to the religious psychology and cult-phenomena of his period; among the historians, especially to Herodotus, who is the intellectual ancestor of the modern anthropologist and student of comparative religion, and whose presentation of the facts of history is coloured with religious conviction. The works of the Attic orators are of special value for our purpose, first because the classical orator was more apt than the modern to dilate on religious themes and appeal to religious sentiments, as religious ideas were so closely associated with political and social life; secondly, because we are more sure of the orator than we can be of the poet or philosophic writer that his words are attuned to the average pitch of popular belief and sentiment. It is true then that all the great fields of Greek literature make their several contributions to the material of our subject. And besides the works of the great masters, the student has to reckon with the secondary and parasitic work of the later school of such imitators, which is even more replete with the special information upon which the history of Greek religion can be built. The study of it is, in fact, almost coextensive with the study of Greek literature itself.

But amidst this profusion of material we must specially mark the works of those ancients who wrote direct treatises on the various religious phenomena — on the gods, the cult-practices, the theologic and mythologic systems of the Hellenic societies. The earliest of such works that have come down to us are the poems of Hesiod and the Homeric School — the Works and Days and the Theogony — while of parts of the "Homeric" hymns the special theme is the attributes and functions of the various deities. It was not till the period of scientific activity after Aristotle that definite treatises in prose on different departments of the national religion began to be rife. A chapter on sacrifice by Theophrastos is mainly preserved for us by Porphyry. The writers of "Atheids," or Attic history and antiquities, who belonged mostly to the 4th century, are in this field; Philochoros, the chief of them, wrote "On Festivals," "On Sacred Days," "On Divination," "On the Attic Mysteries"; Isteus, the slave and friend of Callimachus, on the "Manifestations of Apollo" and "On the Cretan sacrifices"; while the hymn of Kleitos was, if we may judge from the fragment that remains, occupied with the problems of religion and the circle we hear of other contributions to the history of Greek religion, such as the treatises of Herakleitos, probably the pupil of Aristotle, usually called "Poetics," on the "Offerings of Zeus and Apollo," and "On Oracles"; and a work by an unknown Sokrates of Kos on the important subject of "Inoculation-titles of the gods." Lastly may be mentioned here a treatise of Apollodoros, νταν ιδι, which, if it is to be identified with the author of the "Bibliotheca," was probably a learned account of the popular religion rather than a metaphysical inquiry.

Of nearly all this scientific post-Aristotelian literature only isolated fragments survive in quotations by later writers, lexicographers, and scholiasts, who were, no doubt, more deeply indebted to it than they always acknowledged; but it is some compensation for our loss that the work last mentioned, the "Bibliotheca" of Apollodoros, has been preserved — a rich storehouse of myth and folklore with some infusion of actual cult-record. Among the later writers the subject is introduced to the geographer Strabo for many incident details on cults and ritual, still more to the philosophic moralist and litterateur, Plutarch, a man of earnest religious feeling and some knowledge of original thought, who knew the religion of his country at first hand and at a time when it was yet alive, and who devoted it so much attention and some literary industry: hence we must rank high among our ancient authorities his "Questions Graeco" and his treatises "On the Pythian Oracle" and "On the Cession of Oracle." Again, much deutily but varied information is afforded by the compilers Athenaeus (in his "Deipnosophistae") and Stobaeus (in his "Florilegium"). But of higher value than all these, or, in fact, any work that has been bequeathed to us from antiquity, is the "Descriptio Graeciae" by Pausanias, composed about A.D. 180; for he travelled somewhat as a modern anthropologist, relying partly on earlier literature, yet using his own eyes and ears and his own notes. His ruling passion was the study of the folk-religion and the religious monuments; so that it is due mainly to him that we know something of the village-religion of Hellas as distinct from that of the great cities, and can frame working theories of the evolution of the mythologies, even in the monumental ages, of various growths of the polytheism. The lexicographers Harpokration, Hesychios, and Suidas contribute facts of value, especially in their citation of cult-appellatives, words belonging to the magic value of the special name or title whereby the deity was invoked, throw a revealing light on the significance and power of many a worship, and help to frame our conception of the complex character of many a divinity. Again, the various collections of scholia on the classical texts are a rich quarry for our reconstruction of the fabric of Hellenic religion. Of chief value among these are the scholia on Homer, Pindar, Eschylus, Euripides, Aristophanes, and Theocritus, while Servius’ Commentary on Virgil tells us even more about Greek cult and mythology than about Roman; and high in this class of our authorities we must rank a work of late Byzantine date, the commentary of Theodores of Lykophron’s poem "Cassandra," for his scholia are charged with remote antiquarian lore derived from good sources.

Finally, we gather much of the knowledge from the controversial treatises of the early Christian Fathers, written with propagandist zeal in the heat of their struggle against paganism. They reveal to us much of the religion that they strove
to overthrow by the exposure of its vileness and its absurdities. But their statements must be used with cautious criticism. Their knowledge was by no means always—on the contrary, very often—theirs alone, as a case in point, the case of Clement of Alexandria, converted priest, who wrote books in the Graeco-Roman style. Their statements, for instance, about the Greek mysteries are often vague and unconvincing, while in their desire to include them all in a general condemnation they confuse Anatolian rites with Eleusinian. And they are perversely blind to the often beautiful ritual, the noble ideas, and the higher moral elements in the older Mediterranean religions. Nevertheless, if we make due allowance for prejudice and exaggeration, works such as the Protomecetis of Clement, the treatises of Aratus or Democritus, the apocryphal works of Proclus and Symmachus, must be ranked among the primary sources of our history.

A special but very important chapter in the later history of Greek religion is the account of the growth and diffusion of the religions brotherhoods, especially the Eleusinian, in the Hellenistic period. For these we have something of direct historical evidence in the collection of the records of the Eleusinian mysteries. These have been damaged by the Hellenistic period, but still provide a wealth of information about the religious practices of an ancient period. They were engraved upon gold and silver in tombs of Crete and South Italy, and probably a product of the 8th century B.C.

The evidence from inscriptions is the most important literary source of the 7th century. The inscriptions, being dry State documents, do not reveal to us the heart of any mystery or the religious soul of the people, but rather the State organization and the exact minutiae of ritual and sacrifice from which we can reconstruct an image of the inward religious thought. And many a local cult of value for our total impression of Greek religion has been lost and is only preserved in these inscriptions. But the needs and aspirations of the private man are better attested by the private dedications attached to the votive dedications commemorating Divine benefits received.

Yet, amidst all this wealth of evidence, there seems one thing lacking: the text of Greek church service, which is comparatively little preserved. One or two hymns, and a few fragments of the religious history of the 7th century,—to which we may now add the important recent finds of the poems of Pindar; a strophe of an ancient hymn to Dionysus, sung by the Chorus of the Chorus of the Women, composed for the Delphic service; a newly discovered hymn of the Koresentes in Crete; a few formulae of prayers quoted or paraphrased by later writers—all this appears meager material when we compare it with the profusion of documents of the public and private religion that are streaming in from Babylonia.

But, in respect of another source of the history of religion, namely, the monuments of art, our Greek material is unique. For the greatest art of Hellenes was mainly religious, the greatest artists were working for the religious service of the State. And it is the surviving works of sculpture, painting, and architecture, both public and private, which are the most instructive and illuminating. The surviving religious sculpture and ritual unrecorded in literature, but also with an impression, hard to gain otherwise, of the religious consciousness of the people, and serve also as witnesses to the strength of the religious feeling. Therefore the study of Greek religion as much as the art and archeology as with the literature.

A summary sketch of so manifold a theme as that with which this article deals will be of more value if it can present the facts in some kind of chronological sequence. We may conveniently distinguish four periods: (1) the pre-historic period, beginning with the colonial expansion of Greece, and ending before the Persian invasion; (2) the period extending from 500 to 338 B.C., including the greatest century of Greek history; (3) the period from 338 to 300 B.C., beginning with the colonial expansion of Greece, and ending before the Persian invasion; (4) the Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman period. The chronology of these periods is established by the absence of any record of date for the institutions and diffusion of most of the cults, and for the growth of certain religious ideas, nor can we safely date a religious fact by the time of the individual who first mentions it: a detail of ritual, a myth, a religious concept attributed only by Pausanias or a late scholar, may descend from an age far anterior to the Homeric. A sketch of the most important literary and artistic works of each period as yet reach back to a period earlier than the beginning of the 7th century.

I. THE PRE-HISTORIC PERIOD.—For determining our view of Greek religion in the second millennium B.C., when Hellenism was in the making, the poems of Homer and Hesiod are of priceless value, if they are used with cautious and trained criticism. We depend mainly on the general indications of comparative religion and anthropology, which may sometimes guide us rightly in this matter, especially if the anthropological comparison is drawn from the more or less adjacent communities rather than from the Anti-Poles. We depend also on the evidence of the monuments of the Minoan-Mycenaean religion, revealing glimpses of the practices and faith of a people of high culture, whom no world would dare to call, at least in the earlier stages of their life, Hellenes, but from whom the earliest Hellenes doubtless adopted much into their own religion.

1. Sketch of Homeric religion.—The poems of Homer present us with an advanced polytheism, a system in which the divinities are already correlated in some sort of hierarchy, and organised as a divine family under a supreme god. These divinities are not the mere daimones or naiads, such as were in the main the old deities of Rome, vague and dimly-outlined forces, animate yet scarcely personal; but rather concrete and individual beings of robust and sharply-defined personality, not spirit but immortal beings of superhuman substance and soul, conceived in the glorified image of man. The same thoughts are dominant in the poems, plasticly shaping the figures of all the divinities, except occasionally some of the lower gods, such as the river-god Simias. Even such the vague group of nymphs, female daimones of the hill and the mountain, while lacking individual characteristic, bear the anthropomorphistic name, 'Brides' or 'Young Women,' which is the root-meaning of νύμφης. Though the gods and goddesses
are shape-shifters, and may manifest or disguise themselves in the form of any animal—birds by choice,—yet their abiding type is human; nor has Homer any clear remembrance of a 'cow-faced' Hera. A father of children at least Hera βοών was Hera 'of the large ox-eyes,' and Athene γαστόν is the goddess 'of the flashing eyes.' And his divinities are moralized beyond the human passions, as well as the artistic emotions. The highest among them are not imagined as Nature-powers, bound up with or immanent in the forces and depictions of the natural world, for such a description applies only to his wind-gods, and nymphs and gods of river and sea; also, though more loosely, to his Helios, the god of the sun; so being, in fact, that count little in his religious world. It scarcely applies to Poseidon, though his province is the sea; it does not describe at all his mode of imagining and presenting Apollo, Hera, Athena, Hermes, and others.

There is no hint that these divinities were conceived by him as Nature-powers, or as evolved from any part of the natural world. The great god Zeus, though specially responsible for the atmospheric and celestial phenomena, is not identified with the thunder or even with the sky, though a few phrases may recall the primitive animistic conception of the divine Sky. His religious world, in short, is morphologically neither a system of polytheism nor one of pantheism in which a divine force is regarded as universal and immanent in the world of things, but is constructed on the lines of personal theism.

Again, in spite of one or two frivolous and licentious passages, the religious tone is serious, and in many important respects accords with an advanced morality. The deity, though jealous and revengeful, is at the same time compassionate and earnestly solicitous for the good of man; his displeasure is aroused by those who scorn the voice of prayer, who injure the suppliant, the guest, or even the dead guest; besides, the term 'Olympians,' who are general guardians of the right, there loom the dark powers of the lower world, who are specially concerned with the sanctity of the oath. Much also of the religious reflexion in the poems strikes us as mature and advanced: notably that passage at the beginning of the sixth book of the Iliad, that it is nourished by the gods who bring evil to men, but that it is the wickedness of their own hearts that is the cause of all their evils.

Finally, the Homeric ritual appears as on the higher level of theism. We can detect in it no trace of savagery, and but little contamination of religion with magic. The sacrifice is more than a mere rite; it is a friendly communion with the divinity; and the service is solemn and beautiful with hymns and dances. The cult is furnished with altar and occasionally with temple and priesthood, but not yet, as a rule, with the idol, though this is beginning to appear.

This slight sketch of the Homeric theology is presented here in the belief that the Homeric poems enable us to catch some glimmer of the religion of the centuries preceding the first millennium. This belief is based on the conviction that the poems represent a Greek society existing near the date 1000 B.C. It is, of course, opposed to the view still maintained by some scholars that they are in the words of a much later period, and that the religion which they enshrine may be such as was in vogue in Attica about the epoch of Peisistratos. But the evidence of Homer itself, above all in his earlyote 1 to this theory, and still more so are the arguments that may be drawn from the history of Greek religion; for, at the period of Peisistratos, certain religious forces were rife, and certain religious phenomena prominent, about which Homer is entirely silent.

Still less reasonable is it to imagine that Homer constructs a religious world out of his own brain. We must suppose that his religious world is and remains a social and contemporary. Only we must guard ourselves against the serious error of supposing that he reflects the whole. Much is, doubtless, missing in his account, which we may be able to supply from Herodot and other sources by means of reasonable hypotheses.

The assumption is then, that the Homeric poems present us with a partial picture of the religion that prevailed among some of the leading Greek communities before the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnesian and the Ionian colonization of Asia Minor.

2. Pre-Homeric period of religion. —Now, when we consider how slow of growth and enduring are the forms and the moral and metaphysical concepts of religion, we have the right to believe that part of what Homer records on these matters is the inherited tradition of an age some centuries earlier than his own. It is probable that those earliest Aryan immigrants from the north—Achaeans, Doryopes, Minyans, and others—who by mingling with peoples of aboriginal Medes and of the Minoan-Mycenaean culture, constituted the happy blend that we call the Hellenic race, had already arrived at the stage of personal theism, and that Hellenic religion proper does not start with a 'godless period,' when the unseen powers were only dimly outlined in the vaguer and more interesting characters of what is called 'magic.' We now know, from the valuable discovery of a cuneiform inscription, that the Iranian people had evolved such personal deities as Mithras and Varuna before 1400 B.C. 2 And we have the right to suppose that their Western kinsfolk, who were forcing their way through the Balkans, perhaps only a century earlier, were at least at the same level of religious imagination. We can best understand the picture of the religious world of Homer, and also the later cult-records, if we believe that the kindred tribes coming from the north brought in certain personal deities, some of whom were common to more than one stock, and one at least may have been common to them all. This would best explain the supremacy of Zeus, the Sky-god, and the fact that the god of Heliopolis, derived from the mountain that dominates the northern frontier, near to which the people who were to lead the history of Greece had at one time temporary settlements, and which they regarded as the throne of their high god. The wide geographical area of his cult cannot be naturally explained on the assumption that at any period in Hellenic history he had been merely the special deity of one particular tribe. And, as regards two other high gods at least, Apollo and Poseidon, we may be reasonably sure that, already in the pre-Homeric period, certain tribes other than the Achaeans had these cult-figures; in the Hyperborean ritual, which reflects at points the earliest days of Hellenism, we can follow the track of Apollo's invasion from the north; and the evidence is fairly clear that Poseidon was equally a northern immigrant, being the special tribal deity of the Minyai.

We must not then apply to the pre-Homeric period of Greek religion the formula 'one tribe, one god,' but must realize that religion already surmounted in some degree the tribal barriers; for, though the spirit of tribal exclusiveness was strong throughout the earlier periods of

this polytheism, certain families and certain tribes having the special prerogative of certain gods and jealously excluding strangers, yet the fact of the common possession of the worship by various tribes contained the germ of religious expansive-ness. Moreover, at some age indefinitely earlier than the Homeric, the conception of the high god had expanded both mentally and ethically: the deities of the special possession of worship by various tribes was probably of divine personalities; and the student of Hellenic religion must often abandon temporarily the quest of origins in his investigation of the composite whole.

4. Proto-Hellenic period.—The very high development of this Mediterranean civilization from which Hellenism drew so much of its own life is evident both mentally and ethically. To the Hellenic world, and it is likely that Hades was only an emanation from him. We may also regard the Hellenic deities, *Zeus* and *Hera*, as a conventional and crystallized phrase descending from an older poetic tradition, and we are justified in interpreting it as a phrase belonging to the higher plane of things.

We must also suppose that the anthropomorphic view of the personal deity of which Homer is so attractive a spokesman, had asserted itself in the period before his. Unlike the early Roman, the early Hellenic divinities could be regarded as married, and ideas derived from the life of the family could be applied to them, although we can often discern that many of the myths concerning divine relationships—the sisterhood of Artemis to Apollo, for instance—do not belong to the earliest Hellenic episode. Another sacred centre of the family life in the pre-Homeric society was doubtless the hearth and the heartstone in the middle of the hall; there are allusions to its sanctity in the Homeric poems, and the cult-records attest the great antiquity of this religious fact; although the development of the personal goddess *Hestia* can be traced back to the earliest period—the worship, for instance, of *Zeus* and *Hera*, the god of the earth, and *Hestia* in the courtyard of the old *Aryan* house the kinmen gathered for worship. Another sacred centre of the family life in the pre-Homeric society was doubtless the hearth and the heartstone in the middle of the hall; there are allusions to its sanctity in the Homeric poems, and the cult-records attest the great antiquity of this religious fact; although the development of the personal goddess *Hestia* can be traced back to the earliest period—

3. Minoan-Mycenaean religion.—But any account of the Hellenic polytheism of the second millennium demands a critical study of the Minoan-Mycenaean religion as well, and, before we can decide what part of the Homeric and later systems belongs to the aboriginal Aryan-Hellenic tradition, we must know what the northeners found in the lands that they conquered or occupied. We know now that they found in many centres a culture superior to their own and a religion of the acinum *Zeus* and *Hera*. The Hellenic tribes, on the other hand, were on the move, and we may surmise for it a religious origin, where its name—such as *Aphrodite*, *Demeter*, *Athena*, etc., perhaps *Mycene*—is derived from the personal name or the shrine of some divinity. In these cases the temple must have been the nucleus around which grew up the secular institutions; and the deity of the temple would become supreme in the political religion. Athens had won this position at Athens and probably elsewhere in the immemorial pre-Homeric past; and this explains her character in the Homeric poems as the divinity who more than all others inspires political wisdom and counsel. Various indications point, in fact, to the belief that the earliest developments of the city-state's worship was bound up with the cults of *Zeus* and *Athena*; for no other divinity was ever styled *Polemos* or *Pallas* by any Greek State; and this agrees mainly with the presentation of the Homeric poems and the early epic tradition.

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and marking probably the Hellenization of Attica. The singular features of the ritual and the association, preserved in its legend, of Attica with Crete indicates a high antiquity, when agriculture was the chief basis of the political as well as the religious life.

We may believe that other cults besides the two just named played a part in the political growth of the pre-Homeric world. The market-place, the cradle of political oratory, had become sacred ground, as Homer himself attests; and this consecration was probably marked by the presence of some εγκυμον, a sacred stone of Hermes, for instance. Apollo, also, had early divested himself of the aboriginal character of the god of the wood and of the homeless migratory host, had become a builder of cities, and had established himself in the city's streets with a change in the meaning of his title Αἴων, once an appellation of the Way-god who guided the host through the wild, now of the deity who guarded the ways of the city; and already, before Homer, his shrines at Pytho was beginning to acquire wealth and political importance as an oracular centre of consultation.

5. Earliest ethical religion.—The theistic system had been turned to good account in other directions than the political, before it appeared on the canvas of Homer. The whole morality of early social life had been nurtured and protected by it; for we may regard the ethical religion of Homer—unless we regard him as a man or as a group of men to whom a special revelation had been made—must reflect in some degree a tradition that had grown up around him. Witness then that current conceptions about the gods had ceased to be inspired merely by fear; a milder sentiment had come to infuse religious thought; the deity was regarded not only as the preserver of the gods but as a being to whom vengeance, but as loving mercy and compassion, and a protector of the weak and destitute. The cult of Zeus Εἴδωλος, the guardian of the stranger and the wanderer, had already arisen; and the sanctity of the oath taken in the name of the deities of the upper and the lower world was the basis of much private and communal morality.

6. Art and as aspect of religion.—Other parts of the higher activity of man had been consecrated by the polytheism of which Homer inherits and develops. The closest imagination of the Hellenes appears to have perceived a daemoniac potency—a σέμα—of religious in the art of the Greek and the charioteer, who must have belonged to the Homer popular theism. The latter group had grown up at the Boeotian Orchomenos, an old centre of the Mycenaean culture. It may be that at one time they had no other than the purely physical significance of vegetation-powers; but we understand their value for Homer only if we suppose that before his time they had come to be associated with the arts and the delight of human life. We discern also that the higher deities, Apollo and Athena, though by no means merely functional or departmental powers, had acquired the special patronage of song and art.

7. Proto-Hellenic ritual.—It seems, then, that even in the earliest period the polytheism was no longer on the most primitive plane; and we gather the same impression from what is revealed to us of the earliest forms of Greek ritual. The Homeric and Hesiodic poems are full of information concerning the religious service with which the poets were familiar; what they tell us then apply for the period of the 11th to the 8th century. But ritual takes long to develop, and, once fixed, is the most abiding element in religion. It is not too bold then to take the Homeric account as vouching for a tradition that goes back at least to the later centuries of the second millennium. The sacred place of worship might be a natural cave, or a ναός, a fenced cleft in a grove containing the sacred tree or holy pillar or heap of stones, whence gradually an artificial altar might be evolved. The latter had become, some time before Homer, the usual receptacle of sacrifice, and was a prominent feature in the Minoan-Mycenaean religion, which usually associated it with a sacred tree or pillar, or the sacred tree or the deity's presence or a magnet for attracting it, but not with any iconic statue or idol. Theistic religion could content itself with such equipment, but, if the anthropomorphic instinct is strong in it, it prompts the construction of the temple or the house of God. And temples must have been found in the land in the pre-Homeric period; the few that have as yet been revealed in the area of Minoan-Mycenaean culture were built, with one exception, within the royal palaces, and must be regarded as domestic chapels of the king, marking his sacred character as head of the religion of the State, the character with which the legends invest Minos and king Aiakes. The earliest that have been excavated are the temples of Hera at Argos and Olympia, and these are now dated not earlier than the 9th cent. B.C. But the traditions of the earliest period, that of Deukalion and of that of Athens on the Athenian Akropolis suggest a greater antiquity than this.

With the multiplication of temples special priesthoods must also have marked the professional priest had already arisen in pre-Homeric times; Homer knows of the brotherhood called the Ζευσίδαι, who tended the oracular oak of Zeus at Dodona, who slept on the grove and washed their feet; and he mentions others who were attached to special deities, and two of these at least administered cults without a temple, the priest of Zeus of Mount Ida 8 and the priest of the river Skamandros, 9 of each of whom he says: 'he was honoured like a god among the people.' These words suggest a high and sacred position. Yet these two priests are also warriors fighting in the ranks, which is the mark of a secular priesthood; and there is no legend or any hint of evidence suggesting that a profession endowed a political and social power in the pre-historic, that we know was never achieved by them in the historic, period of Greece. The evolution of many of the earliest Hellenic institutions evidence is almost wholly lacking. But on general comparative grounds we can surmise that the religious character of the monarchy was most prominent in the earliest times; and that, as its secular power and functions developed, the priest-expert was attached to the συνέδρια to assist in the national cults, over which he retained a general supervision. We have a scarcely a hint, either in the earlier or in the later days of Greece, of any conflict between Church and State; we know that at least historic Greece escaped asceticism; and its earliest societies, whatever their danger or their struggles may have been, had escaped it by the days of Homer. 9 Bearing on this point is the other negative fact that for this earliest age we have little or no evidence of the prevalence of what is called 'shamanism,' divine seers, ecstatic outbursts of wild prophecying, by which a society can be terrified and captured. The professional ψευδός, the prophet or soothsayer, existed as distinct from the priest; but his methods generally—as far as

1 At Gournia (see Huxley, Crete the Forerunner of Greece, London, 1906, p. 103 f.).
2 Ημ., v. 126.
3 He is aware, however, that a δοσολογία, an oracle mandate, might be delivered against the royal house (Il., ii. 280).
4 Ημ., v. 77.
our earliest witness informs us—were cool and quasi-scientific.  

The ritual at the altar in the early period, with which we are at present dealing, consisted of an oblation to the deity of an animal victim or an offering of fruits and cereals; the sacrifice might be accompanied with wine or might be wineless—

a sacrificial meal in which the victim was consumed, the latter being perhaps the more ancient tradition.  

We may interpret the earliest form of Hellenic animal-sacrifice as in some sense a simple tribal or family communion-meal with the deity, whereby the sense of comradeship and clan-feeling between man and god was strengthened and nourished. This is the view that Homer has inherited and it endures throughout the later history of the ritual; it expresses the general genial temper of Hellenic religion—a trait which Robertson Smith marked as characteristic of other religions of the same social type.  

Similarly, the description given us by Theophrastos and Pausanias of the ancient ritual of Zeus Polies on the Athenian Acropolis reveals to us a typical example of the civic communion feast.  

Such a sacrifice is merely a transition into the divine circle of the practice of the common feast of the city. But we can also discern a mystic element in the Hellenic ritual text, which is evidently based on a tradition indefinitely older than the poems: the sacrificer is separated from the rest of the assembly; the entrails are the innermost part of the life which has been consecrated by the victim. He is justified in supposing that the object of this solemn act was to establish the real and corporeal communion of the worshippers with the divinity.  

Similarly the site that lies deep beneath which is well attested of the later ages between the “chthonian” and the “Olympian” ritual—to use these two conventional terms for convenience—was almost in the but it is period of the polytheism. In the first type of sacrifice, where the offering was made to the other divinities, the victim’s head was held down above a hole in the ground—a βίβλος—and the blood from the severed throat was shed into it. In the second, where the upper powers, whose realm is the air or the sky, were the recipients, the victim was held up erect off the ground, his face lifted towards the sky, and in this attitude his throat was cut. Homer shows himself aware of this form of sacrifice; and that the other, the chthonian, was also in vogue in his time is to be inferred from his account of the ritual performed by Odysseus in honour of the shades, where he mentions the βίβλος, the sacrifice of black sheep, and the triple libation of honey, wine, and water.  

For the ritual of the dead in the Greek religious tradition was closely modelled on the service of the other divinities. The triple libation is known to have been part of Minoan-Cretan cult, as the available finds in the cave of Mount Diktae attest.  

And a shrine with a βίβλος in the middle of the cella has been found at Priene in Crete, consecrated to a chthonian goddess, the foundation of which is ascribed to the 9th century B.C.  

From these indications and from the great prevalence attested by later records of chthonian cults in which we can discern features of great antiquity, we can safely say that the earliest period of Greek religion was not wholly characterized by

the brightness of ritual and geniality of religious feeling that appear on the surface of Homeric poetry. Homer himself was aware of the dark world of powers who had lost their way and punished sinners even after death. Long before his time, we may suppose, gloomy worship, such as that of the θεός Μαλκύς described by Pausanias,  

at Myrina in Lycia, of which the sacrifices were performed by night, was in vogue in parts of Greece. Mother Earth, prophesying through phantoms, dreams, had been of ancient age at Delphi and elsewhere, and that was long before Homer’s work began.  

There are strong reasons also for believing that the cult of hermonin, who was a part of the pre-Homeric religion, as it was a prominent part of the post-Homeric. The elaborate tendencies of the dead attested of the Mycenean period by the graves discovered at Tiryns and Mycenae might easily develop into actual worship, when it was maintained through many generations, as it was at Megiddo in Asia. Doubtless, the common and promiscuous worship of the dead was a morbid development of the later polytheism. But Homer, who is generally silent about such cults, and, in a well-known passage about that of the Taini-Brothers,  

seems to ignore deliberately their divine or semi-divine character, almost reveals his knowledge of the worship of Hero,  

and certainly was aware of the Attic cult of Theban Polytheism that refers to it is the work of an interpolator.  

It is a difficult question how we are to estimate and how far the Hellenic ritual has been modified on this important point of religion. Even if we trust it so far as to say that the Acheans at least practised no real worship of the dead, it yet remains probable that it is at Sparta, especially, and there in the lands in which they settled (see θέατος Σερβόσκειος Καρν).  

It is important to emphasize this gloomier side of Greek religion; it is not accidental to exaggerate it, as has been the tendency of some modern writers in a pardonable revolt against the old shallow theories of orthodox criticism. We have reason to suppose that at no period of his history the ordinary Hellene was ever known as a ghost-ridden, worried and dismayed by demoniac terrors, or by morbid anxiety about the world or his destiny after death; at least he will not appear so, when we compare his religious and mythological records with those of Babylon, Egypt, and Chris tandem.  

For we are assured that the pre-historic Hellene was weaker-minded and more timid in such matters than the later. He may even have been stronger-minded, and at least as willing to eat a sacrificial meal in company with the θεός Μαλκύς or with the nether-Zeus or the nether-Earth-Mother and with his departed family-spirits as were his descendants at Sparta, Myconos, and many other places.  

The earliest myths have little of the gothic element. Homer, indeed, himself was cognizant of the form of terror as a black stench capable of turning a man into ants or worms,  

and the ancient folklore of Argolis was aware of a bad spirit, called a μάρτυρ, that once ravaged its homes.  

The early popular imagination was sure to have inherited or to have evolved such creations of fear; and a black earth-goddess with a horse’s head and snake-locks who lived in a dark cave at Phigaleia, or the nether-Zeus who, in the Mycenean period, was a sufficiently terrifying personality.
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But, happily for the Greek imagination, the divinities of the world of death, abiding below the earth, tended to take on the benign functions of the powers of vegetation. In the world of the lower gods, man is called by the ill-omened name of Hades in cult, but Plouton or Trophonios or Zeus Chthonios—names implying beneficence; for the Hellenic god, in his lower aspect, is Demeter, the goddess of the vine, and the sickle, the green leaves of the corn, and the sacri-

fice, the driving out of the scapgoat, blood-magic for controlling winds or finding water—no reasonable critic will call all these things post-Homeric because they may not be mentioned in Homer, or suppose that the pure-minded Hellenes were seduced into borrowing them from the Orientals, or that they were spontaneous products of a later degenerate age. The view taken of them by those who have in recent times applied comparative anthropology to the study of Hellenism is the only one that is possible on the whole: these things are a surviving tradition of a mode of religious thought and feeling proper to the aboriginal ancestors of the Hellenic race, or immortal indigenous products of the soil upon which that race grew up. There is no cataclysm in the religious history of Greece, no violent break with its past, no destruction of such certain forms of the Eleusinia may have been that of a secret society organized for agrarian purposes. At any rate, there is no proof that the primitive mind of the Hellenic brooded much on the problem of death, or was at all possessed with morbid feeling about it; and in pre-Homeric times he must have been freer from care in this matter than he was in the later centuries, if we accept the view of certain scholars that the elaborate ritual of ἄθλος, or purification, which was mainly dependent on the life of the Hesiodic society, of which Homer is supposed to be the spokesman, had some of the cathartic rules and superstitions that are found broadcast in later Greece. It may not have elaborated or laid marked stress on them; it may have had no strong sense of the impurity of homicide, nor devised any special code for its expiation. But, if it was esteemed vital, any instinctive feeling for the impurity of birth and death, and for the danger of the ἀθάνατον arising from certain acts and states, it was almost unique among the races of man. Only, a progressive people does not overstrain such feelings.

Cruder religious conceptions in the earliest period.—So far, the religious phenomena discoverable with certainty in the earliest period of Greek history indicate a theistic system of a somewhat advanced type. But doubtless we must reckon with the presence of much else that was cruder and more savage. When we find in the later records ample evidence of the lower products of the religious imagination—the products of an animalism, a polytheism, or polydaimonism; more inarticulate and uncouth embodiments of the concept of divinity; or darker and more cruel ritual than that which Homer describes as the sacrificial dance of the Dactyls; the driving out of the scapegoat, blood-magic for controlling winds or finding water—no reasonable critic will call all these things post-Homeric because they may not be mentioned in Homer, or suppose that the pure-minded Hellenes were seduced into borrowing them from the Orientals, or that they were spontaneous products of a later degenerate age. The view taken of them by those who have in recent times applied comparative anthropology to the study of Hellenism is the only one that is possible on the whole: these things are a surviving tradition of a mode of religious thought and feeling proper to the aboriginal ancestors of the Hellenic race, or immortal indigenous products of the soil upon which that race grew up. There is no cataclysm in the religious history of Greece, no violent break with its past, no destruction of such certain forms of the Eleusinia may have been that of a secret society organized for agrarian purposes. At any rate, there is no proof that the primitive mind of the Hellenic brooded much on the problem of death, or was at all possessed with morbid feeling about it; and in pre-Homeric times he must have been freer from care in this matter than he was in the later centuries, if we accept the view of certain scholars that the elaborate ritual of ἄθλος, or purification, which was mainly dependent on the life of the Hesiodic society, of which Homer is supposed to be the spokesman, had some of the cathartic rules and superstitions that are found broadcast in later Greece. It may not have elaborated or laid marked stress on them; it may have had no strong sense of the impurity of homicide, nor devised any special code for its expiation. But, if it was esteemed vital, any instinctive feeling for the impurity of birth and death, and for the danger of the ἀθάνατον arising from certain acts and states, it was almost unique among the races of man. Only, a progressive people does not overstrain such feelings. When we find in the later records ample evidence of the lower products of the religious imagination—the products of an animalism, a polytheism, or polydaimonism; more inarticulate and uncouth embodiments of the concept of divinity; or darker and more cruel ritual than that which Homer describes as the sacrificial dance of the Dactyls; the driving out of the scapegoat, blood-magic for controlling winds or finding water—no reasonable critic will call all these things post-Homeric because they may not be mentioned in Homer, or suppose that the pure-minded Hellenes were seduced into borrowing them from the Orientals, or that they were spontaneous products of a later degenerate age. The view taken of them by those who have in recent times applied comparative anthropology to the study of Hellenism is the only one that is possible on the whole: these things are a surviving tradition of a mode of religious thought and feeling proper to the aboriginal ancestors of the Hellenic race, or immortal indigenous products of the soil upon which that race grew up. There is no cataclysm in the religious history of Greece, no violent break with its past, no destruction of such certain forms of the Eleusinia may have been that of a secret society organized for agrarian purposes. At any rate, there is no proof that the primitive mind of the Hellenic brooded much on the problem of death, or was at all possessed with morbid feeling about it; and in pre-Homeric times he must have been freer from care in this matter than he was in the later centuries, if we accept the view of certain scholars that the elaborate ritual of ἄθλος, or purification, which was mainly dependent on the life of the Hesiodic society, of which Homer is supposed to be the spokesman, had some of the cathartic rules and superstitions that are found broadcast in later Greece. It may not have elaborated or laid marked stress on them; it may have had no strong sense of the impurity of homicide, nor devised any special code for its expiation. But, if it was esteemed vital, any instinctive feeling for the impurity of birth and death, and for the danger of the ἀθάνατον arising from certain acts and states, it was almost unique among the races of man. Only, a progressive people does not overstrain such feelings.


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in a treatise on the subject by De Waele. Later Arcadia was full of the products and of the tradition of this early mode of religious imagination; besides the herds which Demeter at Phigaleia, we hear of the worship at the same place of a goddess called Eurynome, represented as half-woman, half-goat, and bringing the animals belonging to it.  The Roman period have been found at Lykosoura in Arcadia, apparently representations of divinities partly theriomorphic. The first mythologists who dealt with the primitive forms of Hellenic religion interpreted this special set of phenomena in the light of totemism; but progressive students have now abandoned the totemistic hypothesis on the ground that there is little or no trace of totemism in any Greek or any Aryan society, and that theriocracy, or the direct worship of animals, needs no such explanation. Also, as recently pointed out elsewhere, the theriomorphic concept of divinity can, and frequently does, coexist at certain periods and in certain peoples with the anthropomorphic; nor can we say with assurance that in the mental history of our race the former is prior to the latter, or that generally the anthropomorphic was evolved from the totem-god.

II. Functional deities; polydaimonism. In attempting to penetrate the pre-Homeric past, we have to reckon with new phenomena, which, though revealed in later records only, has certainly a primitive character, and has been regarded as belonging to an age when the concept of definite personal divinities did not yet exist. It was Usener who first called attention to a large number of local cults of personages unknown to myth or general literature, and designates what are called proper names, such as Hermes, Apollo, Zeus, but by transparently adjective names, expressing a particular quality or function or activity, to which the essence of the divine power in each case was limited; such, for instance, are Βυχτίς, Βυχτίαιος ἱππος, Κοντις, Κένος, being nothing more than 'the hero of the ploughshare.' In Arcadia, the 'tree who strikes the beans grow' on the sacred way to Eleusis, 'the hero who gives the good return of corn' at Tanagra, for these he invented the term Σωμοφόρης, meaning a dweller of a single function only, and for them to whom only a momentary function, and therefore only a momentary existence, seemed to appertain, he applied the term Αμελλής, 'momentary gods'; an example of this type might be Μέγας, 'fly-chaser,' in Arcadia and Elis, who at the sacrifices to Athena or Zeus was called upon to chase away the flies that would worry the sacrificers, and who existed only for the purpose and at the time of that call. We may compare also for vagueness and inchoateness of personality certain agglomerates of deities having no definite single existence, but grouped by some adjective functional name, such as θει Ἀμφίπορος, 'the deities that aver evil,' at Sikyon; θει Παννοής, the goddess of birth in Attica; the θεοί Πανάρχης, the goddess of just quittal, at Halirrhothia. Such forms seem to hover on the confines of polydaimonism, and to be the products of an embryonic perception of divinity, cruder and dimmer than the robust and bright creations of the Homeric period, to which so rich a mythology and so manifold a personality attached. Another fact seems to fall into line with these: in some cult-centres the deity, though personally and

anthropomorphically conceived, might only be designated by some vague descriptive title like θεί and θει, as occasionally at Eleusis; or θεσμος, 'the Mist,' the goddess at Phigaleia, or Παρθένος, 'the Virgin,' on the coast of Caria, and in the Chersonese: even as late as the time of Panormus the islanders called their highest god by any other name than θει Ειρησ, 'the Greatest.' And it has been thought that the well-known statement of Herodotus, that the Pelasgians had no names for their divinities, was based on some such facts as these.

The importance of these phenomena would be all the greater if Usener's theory were true, that they represent the crude material out of which much of Greek polytheism has grown. But in any case they claim mention here, because they are the products of a mental operation or instinct which must have been active in the earliest period of Hellenic religion.

12. Animism or Animatism. In another set of facts, also attested by later researches, we may discern the surviving tradition of an animistic period. A large part of the Hellenic as of other religions reflects man's relation and feeling towards the world of Nature, his dependence on the fruits of the earth, the winds, the waters, and the phenomena of the sky. The trend of the higher polytheism in the Hellenic world was to set divinities above and outside these things, which he or she directs as an intellectual will-power. But we have sufficient evidence of another point of view, which is the origin of this primitive animistic belief, from which the deity is imagined as essentially immanent in the thing, not as a distinct personality emerging from it. The Arcadians who worshipped Zeus Kwonos, or Zeus Arkeos, at Mantinea, or the people at Gythion in Laconia, who called a sacred meteoric stone Zeus Karavis, or the fallen Zeus, or the Athenians who worshipped Demeter Xidhe, 'Demeter Green Verdure,' reveal in these strange titles an attitude of mind that is midway between Animism, that religious perception of each object as the essence of a phenomenon in Nature as in itself mysteriously alive and divine, and 'Theism,' which imagines it controlled by a personal deity. At the stage when Demeter could be named and personified, when the idea of 'Verdure,' the anthropomorphic conception of divinity, though certainly existing, was not yet stable. But there are other cult-facts reported to us of a still cruder type that seem to reveal Animism pure and simple and the infancy of the Hellenic mind. The Arcadians, always the most conservatis and backward among the Hellenes, in their colony of Trapezus 'offered sacrifice to the lightning and thunder and storms'; it seems that for them those things were animate and alive directly, just as the Air—Bos—was for the Macedonians. Again, through all the periods of Hellenic religion, the worship of rivers and springs only as certain points approached the borders of Theism; sometimes offerings were flung directly into the water, and prayer might be made 'into the water'—we must not say 'to the river-god,' but to the divine water.
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We discern these two different ways of imagining divinity in the worship and ideas attaching to Ἴδως, 'Sun,' and Ἑρως, 'Hearth.' As regards the former, we have reason to suppose that his religious prestige was higher in the Homeric than in the later age, and that the exalted position as a great political and cultured god which he enjoyed in the later history of Rhodes was a heritage from the Minoan religious tradition. In Homer's poems we find him personal and anthropomorphized; but we may well doubt if he was so far for the average worshipper as to kiss his hands to him every morning, or bowed to him on coming forth from his house, and who, regarding him mainly as animate or 'Living Sun,' found it difficult to develop him into a free and complex individual person.

As regards Hestia the facts are still clearer. In her worship, which belonged to the aboriginal period of Greek religion, she was at first, and in the main continued to be, nothing more than 'Holy Hearth,' the Hearth felt as animate; nor was the attempt to anthropomorphize her into a free personal goddess ever wholly successful, for reasons that will be considered later (p. 404).

Magic.—Now, that which is here called 'animate religions,' the religious feeling which may inspire gods, but is more liable than pure theism to be associated with magic; and it is reasonable to believe that magic was in vogue in prehistoric Hellas. It was in antitype and counterpart to religion, but practised for purposes of the community as well as for private ends. It is true that the records which tell us about things are all of a period much later than Homer's, and that he is almost silent about such matters. But we know now how to appreciate Homer's silences, and remember that Homer himself kissed his hands to him every morning before he went to bed. The Homeric poems show no consciousness of the existence of the ritual of magic in the Greek world of the period; and it has been argued on this ground that the Achaean society of which they are the record believed that some of those records reveal facts of immemorial antiquity in Greece. The Thesmophoria, one of the most ancient of the Hellenic ceremonies, was partly mystical; that is, it included rites that had a direct efficacy, apart from the appeal to any divinity—such as the strewing of the fields with the decaying remains of the pigs that had been consecrated to the earth-goddesses and thrown down into their vaults. So also in the Thesmophoria of Athens and other Greek communities, the ceremony was higher in the pre-Homeric stage, and the ritualistic whipping and transference of sin belong to the domain of magic rather than to religion.

We may also deal with the elements in the titles of officials at Athens called the Ἑλέαστρατος, and of those at Corinth called Ἀρμαραστρατος, both words denoting 'wind-drivers,' 'those who charged the winds to sleep.' In fact, the description of the rite performed by the magicians at Kleoëna, as according to Clement, averted the sky's wrath by incantations and sacrifices; or in Pausanias' account of the operations of the priest of the winds at Tityne in Sikelon, who endeavoured to assuage the tempests by singing over them the spells that Medes used. Doubtless these officials were only maintaining the practices of an indefinitely remote past, such as are also reflected in legend of the ancient Salmoneans, of the Thessalian and possibly Minyan origin, who drove about in a chariot imitating thunder and, while thus preternatural to the weather-magic, they are not much later than Homer. Whether these figures were to have pets also to have practiced harmless magic (II. 21. 740); and the poet may have regarded the Muses' epithets as the special home of magic (see Od. H. 329). 10 See Od. v. 835-355; and of, as Ekalos (Greek).

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general grounds for believing that it was a feature of the earliest Greek religion are confirmed by some special evidence derivable from the legends and cult-records. It is generally impossible to date the birth of a myth, but some can be discerned to belong to an earlier stratum than others: such are the legends concerning the human sacrifice to Zeus Lykos in Arcadia, to which is attached the story of King Lykos and the banquet he offers to Zeus on the flesh of his own son; the Achaeans or Minyan story of the sacrifice to Zeus Lykos of the king's son of the house of Athamas; Lykooe's sacrifice of pilgrims and the dedication of their skulls to Apollo on the Hyperborean pilgrims way at the Achaeans' Pagastai; the sacrifice of a boy and a maiden to Artemis Telesphoros by the Ionians on the southern shore of the gulf of Corinth. A careful study of the legends of these various rites will convince one that they belong to the earliest period of Greek religion. The last example is specially illuminating: the human sacrifice is here practised by the Ionians in their ancient settlements in the land afterwards called Aegais; and its cessation is connected with the arrival of the cult of Dionysos and the return of the Bacchantes. The purpose and significance of the rite differed probably in the different cult-centres. In most cases we may infer it as circular, the dedication to an offended deity of a valued life, the life of a king's son or daughter, as a substitute for the life of the people, such vicarious sacrifices being a common human institution; in a few cases we may discern an agricultural motive, the blood being shed as a magic charm to secure fertility; finally, in the ritual of Zeus Lykos we may detect a man sacrifice, in which the fresh flesh of the victim, whose life was mystically one with the god's and the people's, was sacramentally devoured. This ghastly practice is only doubtfully disclosed by legends and by interpretation of later records; a faint reminiscence of it may also have survived in the Argive story of Harpylyke and Klymenos. But a closer parallel to it will be noted in the Thracian Dionysian ritual. 

Summary account of the first period. - A detailed account of the pre-Homeric religions age must at many points remain doubtful and conjectural; but certain definite and important facts may be established. Anthropomorphism, in a degree not found in the earliest recorded religion, was already prevalent, even dominant, and nearly all the leading personal divinities of the earlier polytheism had already emerged; only Dionysos had not yet crossed the border from Thrace; Asklepios, dimly known to Homer, was merely the local deity of a small Thessalian community, Pan merely the daimos of flocks in remote Arcadia. Cretan religion, also personal in its imagination and mainly anthropomorphic, had left its deep imprint on the mainland; and its divine personalities, such as Rhea, the mother of the gods, and Aphrodite, were soon adopted by the northern immigrants, but not at first into high positions. The deity was generally idealized, not as a spirit or a vague cosmic force, but as glorified man, and therefore the religion became adaptable to human progress in arts, civilization, and morality. But much in the animal world still appeared sacred and weird; and the deity might be at times incarnate in animal form. At the same time the religious imagination was still partly free from the bias of personal theism, and produced vaguer divine forms, of some force and power, but belonging rather to 'animalism' or polydaimonism than to polytheism. Finally, a study of all the facts and probabilities may convince a careful student that the origin of Greek polytheism as a whole from simpler forms cannot be forged back to the second millennium, which is the starting-point for Hellenic history proper, we cannot discern the 'making of a god' (unless we mean the building-up of his more complex character), nor do we start with a godless period. We may well believe that in the history of mankind theism was evolved from animism or polydaimonism; we may believe the much more doubtful theory that anthropomorphism arose from a previous theomorphism; and there may still be some who are convinced that theomorphism implies a totemistic society. But, at any rate, those evolutions had already happened indefinitely before the two strains, the Northern and the Mediterranean, had blended into the Hellenic race. The higher and the lower, the more complex and the simpler, forms of religious imagination overlap together throughout Hellenic history; and the higher, though dominant, never wholly absorbs the lower, both being an intellectual tradition of an indefinite past. Much work on the origins of Greek religion has been wasted because its chroniclers have attempted to unlock many of its mysteries by the key of totemism has been abandoned by those who recognize that many of its views concerning this social phenomenon and its religious importance, prevalent in a former generation, were erroneous. We can now pursue the inquiry nearer the borderline of the historic period, as it is conventionally termed.

Introduction of worship of Dionysos. - As early as the 10th cent. B.C., and probably earlier, a new religion with a new and imposing divinity was intruding itself into the Hellenic lands from Thrace and Macedonia. Dionysos and the Thracian ritual-legend of Lykos are known to Homer; but the poems suggest that he was not yet definitely received into the Hellenic pantheon. Yet there are reasons for believing that Boreas had received the alien worship in Asia, the Minya, speech, before the incoming of the 'Boioti': and Attica before the Ironic emigration; while in the Peloponnesus the demigod Dionysos, the avatar of the god with the names of Peneus and the Proest dynasty. In spite of local opposition and its natural antagonism to the nascent spirit of Hellenism, which was now tending to express itself in certain definite and orderly forms of mood, thought, and feeling, the new religion won its way victoriously, taking Thebes for its Hellenic metropolis, and some time afterwards securing its position at Delphi, where the priesthood and the Apolline oracle became its eager champions. It was distinguished from the traditional Hellenism in regard to its idea of divine personality, its ritual, and its psychic influence, that is to say, the mood that is evoked in the votary. In the first place, the figure of Dionysos belonged indeed to personal theism, certainly in Hellenic cult and probably in the Thracian; but he was less sharply defined as a concrete god. For instance, Apollo or Athene; he was vaguer in outline, a changeable power conceived more in accordance with daimonistic, later with pantheistic, thought, incarnate in many animal and plant forms and operative in the life-processes of the vegetable world; and an atmosphere of Nature-magic accompanied him. 1

1 See Ond. i. 40-42. 2 See V. 27. 3 Pflod, Ole. x. 18. 4 J.H. 42. 5 P. 1. 6 See Ond. hi. 22. 7 Homer's preoccupation against Artemis and Aphrodite may reflect the feelings of the northerners towards those Mediterranean deities whose cult they had not yet wholly absorbed.

1 See Ond. v. 36-119; cf. generally ch. iv. and v.
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The central motives of this oldest form of ritual were the birth and death of the god—a conception pregnant of ideas that were to develop in the religious future, but alien to the ordinary Hellenic theology, though probably not unfamiliar to the earlier Cretan-Mycenaean creed. But the death of this god was partly a fact of ritual; he was torn to pieces by his mad worshippers and devoured sacramentally in the bell or the goat or the boy that they rent and devoured was supposed to be his temporary incarnation, so that by this savage, and at times cannibalistic, communion they were filled with his blood and his spirit, and acquired miraculous powers. By such an act, and—we may suppose—by the occasional use of intoxication, of wine or of meat—son of fowl, and the sexual rite, which might show itself in a wild outburst of mental and physical forces, and which wrought up the enthusiastic feeling of self-abandonment, whereby the worshipper escaped the limits of his own nature and achieved a temporary sense of identity with the god, which might swell him even after death. The priest of the deity might be used for the practical purposes of vegetation-magic, yet was desired and proclaimed for its own sake as the servant of the god. He was made to undergo the process of immortality; he was made an angel, or a god, possessed no morality, and could ill adapt itself to civic life; its ideal was supernatural psychic energy. The process whereby it was half-captured and half-covered by the worshipper, was one of the most interesting chapters in Hellenism.

II. SECOND PERIOD: 600 B.C.—It is convenient for the purposes of religious study to mark off the period between the 8th century, and the 6th as the second period of Greek religion, in which we can observe the working of new forces and the development of older forms into new life. By the beginning of this period the fusion of the northern and the Mediterranean population was mainly complete, and the Hellenic spirit had acquired its distinctive character. The 7th, 6th, and 5th centuries witnessed the diffusion of epic literature, the rise of lyric poetry, the emergence of the symposium, or idol, in religious, and, generally, the development of civic and civic life; and it is essential to estimate the religious influence of these forces.

2. Influence of Epic and Lyric Poetry.—The influence of Epic and of the later Hesiodic literature to the shaping and fixing of Hellenic religion was much fruitful and effective cannot be doubted. Only, we must not accept the exaggerating view of Herodotus 1 that these two poets were really the founders of the anthropomorphic religion, following the orthodox Hesiodic theology, and determining the names and functions and shapes of the special divinities. By such a statement some scholars have been misled into regarding the Homeric poems as a kind of Greek Bible, which in respect of religious matters it might be hetero to disbelieve. We know that local temple-legend and local folklore could always maintain their independence of Homeric or Hesiodic authority, in respect of the titles of the gods, their relationships, and genealogies: Artemis was not even mentioned in the Iliad, and the same parentage of Zeus or Zeus the same spouse. The early epic poets gathered many of the gods and shrines, but there was much that they did not gather, and which survives in the development of special local polytheism in Greek theology, and no orthodoxy and no heterodoxy in the sense that it was moral to believe or immoral to disbelieve any sacred book. Therefore, the special purpose of Homer and his followers was to intensify the anthropomorphic trend in Greek religion, to sharpen and individualize the concepts of divinity, and to diffuse throughout the Hellenic world a certain uniformity of religious imagination. To their work partly, as well as to the higher synthetic power of the Greek mind, we may assign the loss of the local varietjes of myth and cult-titles, in spite of the various elements that the divine personality may have absorbed from earlier cult-figures and cult-forms in the various cult-centres, the sense of the individual unity of person was not lost so long as the same name was in vogue; hence Apollo Lykeios of Argos could not be a different person from the Apollo Patroos of Athens, nor could hostility arise between them. That is to say, the higher religious literature imprinted a certain precision and definiteness, the psyche of the leading divinities and endowed them with a certain essential connotation; for example, the dogma of the virginity of Athene and Artemis, always presented in the highest poetry, prevailed so far as to suppress the maternal character that may have attached to them in the pre-historic period, and of which we can still discern a glimmering in certain local cults. 2 To be less of strange are the divine characters the rising lyric poetry, which was growing up with the decay of the Epic, and which, in obedience to the laws of natural development, or rather to the discipline of art, was developing fixed types of song and music appropriate to special festivals and worship, must have contributed much. The 'espeia' metre was adapted to the invocation of the gods, or the hymn sung at the libation—the εὐδεία of Zeus; and the solemn gravity of the spoudaiak form attributed to Terpander fittingly expresses the majesty of the high god, 'the cause of all things, the Leader of the world.' 3 The pneuma and the σκιά became instinct with the Apolline, the dithyrambos with the Dionysiac spirit. 4 The earlier Greek lyric was, in fact, mainly religious, being composed for public or private occasions of worship; its vogue was therefore wide, and in some communities, such as Attica, the songs of these compositions formed part of the national training of the young.

2. Idolatry.—Another phenomenon of importance at the beginning of this second period is the rise of idolatry, the prevalence of the use of the ἱερων in actual worship in place of the older aniconic σταυρος, which had sufficed for the Minoan and the Homeric world as a token of the divine presence or as a magnet attracting it to the worshipper. This important change in the object of cult may have been beginning in the 10th cent., for we have one indication of it in the Homeric poems, and recently on one of a series of vases of the early geometric style in the post-Minoan period near Knossos, the figures of an armed god and goddess are depicted on low bases, evidently idols, and perhaps the earliest of any Hellenic divinity. 5 Henceforth, although the old fetish-object, the aniconic σταυρος, lingered long in certain shrines and holy places, the impulse towards idolatry became imperious and almost universal, exercising a mighty influence on the religious sentiment of the Hellenes both before and after the triumph of Christianity. The worship before the idol intensifies the anthropomorphic instinct of the polytheism, and was at once a source of strength and a cause of narrowness. It brought to the people a strong conviction of the real presence of the concrete individual divinity; as it gave its mandate to the greatest art of the world, it evolved the idea of divinity as the ideal of humanity, expressive in

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1 See C. 854-859.
2 See Cox, 'Pindar, 1844, Ch. 11, p. 111.
3 Philochronos, frag. 42; E. J. CH. 867.
4 Atheneum, p. 859.
5 See Arch. Anz., 1864, p. 122.
forms of beauty, strength, and majesty. On the
other hand, it was a force working against the de
gree of development of a more mystic, more imma
terial religion, or of a consciousness of godhead as an
abstract principle, of a mind that was to rise out of the
vaguer religious perception of those half-personal
daimones or numina, which never wholly faded from
the popular con
3. Progress of anthropomorphism.—It is in-
teresting to mark within this second period the vari
ous effects of the new regime. Anthropomorphism. 
Those functional daimones and the innate amorphous
lightness of religious perception, in which the Roman
indulgences remained, and to be attracted into the
stronger life of personal
Theogony. Once perhaps only a vague func
tional power that nurtured children, becomes
identified with Artemis or Gē; Ψυή, 'Divine Ver
dure,' when the cult was introduced from the Maec
thian Tetrapolis to the Akropolis of Athens—
if this, indeed, is a true account of its career—could
maintain herself only as Διανήμερος Δίσην. Again, the
name Ψυή comes to be applied to even the most
shadowy of those functional powers, to Μηθύρρος,
'the Fly-chaser,' the most limited and momentary of
them all; to Μεθύμνη, the daimon of good harvest,
said to guard the belly of one who wore his hair in a
tail; and to all of them Ψυή means they were imagined as
semi-divine men who once lived on the earth.
Even the most intemperate of these spirits, some of those
which mark mental phases or social conditions,
such as Βοῖος, Λόφος, Φίλα, Friendship, Εἴρηρη,
Fecundity, became often for the religious imagnation
personal individuals with human relationships; thus Εἴρη
merges almost as a real goddess with the
traits of Demeter, Φίλα on a relief in the
Jaeckelin collection is individualized as the mother of
Zeus Phileus, the phase of the heliophytic
theogony. Others such as Διάνος, 'Compassion,' or
'Worship,' remained in the border-land be
 tween animating forces and personal deities.

But we observe in many cases that the name
itself was an obstacle to the emergence of a con
vincingly personal god or goddess; and, where this
is the case, the personality never could play a
leading part in the advanced religion. Thus
Εἰρήν bore a name that denoted nothing more
than 'the Ear,' considered as animate and
holy; Greek anthropomorphism did its utmost for
her, but never or rarely succeeded in establishing
her as a fully formed personal goddess. The same
phenomenon is observable in regard to Gē, Halos,
and Selene; it was easy to regard them as animate
powers, and as such to worship them; such wor
ship they received throughout all periods of Greek
religion, but they exercised no direction of the
moral, social, and spiritual progress of the race;
for their names signified not substances
unlike and alien to man that they could not with
conviction be imagined as glorified men or women.
It was otherwise with such names as Apollo, Hera,
Athens, which could become as real and individual
as Midian and Themistocles; and it is these humanized
personalities that alone dominate the higher
religion of Greece. The spiritual career of
Demeter began only when men forgot the original
meaning of her name and half forgot that she
was only Mother Earth. The Αργαί, being mere
'Winds,' were scarcely fitted for civic life; but
Boreas, having a personal name, could become a
citizen and was actually worshipped as Ποιησις,
'the Citizen,' at Thourioi. 4 A curious and un
scientific distinction that Aristophanes makes
between the religions of the Hellenes and the
Barbarians 1 has its justification from this point of

4. Influence of the 'Poles' on religion.—The
spirit of the Poles, the dominant influence in Greek
religion throughout this second period, worked in
the same direction as the anthropomorphic in,
sage, giving complexity, variety, and individuality,
and an ever-growing social value to the idea of
godhead. The deities of the wild enter the ring
wall of the city, and shed much of their wild
character. Apollo Lykias, the wolf-god, enters
Argos and becomes the political leader of the
State, in whose temple a perpetual fire was main
tained, symbol of the perpetual life of the com
munity. 2 And the advanced civic organization
tended to transform the primitive theocracy or
thoriorchic ideas that still survived. Proofs of
direct animal-worship in the later period are very
rare and generally doubtful; for the ancient writers
employ the term 'worship' carelessly, applying it
to any trivial act of reverential treatment. 3 In
the few cases where we can still discern the animal
receiving cult, we find the anomaly explained away
by some association established between the animal
and the anthropomorphic deity or hero. Thus the
wolf became a right of Argos; if, indeed, it ever was—
but might be revered here and there as the occasional incarnation of Zeus
Apollo, or as an apotropaic sign of the
isitive population of the Troad may once have 'wor
shipped' the field-mouse, though the authority
that attests it is late and doubtful. One
and when Apollo becomes in this region thin,
the guardian of the Εἰρήν and the protector of their
crops, he takes a title from the mouse (Ζαυς-Εἰρήν or
ψαλιστός), and the mouse is carved at the side of the
and the anthropomorphic iconography hint
that the rest of the species not to injure the corn, or
as a hint to the god that mice needed regulating.

The serpent worshipped in the caverns, or in some
hole or corner of the house—vaguely, in 'Aryan'
times as the Earth-daimon or Housen-genna—
became interpreted as the embodiment of the
ancestral Ezechithites of Athens, or Kyreus of
Salamis, or Zeus Κήρες, the guardian of the
household possessions, or Zeus Μηθύρρος, the nether
god. When the very human Asklepios came to
Athens towards the end of the 6th cent., he
brought with him certain dogs who were ministers
of healing; and the Athenians offered sacrific
cial cakes both to Gē, Halos, and to his dogs, which
partook of his sanctity. 5 This may appear a
strange imbecility; but at all events we discern
in these facts the prevalent anthropomorphism
dominating and transforming what it could not
abolish of the old theocracy; just as we see the
coin-artist of Phigaleia transforming the unear
the type of the horse-headed Demeter into a beautiful
human form of a goddess wearing a necklace with
a horse-hoof as its pendant. The sacred animal
never wholly died out of Hellas; but it could
maintain its worship only by entering the service of
the human gods.

The expansion of the civic system in this second
period, due to extended colonization and com
merce, induced a development of law and the
expansion of moral and religious ideas. One of
the most vital results of the institution of the
Poles was the widening of civic life. In the
theory the city was a congregation of kinmen,
combinations of tribes, phratries, and families,

1 They worship Sun and Moon, we worship real Gods such as Apollo and Hermes, Plut., 410.
3 See Plutarch, Paral. pp. 77-78.
4 See Ovid, Met. 108-115.
5 See Εἰρήν on Aryan-worship.
6 Proo-Demokr. Leg. deor. n. 16.
wider or narrower associations, framed on a kinship; and it gradually evolved the belief, pregnant of legal and moral developments, that every citizen was of a certain family or clans and that the family was knit together by the worship of the hearth in the hall and of Zeus - the god of the earth - in the courtyard of the house. This cultus was given a new character by the establishment of the cult of Zeus on the Areopagus. The great divinities of the State, Zeus, Athena, Apollo, Demeter, Persephone, and perhaps later, Hestia, were also venerated. The religious and social organization of the family was thus strengthened. The Polis also organized and maintained the kindred festivals of commemoration and ancestor worship of the Heraíon, and of the deceased were the All-Souls celebration of the dead which was held at the end of the month in the night of the, the festivals of the, the joint festival of the phratries, while the provision of the dead was a matter of the consolidation of the scattered groups into the single city. The festival of the Oikouraion, the union of all the houses, and of the Agon, the all-Athenian festival of Athens.

The picture that these facts present of a State religion is that the family and the kinship are mainly drawn from Athens, of which the religious record is always the richest; and it reflects-undoubtedly the system of the other Hellenic States as well. Many of their records attest the belief that some one of the high divinities was the ancestor or ancestress of the whole people, and this ancestry was generally understood in the physical and literal sense. Thus Apollo Hérós was the divine ancestor, being the father of Ion, of the Ionian population of Attica; and even the non-Ionic tribes desired for political purposes to affiliate themselves to this god. In the same sense he was called Perseus, the Father, in Delos. Zeus was the hero of the Arcadians, and was worshipped as Hérós at Tegae; Hermes also was ancestral god of part of the Arcadian land, and identified with the ancestor Alkis. These religious fictions came to exert an important influence on morality, and also to develop a certain spiritual significance, which will be considered later.

The public religion is further emphasized by the prevailing custom, which appears to have gathered strength in this second stage of worshipping the hero or the mortal ancestor of the State, the tribe, or the clan. The first clear evidence of this in literature is in the poem of Arkturos of Miletos called the Iliad and of the IVth cent. B.C., and in which the apotheosis of Achilles is described. But there is, as has been said, strong reason for believing that the practice of heroizing the dead stems from the time of Homer.

2 Diod. v. 18, 2; Macrob. iii. 6. 2.
3 R. D. B. 1689, p. 94.
4 Paus. vi. 47. 4.

Nevertheless, of the multitudes of hero-ancestors cultivated in the Achaemenid Persia, the greater number are probably post-Homeric. We find the Delphi oracle giving vigorous encouragement to the institution of them, and in the 9th cent. B.C. cities begin to negotiate and dispute about the possession of the relics of heroes. Some of these in the archaic period may have been real living men dimly remembered; some were fictitious ancestors, like Arkas and Lakedaimon; some may have been faded deities, such as were Rudabolos at Eleusis and Prophorion at Labadeia. But all were imagined by the worshipper to have been once men or women living on the earth. This, then, becomes a fact of importance for the religious thought of the world, for it engenders, or at least encourages, the belief that human beings might through exceptional merit be exalted after death to a condition of blessed immortality, not as mere spirits, but as beings with glorified body and soul. Furthermore, certain ancient heroes, long revered as the people as the primeval parent or the war-leader of their forefathers, became identified with the high god and merged in his being; Erechtheus shares the altar and even the title of Poseidon and Zeus; Alkyoneus of Arcadia becomes Hermes; Agamenon in Laconia at last is fused with Zeus. Nor in this second period were such heroic honours reserved for the remote ancestor or the great king or warrior of old, but were sometimes paid to the recently dead, to the men who had served the State well by arms or by counsel. On the assumption that the costume of the hero is a real man — and any other theory of him is less natural—his case is the earliest recorded instance of the heroizing of a historical personage. A great stimulus about this time was given to this practice by the expansion of Greek colonization, the greatest world-event of the period, which reacted in many ways on religion. As the inventory of the temples and the kinship is mainly drawn from Attica, of which the religious record is always the richest; and it reflects undoubtedly the system of the other Hellenic States as well. Many of their records attest the belief that some one of the high divinities was the ancestor or ancestress of the whole people, and this ancestry was generally understood in the physical and literal sense. Thus Apollo Hérós was the divine ancestor, being the father of Ion, of the Ionian population of Attica; and even the non-Ionic tribes desired for political purposes to affiliate themselves to this god. In the same sense he was called Perseus, the Father, in Delos. Zeus was the hero of the Arcadians, and was worshipped as Hérós at Tegae; Hermes also was ancestral god of part of the Arcadian land, and identified with the ancestor Alkis. These religious fictions came to exert an important influence on morality, and also to develop a certain spiritual significance, which will be considered later.

1 The other view, still held by some, that Zeus-Agamenon is the earlier fact and Agamenon the hero he later, does not bear criticism.
2 See C. H. v. 1. 121; J. E. Harrison, Prolegomena, p. 42.
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bordering on veneration, and such as might inspire actual worship.

We may safely assume that the growing interest of the State in hero-cult intensified the family aspect of the State-religion; the hero as the glorious kinsman is invited to the sacrifices of the higher deities, and to the festa in which the god himself is the host.

It is important for the student of religion to mark the consequences of this close association of the civic religion with the idea of kinship that held together the family and tribe. These have been estimated more at length elsewhere; it is only a few examples which are here presented.

Where a family-bond exists between the deity and the city, the spirit of genial fellowship is likely to prevail in the ritual and religious emotions, and the family meal might become the type of public sacrificial meal with the god. Such a religion is adverse to proselytism; for, as it is the sacred prerogative of certain kindred stocks, its principle means the exclusion of the stranger. Its religious and moral feeling is naturally channellised; the whole group must share in the moral guilt of the individual, and the sins of the fathers will be visited on the children. It affords a keen stimulus to local patriotism, and quickens a keen ardor within the city; it has at the same time the natural result of narrowness of views. Yet, in the course of religious evolution, we must regard the old Hellenic conception of the god, the Father of the tribe or the city, as pregnant of the larger idea of God the Father of mankind—an idea which had already dawned upon Homer at a time when the tribal spirit of religion was still at its height.

A further result of such a system is that the State-divinities became also the patrons and guardians of the family morality, Zeus and Hera, for instance, being held responsible for the regulation of the marriage and of the duties of married life; and olympian records present the high God as the protector of the father's right, of the tie that binds together the family, the kinship. While such a religion was a living force, it was not likely that the family could assert itself against the State; to marry healthfully and early, to beget vigorous children as defenders of the State and the family graves, to cherish and honour one's parents, to protect the orphan—these were patriotic duties necessary for the development of State-religion, and strenuously preached by the best ethical teachers of Greece. The State being the family writ large, private and public morality could not clash. The brutal action of Kroesus in the Anatolica is equally an attack on the religion of the State and on that of the family; and it was not till the 6th cent. that the relations between the two were clearly defined.

6. Influence of advanced religion on law.—Of still greater interest is an important advance in criminal law, discernible as early as the 8th cent., which may be traced partly to the growth of the city, with its extended idea of kinship, partly to the growing intensity of the belief in the power and significance of the spirits of the dead.

In the most primitive period of Hellas, the shedding of a kinsman's blood was already a heinous sin; but the slaying of one outside the kindred circle was ordinarily neither a sin against God nor a social crime. But, as the public mind of Greece became penetrated with the feeling that all the deities were interested in its welfare, the slaying of a citizen became a criminal act of which the State, and no longer merely the clan of the slain man, would take cognizance. This expanded concept of law is reflected in the expansion of an ancient and most significant cult, the cult of Zeus Meilichios.1 This was the underworld god, who was angered and must be appeased by kindred blood was shed: as the idea of kinship was enlarged, any civic massacre might arouse his wrath, and rites of atonement might be offered to him. This keener sensitiveness concerning the sanctity of human life was accompanied by a feeling that bloodshed might imprint a stain on the slayer that rendered him ritually unclean, that is, temporarily unfit to approach the gods or men; it was also fortified by the growing fear of the ghost-world, which seems to have lain more heavily upon the non-Homer's men. It is hard to give the dates for this section of the mental history of Hellas. The first record of the notion, which is nowhere explicit in Homer, that homicide in certain circumstances demands purification, is derived from the Astylopis of Arkilides, the epic poet of Miletos in the 8th century;2 Achilles, having slain the worthless Thersites, must retire from the army for a while to be purified in Lebros by Apollo and Artemis. We mark here that the slain man was no kinsman of the slayer; in a true society the root of kinship was a member of the same Achaean community, and therefore the slaying brought a religious impurity upon the hero; and we may believe that the narrative reveals an idea which was to be developed. But, in passing, we must recognize the possibility that these apparently new manifestations may be only a revival of immemorial thoughts and feeling, common in the older non-Hellenic societies, and only for a time suspended.3

7. Influence of Delphi and Crete.—In this post-Homeric development of a system of purification from bloodshed, the legends suggest that Crete and Delphi played a momentous part. In the great island, the cradle of European culture, the cult of Zeus Meilichios took on itself such cathartic ideas, probably of Dionysiac origin, and probably in the pre-Homeric period the influence of Crete had reached Delphi; while the legend of the migration of Apollo Delphinus from Crete to Delphi, and the story that the god himself must go to this island to be purified from the blood of Python, belong to the second period with which we are dealing.

We have reason to believe that the Delphic god —through the agency of his local priesthood—was assuring the effect of representation of the State-religion, and that he was the mediocrity of the Aegisthe, a time and place of the god. The ritual of Pieria as determined by the Delphic god is always the same as the good citizen.

2 See OS I. 64-69; for the religious evolution of the Greek laws concerning homicide, see Pusey, Religion of Greece, pp. 129-129, 130, 131-131.
3 See OS I. 685.
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members were not indeed pledged to perpetual unity, but at least to a certain mutual forbearance even in their warlike nature. The chief regulative functions of the oracle were concerned with questions of the institution and administration of cults, with the domain of legislation, colonization, and morality and conduct. In the sphere of religion, it doubtless emphasized the necessity of purification from bloodshed; otherwise it had no high religious message to deliver; but it was enthusiastic for the propagation of the cult of Dionysos, and it authored and sometimes encouraged the growing tendency towards the posthumous worship of distinguished men. In the sphere of morality its standard was generally high and its influence beneficent, especially—if we can trust the record—in the period when it played the part of a State-Confessional and in its utterances reflected generally the progress of Greek ethics and the spirit of an enlightened humanitarianism. But its chief religious achievements were to bring some principle of unity and authority into the complex and shifting aggregate of Greek polytheism and to deepen the impression on the Hellenic mind of the divine ordering of the world; and the fruits of this teaching we gather in the works of Attic tragedy and in the history of Herodotus.

In view of the history of other temple-institutions of like power among other peoples—the Mesopotamian, for instance—we may be surprised that the Delphic priesthood made its first attempt to impose Apollo as the supreme god upon the Hellenic States. The author of the Homeric hymn, composed partly under Delphic influences, exalts Apollo as high as he dare; but the power of Delphic utterance is Apollo presented as more than the minister of Zeus, the mouthpiece of the supreme Father-god, the tradition of whose supremacy among the Aryan Hellenes had been fixed fast by Homer and the Homeric.

Nor did the Delphic Apollo succeed in achieving a monopoly of divinization for the spirit of local independence was opposed to any divine monopoly in any department of life. And other oracles, such as some of those on the Asia Minor shore, acquired considerable prestige, especially in the later period when the influence of Delphi had declined. But from the 8th till the beginning of the 5th cent., the Pythian is the only one of the many mantic institutions that is to be regarded as a vital force of Pan-Hellenism.

8. The games of Greece.—As another important phenomenon belonging to the earlier part of this second period we note the emergence and development of the great Hellenic games, which were always associated with the worship of the gods or heroes. These also must be reckoned as among the strongest Pan-Hellenic influences, evoking and strengthening the consciousness of nationality.

For in the 5th cent. B.C. the whole of Greece, eastern and western, was represented at Olympia, Pytho, the Isthmus, and Nemea; here was maintained the 'truce of God' between the jealous or hostile communities; and as Olympia one in every four years the Pan-Hellenes offered a common homage to their aboriginal Father-god.

We must, then, regard the games and the Pythian establishment as momentous factors in the religious national life, as tending to evolve a religion of a broader compass than those of the narrow tribal type of the remote past. And they concern the higher mental history of the race because most of them, and notably the Pythian, included competitions in art and literature; thus they assisted in establishing the generally Hellenic theory of the divine significance of the artistic and intellectual life.

1 See OSS iv. 290-302.
2 Jb. 161 f., 294-304.
3 Others accounts in OSS iv. 179-216, and art. Oracle (Gr.).

or accidental homicide. The earliest that we know of was the law-court " Διορσία " established at Athens, the result of the great Delphic god, to try cases where homicide was admitted and justification was pleaded. In this as in other Athenian courts, as well as the same offence, rites of purification were often an essential adjunct of the ceremony. The typical legend that enshrines the early ideas of " Διορσία " and turns on the question of justifiable homicide is the story of Orestes, which had spread around the Peloponnese and penetrated Attica as early as the 8th cent. B.C., and later became Pan-Hellenic. Apollo as a divine agent appears in it first, as far as we have any literary record, in the lyric of Semonides, and at some indeterminate date in this period undertook the purification of the matricide.

These cathartic functions and the general demand for their exercises must have greatly enhanced the influence of Delphi in the earlier part of the post-Homer period. Its power doubtless strengthened even more by the great secular movement of Greek colonisation. With wise foresight the god had undertaken the guidance and encouragement of this activity in the earliest days when the Hellenes were pushing across the sea; for it seems as if the first Greek settlements on the Asia Minor coast, the Troad, were due to his leadership, if not to his inspiration. The legends that associate him with the Dorian migration into the Peloponnese are too powerful to be rejected. And after that movement, when the Delphic priesthood might be thought to shine as a Greek history, and the Hellenic race was rapidly establishing that chain of colonies across and around the Mediterranean which were to diffuse Greek culture throughout the world at large, the power of Delphi and the Delphic oracle reached its zenith. For it is clear that it was the prevailing fashion to consult the Pythian Apollo as to the choice of a site. Hence it came about that in so many Greek cities Apollo was worshipped as " Δίαν κυριάνης," that is, as the divine founder, and that the flourishing communities of Delphi's offering for the shrine.1 Was it by some accident or by something essential in his early cult and character that the god was able to play this momentous political part, such as no other deity has ever played in the secular history of his people? The cause may lie far back in the dim antiquity of the Apolline cult, when he was specially Cythereus, a god of the road, the leader of the migratory host. And in pre-Homer times, if not aboriginally, he was already an oracular god; nor was any occasion so urgent for a consultation of the local oracle as when the people were setting forth on their perilous path to find a new home.8

The Delphic oracle.—In the spiritual history of the Hellenic race in the early historic period, when we mark a growing consciousness of nationality and of kinship in the various stocks, is very much a record of the career and activity of the Delphic oracle; and this is too complex and lengthy a theme to be more than adumbrated here.3 Due partly to the local position and the immemorial sanctity of the oracle, partly to the devotion and the grateful remembrance of the powerful Dorian States in the Peloponnese, the Pythian worship of the god, Apollo, and provided the chief religious centre and the strongest bond of spiritual unity in the Hellenic world. For political unity it could do little, owing to the centrifugal bias of Greek politics; yet the Delphic Amphiktyony, the most powerful of those religious confederations that are recorded here and there in the early history of Greece, contained within it the idea of a moral and cultural bond among all the states of the archaic Hellenes. It is worth noting that the famous " Delphic oracle " is really a conglomeration of various oracles, each with its own history and derivation; and that the god of Delphi, in whom the oracle of Apollo was first convened, was not originally a god of the Delphians but of the neighboring Chalcidenses. The Delphic oracle, like the Olympic, was not a local or a national institution, but a pan-Hellenic one, and its influence extended over the whole Greek world. It was the supreme religious institution of the Greeks, and the oracle was the highest and most venerable of all the religious authorities in ancient Greece.
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There were other festal and public meetings of a more exclusively religious purpose, such as the great Pan-Ionic festival of the Dalian Apollo, that also served to deepen in the various States the consciousness of spiritual unity, and often, where the great hymns composed hymns for the occasion, to exalt and illuminate the ideal conception of the divinity: the Dalian festival, for instance, of which the splendor developed in the early 5th-Hellenic age and with the growing prosperity of the new Ionic colonies, must have contributed much to the building up of the peculiarly Hellenic ideal of Apollo; and the Homeric hymn, inspired by this occasion, is the earliest record of the national consciousness of the Ionic race.

9. Diffusion of Dionysos-worship.—Another religious phenomenon, peculiar to Ionia and Caria, and for the spiritual history of Hellenism, is the diffusion of the worship of Dionysos. Faint though indubitable traces of this can be discerned in the pre-historic period, but it begins to be palpable and important only in the early history. Its significance has already been indicated in general outlines (see above, p. 402). Having entered Attica from Boeotia and been absorbed in the Attic State-religion some time before the Ionic migration to the Asia Minor coast, in the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. it gained its highest and most popular status in the State-religion of the Peloponnese and of the islands, and the more distant colonies.

The Hellenic culture of Dionysos forms one of the most interesting chapters in the spiritual history of Hellenism; the taming of the wild Thracian god, the transformation of him into a civic deity, the disciplining and the adaptation of the Mysteries into a State ritual, were not the least among the achievements of the Hellenic genius. And as the State-religion of those centuries had no eschatological theory, so it seems to have discarded everywhere whatever eschatological promise the Dionysiac religion proclaimed on its entrance into Greece. Yet, in spite of the chastening influence of the civic spirit, the worship preserved much of its distinctive tone and religious power, evoking a special mood unknown in the other cults, while even the savage form of sacrifice, in which the god was devoured in human or animal incarnation, survived with some modifications in Ionia down to a late period. The history, then, of the Dionysiac religion concerns the account of the development of the sacred ritual in the Mediterranean. It concerns also the history of Hellenic culture; for one of its most delightful relics is the music, accompanying the Dionysiac hymn known as the dithyramb, which is usually regarded as the parent of Attic tragedy. Its main contribution to the polytheism of Greece was its stimulation of the warmer and stronger religious faith; and its special later service to popular religious theory was the refining and heightening of men's thoughts and sentiments concerning the life after death and the powers of the lower world, with whom the mild and genial god was generally identified or associated.

10. Orphic 'thsiae.'—But the highest importance of Dionysos is found rather in the esoteric than in the public aspect of Hellenic religion. For, perhaps as early as the 7th cent., the cult of Dionysos was raised to a higher power by the rise and diffusion of the Orphic brotherhoods, of which Plato, who developed this deity under various mystic names. The study of Orphism is of the greatest interest and complexity; and here it is possible to indicate only its general features and significance. The teachers of the EsotERIC doctrines are the first propagandists or missioners that we can discern in the pre-Christian Mediterranean world. For they had a definite message, and they founded the secret and hidden brotherhoods of the Orphic religion. They preached apatheia or, at least, a universal abnegation of the popular political religion, they preached it, if not to all mankind, at least to all the Hellenes. It was a message framed not so much of new ideas, whose real import we have been able to gather in part from the now famous gold-tablets found in the graves of Crete and South Italy, and containing parts of the mystic Orphic liturgy and creed that is a product at latest of the 6th, if not of the 5th century B.C. Combining this evidence with some passages in Pindar's Odes and Plato's Dialogues, we can recover in outline the doctrine of early Orphism. It proclaimed a theory, unfamiliar to native Greek mythology and religion, that the soul of man is divine and eternal; that the body is its impure prison-house, where it is in danger of contracting stain; that by elaborate purifications and abstinences the soul might retain its purity, and by sacramental and magical methods the pure soul might enjoy in this life and in the next full communion with God. Occupied with the problem of the life after death, the Orphic mystics evolved a concept of premonition, a mode of posthumous punishment temporary and purificatory; also, if we can trust certain indications in Pindar and Plato, they may have been aware of a more specially of a triple cycle of lives both in this world and in the next. Students of religious philosophy have noted here the striking resemblance to Buddhist theologies. But in addition to the Persian and Indian speculation could have cast its influence so far westward at so early a time.

It is of more immediate importance for the religious history of the Greek people to determine —if we can—the measure of success that these missions achieved, how far they succeeded in captivating the masses or the elite of the people. They certainly did not succeed in penetrating the inner circle of the Eleusinian mysteries; there is no evidence that they even tried, though it is likely that they did; but we may surmise that their influence was at one time strong at Athens, as Aristophanes proclaims as a generally accepted tradition that Orphism was the apostolic founder of all mysteries. They were evidently powerful in Crete; but the chief arena of their activity and the chief scene of their secular and political influence was Western Asia Minor. Of the Orphic mystery society, Pythagoras was the greatest convert, and the Pythagoreans clubs their militant orders. The career of these forms a page of general Greek history. Their downfall relieved Greece from the danger of the establishment of Orphism as a secular power, which threatened the Hellenic spirit with a bondage that would not be due to the pharisaic formalism of the priest. Henceforth the Orphic religion was a private influence only, and we have no evidence to determine precisely how great it was at any particular epoch. Pindar was deeply touched by it; Eschylus and Sophocles, so far as we can see, remained unmoved, while Euripides may have been at times attracted and at times repelled, but was in no sense its champion. Plato in a well-known passage 2 protests strongly against the Orphic mystery-mongers as spiritual quacks destitute of all moral worth, in magic and trade in promises and threats concerning the other world. Whether this moral estimate of Orphism was just or not, there is no doubt that Plato's theory of the soul as expressed in the Phaedrus was indebted to the Orphic metaphysics. And the part played by these preachers

1 See Orphism.
2 Page 1090. The mystic formula used in the Attic marriage-service, 'I have left of them, he found a better thing, mine have been derived from Orphic sources (see Farnell, Higher Aspects of Gt. Rel., p. 321.).
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of purity and salvation in the later spiritual history of Greece was certainly of high importance. They mark the beginning of a new era of individualism in religion; for the concern was with the personal soul and its destiny.

II. Eleusinian mysteries.—The Eleusinia, or Mysteries of Eleusis, were a more national and unifying institution than Orphic, but of somewhat similar influence and purpose (see art. MYSTERIES). Originally they may have been mere tribal mysteries of an agrarian society to which only the adult members of the Eleusinian community were admitted. But, when our earliest record reveals them, namely, the Homeric hymn to Demeter, which cannot be later than the close of the 7th century, they have already enlarged their borders and their scope. For they appear there as appealing to the whole Hellenic world, and their special promise to the initiated is the happiness of the soul after death. Having once transcended the tribal limits, they seem to have imposed no conditions on the aspirants for admission except the possession of Hellenic speech and purity from actual stain; the initiation was open to women and occasionally to slaves. Nor does their influence in any degree have waned until the introduction of Christianity. Many scholars have laboured to solve the problems concerning their ritual, their doctrine, and their significance. It has been thought that their chief attractiveness may have lain in their preservation of a higher sacramental conception of the essence that underlies the ordinary public ritual; that the initiate drank of a sacred cup in which were mystically infused the very life and substance of the kindly Earth-Mother with her own kinship of her offspring. And, when their own perceptions of an agrarian society were the transfiguration of the deities who were the transactions of an agrarian society with the new apprehensions of the great powers of the nature-world, the more remote and the symbolic. To imagine the thrill and the force of these rites, one must imagine a medieval Passion-play performed with surpassing stateliness and solemnity. Those who saw these things in the Hall of the Mysteries at Eleusis may have carried away with them an abiding sense of a closer communion with the benign powers of the nether world and a resulting hope of a happier posthumous lot. We must regard them as the highest and most spiritual product of the pure Hellenic religion, investing it with an atmosphere of mystery and awe that was generally lacking in the public cult, and which was unperturbed at Eleusis by any violence of moral necessity such as marked the Orphics and some of the Orphic rites.

We may believe that they exercised a healthful influence on the moral and spiritual temperament of the Hellenes; but it is not clear that they definitely proclaimed any higher moral theory, nor do they appear, like the Orphics, to have preached any dogma of metaphysics or theology. But, like the Orphics, they tended with the development of the Orphic mysteries. For they appealed to a far larger public than the ordinary cults of the city; and, while Pan-Hellenic in this sense, they belong to the domain of personal religion; for they satisfied the personal craving of the individual for closer fellowship with the deity, and soothed the troubled apprehensions that were growing up in this second period concerning the individual destiny of the soul. Yet, as regards Attica and Athens at least, and probably as regards Hellas, they are not to be ranked, as the Orphics may be, among the disruptive forces of individualistic religion undermining the social fabric of public worship. For the Athenian State administered them by the help of Eleusinian officials in its corporate capacity; and one of the catechumens—the so-called Orphic—was held to exercise the most probable view, on behalf of the whole youth of the city.

In the Great Mysteries the agrarian significance, though discoverable and associated with simple agrarian magic, was overshadowed by higher and more spiritual religion. And elsewhere in the State-festivals we note the same phenomenon of progress in the second period. Old-world utilitarian rites of agriculture and fertility were often taken over by the expanding Hellenism of the 5th century, and received an artistic elaboration that disguised their original significance for the primitive peasant and raised them to a higher plane of social religion.

This interesting process can be best studied in following the detailed records of the Lydian Kermata and Hyakinthia, the Delphic Pythia, the Attic Panathenaea: we can feelingly appreciate in these the potent influence of the religious art, the music, and the art of early Greece, shaping and elevating men's imagination of divinity. By the close of this period the Hellenic national consciousness has realized itself in respect of intellectual culture, ethics, and religion. Zeus Hellenios, the tribal god, is becoming Pan-Hellenios. The age of Pan-Panathenaeism is at hand and much to the growth of Pan-Hellenism; Pellastratos probably something to the idea of a national religion, in that he seems to have worked zealously for the organization and expansion of the Eleusinian mysteries. The cult of Dionysos has penetrated the leading communities and most of the by-ways of Greece; and nearly everywhere he has been partially tamed, and the Menads have been either suppressed or disciplined to the more sober purposes of civic worship. But the two most striking phenomena in the spiritual history of the 5th century were, first, the rise and expansion of Ionic philosophy and physical speculation; and, secondly, the development of a new form of literature that came to be known as the Attic Drama. Both of these must be reckoned with among the forces affecting the life of the popular religion.

The relation of Greek philosophy to Greek religion is a great and complex subject, the theme of many modern treatises; and in this slight sketch of the whole history of the polytheism there is no room for more than a few very general observations. So far as the new speculation, which gave birth to the free secular science of Europe, was preoccupied with questions of the physical origins of things and with elemental theories of cosmogony, it would not necessarily clash with any orthodox prejudice of the average Hellenes. For he had no sacred books which dictated to him any views concerning the origin of the world or the constitution of Nature, and which he would have considered immoral to disbelieve. In fact, when Heraclitus boldly declared that 'neither God nor man made the cosmos,' there was no authoritative Greek myth or theologico-dogmatic gain to gainsay him. But the great philosophers of the 5th century—Pythagoreans, Empedocleans, Xenophanes, and Heracliteans—were also directly concerned with the philosophy of religion, with speculations on the nature and the true definition of godhead; and some of the surviving fragments of their works express ideas and sentiments in sharp antagonism to the concepts and ritual of the contemporary polytheism. The main trend of their speculations ran counter
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...to the anthropomorphic theory of divinity; and they tend to define God not as a person, but rather as the highest spiritual or metaphysical, or even physical power or function of the universe; and there is a common tendency in the 6th cent. thought away from the theistic to the pantheistic view. Pythagoras is said to have explained the concept of God in terms of mathematics, and to have been willing to accept the personages of the popular polytheism as a condition of finding their true mathematical equation. 1 But this philosopher stands apart from the other leaders of this first period of Hellenic free thought. The mathematical mind is often a prey to mysticism. And Pythagoras was the most powerful champion and apostle of Orphism, the founder of those secret societies which threatened the secular and the intellectual freedom of Greece. Equality on its mystic and on its rationalistic side the Pythagorean teaching was in tendency inimical to the public religion of Greece, though many of its sects appear always to have compromised with it. But it is in the fragments of Xenophon that we find the most severe protests against the current religious conceptions of Hellen: his verses quoted by Clement 2 polemize strongly against the folly of anthropomorphism, which is the master-passion of Greek polytheism; and, if one or two of his quoted utterances seem to claim monothelism, it is clear that for his higher thought Godhead was not a person but a cosmic principle or a noetic idea. On the whole, the attack may be given of the religious theory of Herakleitos so far as this is revealed at all in the fragments. It has, indeed, been recently maintained that he tolerated and found a place in his system of the contemporary polytheism; 3 but it is probably a truer view that he regarded it with half-disguised contempt and used its terms and figures only on occasion as literal analogies. He is still the most striking figure among the prophets and teachers who are scorning exclamations against the excesses of the Bacchic ritual, the methods of purification from blood, and the folly of idolatry. 4

In this early speculation of the 6th cent., however, the parting of the ways has not yet been reached for physical science and religion; the cosmic theory is expressed in spiritual and animistic rather than in materialistic terms: for Empedokles, Love and Strife are creative principles; in the view of Thales the magnet has a soul, and all things are full of divine power, even вечные. The movement of Ionič thought was indeed adaptable to a high pantheistic or animistic creed, but not to the present polytheism of the Hellenes, though most of the philosophers do not appear to have been vehement protesters. And at first their protests could have influenced only the minds of a few; nor before the 6th cent. was the popular State-religion obliged to take notice of it.

13. Rise of Tragedy.—The other phenomenon referred to above as marking the close of this period was the rise of Tragedy. The question of its influence on the whole popular religion belongs to the history of the 6th century. What concerns us chiefly at this point is its close association with Dionysos-cult. The traditional view, that it actually originated in some mimetic form of Bacchic ritual, is in the opinion of the present writer still the most realistic. Though this is now denied by some scholars, 5 But, even if its connexion with Dionysos-worship is a secondary or accidental fact,

1 Plato, Men. 85 b 2; Porphyry, Plut. Pyth. 10, 50.
3 F. Merkle, "Der Orphizismus" (Leipzig, 1806).
4 For example, "Dionysos, the Saviour" (Krauss).
5 See Riezmann's "Origen des Tragedie", Cambridge, 1910; and the present writer's criticism of his theory in Hermathena, 1912.

It is still a fact of importance for the history of Greek polytheism. The records concerning Thespis the founder of the Attic trigonium, or triacontagon, and the ancient Dionysiac legend; the statement of Herodotus concerning Kleisthenes, the tyrant of Sikyon, who gave to Dionysos the tragic choruses that hitherto had been sung at the festival of Adranos 1 are sufficient proofs that this greatest of all the literary achievements of post-Homeric Hellas was dedicated to the god already in the 6th cent.; and throughout the glorious career of the Attic stage Dionysos remained its patron-god. His worship, then, must have received a strong stimulus from literary forms of literature, which rapidly achieved popularity, and appealed directly to a larger public than any other. His character thus undergoes a singular transformation; the wild god of barbaric origin comes to take rank by the side of Apollo and the Graces as a divinity of culture and religion; and the history of the dithyramb, the Dionysiac hymn, which may have been the parent of the drama, and which was wedded to a peculiar mode of music and rhythm, is an important chapter in the history of European music.

III. THIRD PERIOD: 500-338 B.C.—The third period of Greek religion may conveniently include the 6th cent. and that part of the 5th which ends with the downfall of the system of civic autonomy at the battle of Charonea. For the history of Greek religion, as of Greek culture, it is of the highest interest, being the richest in respect of religious movements and literature, and the most forceful and momentous in regard to the influences at work. In the sphere of external history, it witnessed such world-crisis as the struggle of Hellas and of her races for independence and fall of the Imperial city-State, and the emergence of Macedon as a world-power; in the sphere of culture, it witnessed the culmination of the greatest plastic art of the world, the blooms and maturity of the Attic drama and Pindar's lyric, the diffusion of education and the spirit of inquiry through the activity of the Sophists, and the higher development of philosophy and science. To show how the religious practice and theory of the higher and lower members of Hellenic society were affected by the events of this era, is the object of this chapter. For the greatest period of human history is a necessary, but a difficult, task.

5. 5th cent. religion contrasted with the Homeric.—If we take Athens as the typical religious community of this period, and compare the structure and forms of the State-polytheism with that of the old Homeric world, we find the personalities of the pre-historic pantheon still worshipped and cherished; no cult of that epic world had as yet fallen into desuetude; nor had the most civilized city of Hellas discarded the immemorial rites of the simple peasant religion, the worship of rivers and streams, and some of the most naïve practices of Animism. And it is clear that this conservatism was not hieratic convention, but a living faith, expressing a religious intuition of the people, who were as yet untouched by the cooling influences of the new philosophic age of the 6th cent. In fact, for the greater part of the 5th cent. the life of the polytheism was probably stronger than it had ever been in the past. It was strengthened by the admission of a few new figures and by the development of some of the old. 2

1 v. 67.
2 Pan came in from Arcadia at the beginning of this century (see CIG xiv. 431), Amphipolis with his circle from Epeiros at the close.
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It is rather in respect of its spirit, tone, and outlook that the religion of the 6th cent. presents some striking contrasts to the Homeric. Its anthropomorphic character is, of course, great art-power; but it reveals a deeper conviction concerning the part played by moral agencies and powers of nature in affairs of mortals. The writings of Herodotus expound a religious view of history, of which only faint indications were found in the earlier epic literature. The historian of the 6th cent. regards the momentous contest of Greece with Persia as a conflict of moral forces, the issue being worked out by unseen powers such as Nemesis, Violence, and Justice, with Zeus as the righteous Judge; and, in weaving into his narrative the stories of Aesklepius heroes and the Eleusinian deities, Hebeton to the help of the Hellenes at Salamis, he doubtless represents the faith of the average Greek. A similar view was also impressed on the religious imagination of the people by oracular utterances, such as that which was imputed to the prophet Baktis at the oracle at Delphi, with 'Arany, 'Decest,' as a tempting deed standing by Asia. In this scene we trace also the influence of the famous tragedian of Aeschylus, the Persics, which in the last act of the Prometheus bounds the Pandromous conviction that pronounces moral judgment on the great event. The same view is expressed and the same tone heard in the striking poem of Pindar's eightfeet Pythian ode, where he extols over the triumph of the Hellenic hero, the armed Peace of Hellas, who has cast insolence into the sea, even as Zeus quelled the monster Typhon. 2

3. Pan-Hellenism. The Hellenic confederate effort against Persia was the nearest approach ever made by the Hellenic race to Pan-Hellenic action; and in a striking chapter of Herodotus, exalting the loyalty of the Athenians to the cause of Greece, emphasis is laid on the name of Zeus Hellenios. This is the highest political title of the Hellenic people, and its history is interesting. Originally the narrow tribal name of the god of the Hellenes, a small Thessalian group under the leadership of the Aesklepal, it was transported to Aigina by a migration of the same tribe, whose ancestor Aias was the high priest of Zeus Hellenios; already in the 6th cent., when the denizens of Hellenia fell from the title before the title may have had on a wider meaning. But it was the danger of the Persian wars and the part played in them—we may believe—by the men and the old heroes of Aigina that brought the cult into prominence, investing the cult-name with a wider significance and a more potent appeal. Here, then, we have the missive that might be realised by the poet, the artist, and the thinker, but never by any statesman or State. Another cult belonging to the same range as this was that of Zeus Eleutherios, the god of Hellenic freedom. Having driven out the Persians, they raised an altar to Zeus the god of the free, a fair monument of freedom for Hellas. These lines of Simonides commemorate the dedication of the Greeks after the victory at Platea, when they had purified the land and its shrine from the pollution of presence of the barbarian heroes of sacred fire brought from Delphi. The significance of this has been pointed out elsewhere by the present writer; the fight for liberty was prompted by more than a mere desire for possession, by an idea inherent in the

1 Erod. viii. 77.
3 See specially lines 500-505, 625-284.
4 In, 119, 62?
5 E. F. A. M. 51.
6 Id., 6. 108.
7 Id., 6. 108.
8 Id., 6. 108.
9 Id., 6. 108.
10 Plut. Viva. 60; Paus. ii. 8. 6.
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at Eleusis, aspiring thus to make the Hall of the Mysteries, a recent architectural work of the Periclean school, the center of a Pan-Hellenic faith.1 And their attempt in great measure succeeded.

5. Influence of religious art.—The study of the polytheism of this century is essential also to a study of the great religious art which culminated under Pheidias, but which continued forceful and prolific till the age of Alexander. This general effect of the iconic art upon Greek religion has been briefly indicated above; and long before this century the religious bias of the race was combined with idolatry. The philosophers created an image that they could love and cherish, though here and there they might retain the unorthodox fetish, the block of wood or rudely-hewn stone, because of the immemorial magic which it had acquired through ages of shy, half-savage veneration. The achievement of Pheidias and his contemporaries was only the culmination of a process of ideal anthropomorphism that began with Homer and was helped forward by the lyric poetry and music of the post-Homeric age, and by the art of the 6th century. Strictly estimated and studied in all its fullness, in the marvellous products of vase-painting, glyptic, and sculpture which even the shattered fabric of antiquity presents to us, the art of the 5th centuries must be called the most perfect religious art of the world. A more spiritual or more mystic religion could not have produced a work so detached from what we call an art. But it was the best and most satisfying expression of the best that the religious spirit of Hellenism admitted; for this polytheism had been built up by the teachers of the people—poets and artists obeying the race-instinct—not on vague conceptions of infinite godhead ineffable for art and inexpressible in clear speech, but on vivid perceptions of concrete divinities, personified, distinct in form, attributes, and character, robust and very real. The Greek artist, with his miraculous cunning of hand, could deal with these types as he could not have dealt with 'the Word' or with 'the Buddha.' Nor was he merely the exponent of the highest popular imagination, but, unscarcely perhaps and in opposition to a true art-tradition, at times a reformer and in any case a creator. For us his works have this value among others, that even more than the poetic literature, they reveal to us how the people at their best imagined their deities. But they also helped the people to imagine them better and more nobly. Perhaps the supreme hall of Halls that takes rank among the works of high religious inspiration is seen in the Attic vase-paintings produced near to 500 B.C. that portray the Idæus of Dionysus. The strong spirit of that religion which lifted the votary above the conventional, moral, human life, the wild joy of self-abandonment, the ecstasy of communion with the god, are here more startlingly expressed than even in the lyrics of the Bacchoe of Euripides or in the single perfect Bacchic ode of Sophocles' Antigone. It was not till the time of Skopas in the 4th cent. that Greek sculpture could so deal with this orgiastic theme. The glyptic work of the 5th cent. dealing with divine forms is mainly tranquil and intellectual; the physical perfection of the divinities sculptured on the Parthenon impresses us not so much with the sense of physical beauty and strength as with the sense of a higher and nobler vital power, so instinct is the beauty with that quality which the Greeks called σωφροσύνη—a quality partly ethical, partly spiritual, but palpable in material forms which hint at a transcendent element of strength. The expressive power of such an art can show benignity and mildness of mood without sentimentality, beauty without voluptuousness, intellectual thought without morbidness, majesty without stiffness.

The gentle and tranquilizing spirit of the Eleusinian mysteries speaks in the famous Eleusinian relief showing the Mother and the Maid giving his mission to Persephone. The Pheidias Athena Parthenos was a more deeply conceived ideal than the Athens of the poets, for it showed her as the Madonna of the Athenian people, with some touch of maternal gentleness in the face. The Zeus Olympius of Pheidias transcended the portrait of the High God as given by Homer or even by Hesiod; for the chryselephantine statue impressed the later Greeks as the ideal of the benign and friendly deity, the divine patron of a Hellest city and at peace with itself—an image that appeared to add something to the true religious religion,1 embodying, as Dio Chrysostom says, a conception of the god so convincing and complete that, having once seen it, one could not imagine him otherwise.2 Nor had any of the poets presented Hera in forms so winning and gracious as those in which the best art of this age embodied her, as the Argive goddess 'of good works,' in whose face and person brightness appeared by the side of majesty.3 The poetic presentation of Apollo is blurred and incomplete compared with the plastic type of the Parthenon frieze and the Pheidias statue in the Museo delle Terme. The older poetic ideal of Aphrodite was shallow and true; the Parthenon Aphrodite of the Pheidias type, as such as we see presented by the Labore head in the Louvre, here is something of the majesty of the great cosmic goddesses imagined by Hesiod in his Theogony, combined with an emotion of human love in the countenance, and a winning appeal that the verses of the great poet do not clearly convey. And we may suppose that the Okeania Aphrodite of Phidias, like the Tanagra Venus, explains the reason for the theory of Plato and his distinction between the heavenly and the sensual love. The full imagination of the possibility that in love would combine the radiance and the grace of the young cornfield with the awe and mystery of the lower world; the former is masterfully presented by a coin of Lampseus, which shows her rising from among the cornstalks with uplifted, yearning face;4 and the unknown artist of the great Syracusan medallion struck towards the close of the 8th cent., combines this aspect of her, in a type of surpassing loveliness, with a touch of melancholy that hints at the character of the goddess of Death.5 And yet this triumphant anthropomorphizing art must have failed, and, judged by the fragments that survive, did fail, when it tried to reveal in clear outline and full light the half-shrouded forms of the nether world, the chthonian goddesses and the Eumenides whose nature appealed to the sense of religious awe, to what the Greeks called το άγαθος, and did not brook to be wittled away. We have doubt, therefore, if even the Holy Ones, the Semnall of Kalamis and Skopas were types so expressive of the real moral-religious imagination which fashioned these figures of cult as were certain awe-struck verses of Sophocles in the Epyndias Colonae. Nevertheless, this ideal Greek art, by expressing in palpable forms of benign beauty a half-palpable personage of the lower world, did once, in the religious religion and the religious imagination; it banished the unorthodox and the terrible, and helped to purify and tranquillize the Greek mind by investing the chthonian powers with benevolence and grace.

We discern here the influence of the Bacchic and...
that marked the typical character of the greatest age of Hellenas. And all three genially and without querulous protest, though with some freedom of criticism, accept the existing religious order, desiring to ennoble it, not to destroy it. Pindar himself was the establisher of certain new cults, and the first great literary preacher in Greece of Orphic eschatology, and we may, therefore, find the greatest poet in Europe who raised the theme of Paradise to the level of the highest poetry. Such a marvel of song on the mysteries of life and death as the second Olympian ode was a new voice in Hellenas; how far it echoed, and with what influence on the faith of the people, is impossible to measure with accuracy. For the progress of this new eschatology, which is a weighty subject for the history of later Hellenism, we have some important negative evidence in the fact that neither Eschylus nor Sophocles shows an acquaintance with, or knowledge of Orphism or interest in it, or any preoccupying concern with the state of the soul after death; nor in their occasional utterances concerning posthumous judgment do they go beyond the popular traditional view; though the thoughtful refinement of Sophocles suggested to him that there might be forgiveness of sins and reconciliation after death. Nor do we find anywhere in the works of the two dramatists any hint of that pregnant Orphic doctrine to which Pindar gives voice, that humanity is divided into two classes of race, the one to "be saved," the other to "be saved not,"—a doctrine which passed into the higher thought of later Greece.

Leaving aside this special question, we find a certain general resemblance in the ethics and religious emotions and perceptions of the people.

4. Influence of literature; Pindar, Aeschylus, Sophocles. More familiar, and apparently more effective, was the religio-literature of the later period. The mood of the epic and the ode was a religious one; the world was full of religious emotions and inspired with religious emotions. The entire atmosphere was religious, and the scenes of religious emotion were filled with the influence of religion. The influence of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides was felt in the literature of the period. The influence of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides was felt in the literature of the period. The influence of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides was felt in the literature of the period. The influence of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides was felt in the literature of the period. The influence of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides was felt in the literature of the period. The influence of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides was felt in the literature of the period. The influence of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides was felt in the literature of the period. The influence of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides was felt in the literature of the period. The influence of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides was felt in the literature of the period. The influence of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides was felt in the literature of the period. The influence of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides was felt in the literature of the period.

These poets also deal with the question of Fate and Destiny. The personal Man was an old, though insignificant, figure of the popular religion and mythology; Homer is aware of him and has to reckon with her. She might become more formidable under the philosophic conception of Ἐλπίδα, which appeared in the philosophy of Herakleitos; and we know that later philosophy and cultivated thought were much perplexed over the problem of the reconciliation of Fate with the idea of a free divine Providence. These poets, taking their cue from Homer, "follow a short cut," interpreting Moira as the voice or agent or "empowerment of the power" of Zeus. The pupil of Phidias, Theokritos of Megara, was working out the same idea when he carved the Fate with Hestia as subordinate adjuncts to the great form of Zeus.
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We may say, then, that both the poetry and the art of this period worked for the deliverance of the polytheism from the burden of fatalism, which tends to lower the value of all theistic religion. As a result, while adhering in certain points to purifying the traditional polytheism, was capable of religious thought that went beyond the theo-patheism and theo-mysticism. The high god Zeus is generally for them a definite personal Being; but once at least Aeschylus transcends this apprehension of him, and defines Zeus pantheistically, a supreme, cosmic force; a fragment of his Hekate speaks of him thus: ‘Zeus is air, earth, heaven; Zeus is the whole of things, whatever is higher still than these.’ Moreover, the other divine forces that shape our lives are presented by him and his fellow-poets not always as the but as moral powers that are only half-personal, not as concrete individual deities but as emanations of these. We may call them ‘personifications of moral ideas,’ and some are no more than what this phrase implies, such as those, for instance, with which Euripides capriciously plays. But some may rather be described as the soul-powers of the High God, like in some ways to the Persians Zoroaster; such are Aeschylus’ Eros, ‘love’; Orphism’s Orpheus, ‘song’; Orphism’s Dionysus, ‘wine’; Orphism’s the maiden daughter of God, who shines in the poor man’s smoke-dimmed cabin, and, in the very heart of Sophocles’ Aias, ‘the throne of God to deal with all the deeds of men.’ While Aeschylus’ genius inclines to the brighter of these emanations, Aeschylus broods rather over the gloomy forces of the shadowy world, which he might at times be constrained to present in palpable concrete form for stage purposes, and yet his own deeper thought could grasp as half-outlined spiritual truths, and in less real bodies instead. The ordinary Hellenes in his religious perceptions laid too much stress on personal individuality, as if this were the only criterion of ideal reality: from his point of view, if Eros was to be a real force of the spiritual world, then Eros must be imagined as a beautiful youth. But Aeschylus’ Athene in striking Sophocles’ fragment is no longer presented as a personal goddess but as a diffused pantheistic force. And the Attic drama may have enlarged the mental outlook of the succeeding generations in this matter; for the author of the speech against Aristogeiton in the 4th cent. must have been sure that his audience would understand him when he said: ‘All mankind have altars dedicated to Justice, Law-abidingness, Pity, the fairest and holiest (being those) in the very soul and nature of each individual.’ This is just how Euripides might speak.

The great 6th cent. poets were all moralists, each in his own way. The history of Greek ethics concerns us only at the several points where it touches religion; and to this history, both generally and on its religious side, the works of Aeschylus and the three dramatists make important contributions. Of special interest is their attitude to Greek mythology, which, in spite of its general brightness and beauty, seriously needed in parts the puritanical reformer, if it was to be harmonized with the higher religious thought. But none of these poets, not even the grave Aeschylus, was willing to undertake such a rôle. Aeschylus that such as the cannibalism of the gods in the myth of Pelops, or blasphemous stories such as the theomachies and the combats of heroes against divinities: ‘Let all war and strife stand far apart from the immortals,’ is a good sentiment, but for the expurgation of Greek mythology and for the enrichment of Greek ethico-religious thought. But neither Aeschylus nor the two older dramatists protest against the three-theistic mythos which accepts at need various legends about the amours of the gods. In fact, the axiom that sexual purity was an essential attribute of all divinity was not yet accepted by the higher thought of Greece.

Pindar’s freedom and sense of irresponsibility in regard to myths has a certain value, in that it shows that the futilities and improprieties of mythology—the ‘unhappy stories of heroes’—were not necessarily a burden on the stronger religious minds of Hellenes, and that they could be gently excised from the polytheism without endangering the popular worship and faith, which in the main were independent of them.

As for the two dramatists, Pindar’s contemporaries, mythology was their public business: and they accepted it glibly because they were not in the first place moral teachers but dramatists; it did not, therefore, occur to them to question the relationships between the gods and hero or demigod. But these might be select, discard, or re-shape; they could take the great legends of the past—legends of Thebes, the story of the Nephelai and of the Abduction of Ajax—all of them irreconcilable in parts with higher morality and religion, and invest them with as much morality as the tradition admitted. This they did with force and subtlety. And generally the moral spirit and imagination of Aeschylus and Sophocles must be counted among the spiritual facts of this period with which the history of Greek ethics and religion must deal. Doubtless the older and robust poet was the stronger moral and religious force: his protests against the superstitions of Nemesis, his profound utterances concerning moral responsibility and the moral continuity that links our lives and actions, his discovery that suffering brings wisdom—these are landmarks in the ethical history of Greece; while with Sophocles the conviction is no less deep of the sternness and divinity of the moral law. They were the last spokesmen of a civic-imperial system with a civic religion and morality that had not yet passed its zenith. Of further, art. AESCHYLUS, SOPHOCLES.

5. Euripides.—The plays of Euripides in this spiritual history of Hellenes was wholly different. Younger contemporary of Sophocles as he was, he seems to belong to a different age. In his work and thought is reflected far more fully than in the older poets of the same century the new mental life which was fostered by the philosophers and the sophists. The influence of the physical speculations of the 6th cent. and of those of Demokritos and Anaxagoras of the 5th, which at some points advanced further in materialism, had had time to penetrate the more gifted minds and to compel the public to a certain attention. The paid ‘sophist,’ the pioneer of modern education and the first champion of the critical spirit, was travelling around. And after 470 B.C. the imperial greatness of Athens had begun to attract the greatest teachers and thinkers of the age. It was of great moment for Euripides that such as Anaxagoras and Protagoras were active in Athens for many years, and that he had enjoyed familiar intercourse with them, as he also enjoyed with Soocrates. It is clear that the poet is inspired by the maxims and spirit; he was also learned in Orphism, antiquarianism, and remote folklore. Being by nature a great poet, he had also something of the weak,
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ness of the 'polymath' or the 'intellectual'; he had not the steadiness of brain or strong conviction enough to evolve a systematic philosophy or clear religious faith; his was, in fact, the stimulating, eager, critical spirit, not the creative. His mental sympathies and interests shift and range from pole to pole. He is a secularist in his view of the world, and has shadowed a secular treatment of ethics based on ideas of πλεον and heredity—though a chorus of his maidens may praise chastity as 'the fairest gift of the gods.' It was, therefore, possible, though most unjust, that Aristophanes should call him an atheist. On the other hand, he is capable of profound religious sentiment and exalted religious utterance, and strikes out flashes of light that might kindle and illuminate a higher religion. Therefore it was possible for Clement of Alexandria to find in some of his words a foreshadowing of Christ. 1 He remains for us an enigma, and probably no final judgment will ever be pronounced upon him, in which we shall all agree. But the student of Greek religion must confront these two questions about him: (a) What was his real sentiment concerning the popular religion? (b) What were his contributions to religious thought, and what was likely to be his influence on the religious temperament of his audience and readers? To make up one's mind on these questions demands a long and careful study of the distinction between Euripides the playwright and Euripides the thinker. It is the confusion of this distinction that leads, for instance, to the strangely erroneous view of the religious significance of his Bacchae. A sympathetic reading of many of the plays must convey the impression that certain cult-figures and legends of the polytheism filled the more or less conscious mind of the poet at times, but seems to compose as if he had a personal hatred of Apollo and Aphrodite in particular, for instance in the Ion and Hippolytus. When he can interpret Aphrodite as a cosmic force, he can dilate on this as beautifully and artfully as Lucretius; if he could have believed that Apollo was merely the sun, as he tells us they 'were well aware, he might have forgiven him. But it is the real personal hatred of Homer and Helen, the personal Apollo, the father of Ion, the seducer of Klytemnestra and Clytemnestra, that rakesle in his mind. When he handles the story of the madness of Helen and brings Madness on the Bacchae, he has a first mouthpiece to convey to the Athenians what he thought of Hera; 2 just as he puts into the mouth of Amphitryon his own morbid criticism of the action of Zeus. 3 Yet with other parts of the polytheism he seems at times in the most glowing sympathy: in the Hippolytus, for instance, where he expresses for the first time in literature the religious rapture of purity; in the Bacchae, where he discovers the necessary phrase for the expression of the Bacchic communion, for the ecstasy of the Menad revel on the mountain, in verses that tingle with the nature-magic that was at the root of this wild cult. Yet no one should be deceived into thinking that he is preaching the cause of Dionysian worship; for the Bacchae closes with that depressing antithesis, where Dionysos plays the sorriest part, and Euripides' own sour dislike of the personal traditional gods plays an unpleasant flavour to the last scene. It is this bitterness of protest and criticism in this poet that strikes a new note in Greece; and Euripides may be regarded as the first in European history to be possessed with the theological temper. It cannot be said that he preached a new religion: he was no votary even of Orphism; for, though, as the Bacchae and the fragment of his Orestes at least, he felt something of its spell, he was not of that cast of mind which could be deceived by its pharisaic ritual and laws of diet, and he certainly cherished no mystic belief concerning the life after death. Nor can he be truly described as a social reformer of the people's faith and practice; for the reformer must have some belief in that which he wishes to reform, and the Euripides firmly believed in any part of the polytheism is hard to maintain; his final attitude is generally a doubt. Nevertheless, his protests might have been of value to the more cultured citizen who in his look to his spirit worship. They are directed mainly and most forcibly against the stories of divine vindictiveness and divine licentiousness. He is evidently touched with the new idea that vengeance is alien to the perfect nature of God; this was still more insistently proclaimed by the Pythagoreans, by Plato, and later philosophers. 4 On the second count his protest is suggested by the notion that was dawning in him that purity in every sense was essential to the divine nature; he is then the herald in literature of a thought which Orphism may have prompted, and which was to play a leading part in later religion and religious speculation, but which was unfamiliar to his contemporaries either in Hellas or anywhere in the Mediterranean except in Israel. His leading principle of criticism in all these matters is expressed in the Iphigenia as Tauris, namely, that the coming of the hero and legend arises from men imputing their own evil nature to God. 5 We owe much to the man who first uttered this warning against a debasing anthropomorphism.

The immoral elements in Greek mythology, which have been constantly reprobated by ancient and modern writers, have often blinded them to the fact that Greek religion, at certain times in its development, was mainly pure and refined. The stories about the gods, often of the type natural to savage folklore, did not constitute ancient religion; and they were the less able to choke the growth of a higher ethical-religious spirit in that they were not enshrined in sacred books that could speak with authority to the people. Yet we have not infrequent proofs in Greek literature, notably in Plato's Euthyphro, that they might exercise at times an immoral influence on men's conduct. Meanwhile the education of men in the 5th and 6th centuries had awakened men's minds to the importance of the moral question in literature. And the protests of Plato are well known in his scheme of education in the Republic; and the same moral point of view prompts him to his puritanical legislation against poets. Such moral movements in the polytheistic societies of Greece are interesting to mark, though their effect is often difficult to estimate. The new puritanical spirit had probably a wholesome influence on the more cultured minds; it had little influence on the mass of the people, nor does the later poetry of the Hellenistic period show much trace of it.

As regards the actual forms of Greek ritual and worship, Euripides has nothing revolutionary to say. He appears to have a strong dislike for prophets, and in this he was in some accord with Zechylus, Sophocles, and the Athenian people. He shows great distrust for Delphi; and its influence was doubly impaired at Athens during the Peloponnesian war. He protests against sacrifices, as a barbaric and non-Hellenic institution; and on one occasion the speaker argues that the gods need nothing from mortals at all: the thought was suggested merely by dramatic exigencies; and Euripides nowhere attempts a crusade.

1 See Parnell, Higher Aspect, p. 114.
2 I. 521.
3 Iph. Thes. 261.
4 Clem. Strom. p. 491 P.
against the value of sacrifice in general. He has
ownly one important thing to say about it, namely,
that the small sacrifice of the pious often outweighs
the large sacrifice of the sacrilegious. This is the
more spiritual view of the divine nature, and is not
infrequently expressed in the later literature; accord-
ingly, Theopompus, and the Hellenistic Judaism, this
higher view of sacrifice was even encouraged by the Delphic
oracle.

There is much, indeed, in the sentiments of
Euripides which might have elevated and cleared
the religious thoughts of his age; but it is doubt-
ful if his ultimate conception of godhead, as it
tended toward—whence it might have come to con-
form with the anthropomorphic polytheism of the people,
or if those most conversant with his tone and
inspired by his spirit could have remained long in
sympathy with orthodoxy. And there is an instinct
in Euripides which enhances his value for the
modern man, but which in the long run was to be
subservient of the old civic religion, namely, the
humanitarian or cosmopolitan instinct—that which
allowed him to sympathise with Trojans, women,
children, and slaves, which inspired him with the
beautiful thought that ‘the whole earth is the
good man’s fatherland,’ which prompted him to
depise the life of civic duty and activity, and to
recommend, as Aristotle does, the secluded and
conspicuous life. The further development of
this cosmopolitan spirit and its effect on the old
civic religion will be noted below.

It has been necessary to dwell so long on Euripides,
not only for the reasons mentioned above, but also
because, owing to the vogue that he won in his
lifetime and that was greatly to increase after his
death, he was more of the great men of letters must be regarded as the popularizer of
the new enlightenment. Cf., further, art. EURIPIDES.

6. Influence of the new enlightenment on the
people's religion. Euripides himself had individu-
ally exercised any immediate religious influence upon
the popular mind, either for good or for harm,
and is not easy to decide with precision; for there were
other exponents than he of the same free and
more advanced thought which began to express itself
early in the 6th century. As a result, we are able
to discern the religious view of human life and
conduct becoming what we should term more
spiritual, more inward. The moral judgment
begins to look to the soul or the inner principle; the
conscience begins. We know of any thing of God as a
spiritual power can read the heart of man, and
judges by that; that sin lies not in the external act alone; inwardness, inward spiritual purity,
is of less avail than purity of soul. Such thoughts
as these, which could serve as the foundations
stones of a new religion, and which helped to shape
the later religious history of Europe, were not
merely an inheritance from the speculations of the 6th
century, and were in the air of the 5th. We cannot
think that they were confined to the philosophic circles
until Euripides gave them publicity; for the
notable oracle quoted and commented on by Herod-
ottus had proclaimed to the people the novel view
that a sinful purpose was the same in the sight of
God as a sinful act; Epicarmus had preached the
higher ideal of purity: ‘If thou art pure in mind,
thou art pure in thy whole body.’ It was perhaps
if the things of the 5th century, that
some rhetorician of the school of Gorgias inter-
polated the poem of Hesiod's Works and Days,
which reveals an exalted view of the High God.

We may believe, then, that this higher religious
ethic had a certain elevating influence on the
popular imagination. The question of immediate
interest is whether we can trace any effects of this
in actual worship. Did the new enlightenment,
for instance, lead to the abolition or reform of
sacrifices or impair forms of sacrifice? 7. Human sacrifice.—This question involves the
consideration of the practice of human sacrifice,
which had certainly been prevalent in pre-historic
and early historic Greece, as in other Mediterranean
communities. We have evidence that in the 5th
and 4th centuries the practice was of rare occurrence
in the Greek world, and was repugnant to
the religious morality of all but the most back-
ward. The Plutonian dialogue of the Menos
contrasts the Greeks with the barbarians in this matter,
yet implies that the Arcadians in the cult of Zeus
Lykaion and the men of Helos in that of Zeus
Laphystias continued the cruel offerings which
diagnosed their Hellenism. Euripides attributes that
the human sacrifice once customary in the rites of
Artemis near Brauron had been, before his day,
transformed into a mere fiction. The Locran sacri-
fice of the maidens to appease the wrath of Apollo
illias fell into desuetude in the 4th cent. B.C., and
at some time earlier than this the Athenians must
have ceased to imitate the Δαναίες in their
Theagenes. The Rhodians ceased their confections,
and at the same time maintained their immemorial
rites, by choosing as a human victim to Krone
a malefactor who had been condemned to death.
According to Porphyry, the practice survived here
and there under the Roman Empire until the time of
Hadrian.

But the better sentiment of Greece had probably
begun to work as early as the time of Homer; for
certain legends concerning the abolition of this
ritual and the substitution of the animal for the
human life sacrifice in the pre-historic period; and
the merciful reform in the ritual was ascribed
to the High God himself in a Leocanian legend
which closely resembles the story of the
sacrifice of Ixion. The humanitarian spirit, then, had asserted itself before the 6th cent.; but doubtless the higher
teaching and thinking of this and the succeeding
age quickened its influence.

8. Phallic ritual.—As regards that element in
Greek ritual which by modern taste is pronounced
impure, there is little trace of any attempt at
改革 in any of the phallic ceremonies. The
element was indeed but slight. The forms of
worship were, on the whole, decorous, often stately
and beautiful; and the Greek care of the external ritualistic purity
was of less avail than purity of soul. Such thoughts
as these, which could serve as the foundations
stones of a new religion, and which helped to shape
the later religious history of Europe, were not
merely an inheritance from the Hellenic or other
Hellenic mysteries, although the Christian
Fathers are eager in their insinuations. The
Hellenic cults of the Oriental Aphrodite were
generally innocent of such of temple-prostiti-
tution which was found in certain Anatolian cults,
and which scandalized the Greek writers: the
Christian writers; the few impure titles attaching

1 The feeling about the sacrifce of aphorgines as manifested in the
Agamemnon of Sophocles and the story about the Boeotian general,
and the interlude of the 6th cent. in the labours of
Leuktre. (Plutarch, Vit. Philop. 21, f.) are sufficient proof; cf.
Eur. (Iph. Taur. 396.)

2 Cfr. Herod. vii. 197, who shows that the human sacrifice was
rare and conditional.


4 Stich. Teo. Lyophor. 114; see CIG II. 228.

5 Cfr. CIG IV. 757-758.

6 Pho. de Askein. 64.

7 Th. 55. see above, p. 641.

8 Pan. Patr. 35; see above, p. 641.

9 Parnall. 207. see above, p. 641.

10 For the signs of the cult of Aphrodite at Corinth and
among the Lokri Epeirophor: see CIG II. 235 f.
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to this goddess may well have arisen in the later period of the decadent polytheism. In the early ages, it is clear, the wholesome and temperate influences of the Helenic spirit had worked upon the forms of the polytheism. Nevertheless, in the ritual of a few deities—Demeter, Hermes, Dionysos, and even Artemis herself—sexual emblems were occasionally in vogue and dangerous. The more or less licentious character is mentioned, though these are very rare; while in the Thesmophoria and other sacrifices of Demeter, what was called aexagalyne, indecent and licentious badinage, was indulged in by the women among themselves, or more rarely with the men also. We note that such ritual is practically confined to vegetation-cults, and in some it is merely vegetation-magic, hardly attaching to the divinity, or affecting his or her moral aspect. The phallic emblem and the procession called the gteleins or phallaria were specially associated with Dionysos and Hermes; and Plutarch, a man of more than average culture and refinement, and strikingly susceptible to the spiritual influences of the more mystic religions, describes it as a harmless adjunct of the ancestral and cheerful Dionysiac ritual of the Boeotian people. And it is in this sense that against this element in Greek ritual there is scarcely a word of protest in all the ethical and philosophic literature of Greece. The exception is only a fragmentary utterance by Herodotus, which had nothing against the phallic procession of Dionysos; but the exact sense of his words is not quite clear. The higher moral thought of Greece on this matter is probably more nearly represented in the utterance of Aristotle in the Politics, where he lays down the same rules for the training of the young:

"No improper emblem as painting or any representation of impropriety is to be allowed by the archon, except in the cults of those divinities to whom the law attaches the ritual of impurity. Thus, in their case the law allows those of more advanced age to perform the divine service in behalf of themselves and their children, but not in the presence of the young." (2)

Even in the last three centuries before Christ, when greater stress was continually being laid upon purity in cult, no protest is heard against these old-world forms, which have maintained themselves in many parts of Europe down to the present day, in spite of the denunciations of Christianity. The seeming paradox is explained when we reflect that the sense of purity changes its content in the different generations; and, secondly, that the Helenic, like all the other Mediterranean religious systems, regarded the physical process as creative power as belonging to the divine character and as part of his cosmic creative force; therefore an emblem that was securely impure might be more allowablecult

g. Survival of other primitive ritual. There is much besides in old Greek ritual that appears to us harmless, but unsmooth and irrational; strange and naive things were done that primitive ideas of magic and animism inspired; and one may be surprised to find that the higher culture of the 5th and succeeding centuries is not known to have suppressed a single one of these. Still in the time of Theophrastos, and indefinitely later, the Athenians were capable of the quaint old-world ritual of the Boukonomia, that strange medley of phallic, magical, and dramatic make-believe; (3) in the time of Democritus (4) they were capable of bringing up to judgment in the law-courts an and, or any other incident that had to do with the death of a man or of the sacred ox, and solemnly condemning it to be thrown into the sea. The driving out of

1 Orph. 687.
2 e.g. in the cult of Artemis Ephesia in Elia, said to be of Lydian origin (O.C. II. 445).
3 P. Oxy. V. 3, 3.
4 B.C. 55, frag. cxviii.
5 vii. 17, p. 1588.
7 xii. 70.
8 vol. VI. 27.

1 Serr. ad Verg. Aen. iii. 57.
2 See Pasch. Or. and Sch. pp. 76-80.
3 See 5th cent. inscription of Teos containing a law threatening with penalties those who used magic against the State or against individuals (Roeh., Imag. Inscrip. Gr. Antiqu. Berlin, 1894, p. 409, no. 497).
4 302 E. 486 B.
5 Or. 30, 5 18.
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at the supposed insult to the Eleusinian Mysteries, at the neglect of the dead after the battle of Arginusai, may be evidence of morbid religiosity, and is surely inconsistent with a general prevalence of asceticism; in these epitases the whole people reveal a passionate attachment to their holy mysteries, to their quaint phallic Hermes-images on which the luck and the life of the State depended, to the duties of the loving tendance of the dead.

Even their animistic beliefs concerning the common phenomena of the physical world had not yet been estiripated or purged by the physical philosophy of Ionia; for, according to Plato, it was still a dangerous paradox, which his Socrates disclaims before the jury, to maintain with Anaxagoras that the sun and the moon are merely material bodies and not in themselves divine. Intellectually, Nikias appears inferior to Homer's Hektor. It was Athens that produced in the 4th cent. the superstitious man of Theophrastus; but it is right to bear in mind that she also produced the man who could so genially and tolerantly expose that character.

11. Influence of comedy.—Those who believe that the faith in the polytheism was falling into rapid decay by 400 B.C. sometimes quote as way of evidence the corrupting influence of Attic comedy in dealing with the divine personalities; the notorious example is the ludicrous figure and part of Dionysos in the four of Aristophanes. Yet the notion of the people who enjoyed the humour of the play were more devoted to Dionysos than to most of the other persons of their pantheon. If the 'excellent feeling' of Aristophanes is a proof of popular unbelief, what shall we say of that Attic term-mitter of the 6th cent. which represents the god half-salve and half-drunk on the back of a mule and supported by an anxious Silenus? The present writer has suggested that 'this is some peasant's dedication, who feared his god little but loved him much, and treated him as his comrade.'

12. Waning of political value of Delphi.—There are certain external events in the history of Greek religion towards the close of the 5th cent. that must be noted in a general sketch of its career. One is the waning of the political influence of the Delphic oracle; its secular mission appeared to have been accomplished. It was the time of Greek colonial expansion had closed; at the first terror of the Persian invasion, the great State anxiously resorted to Delphi for guidance, but the priesthood failed to rise to the Pan-Hellenic occasion and played a double game. During the Peloponnesian war it was obvious that they were 'Lacronizing'; nor were they ever given again an opportunity of heading 'la haute politique de Hellas'; and in the middle of the 4th cent. Demosthenes could speak contemptuously of 'the shadow at Delphi, although the Asklepieion of Kos, according to the 5th and 6th centuries the chief seat of Hellenism in the spheres of religion and morality. It came to serve the purposes of a private confessional, giving advice on questions of conscience; its council was generally sane and often enlightened, and shows the priests as possessed with the progressive spirit of Greek ethical philosophy.'

13. Spread of Asklepios-worship. — Another event of importance is the diffusion of the cult of Asklepios and the growing influence on the Hellenic mind of this one obscure hero or earth-spirited demi-god as a kind of god of medicine. In Sicily in the latter part of the 5th and 4th centuries, Asklepios in Sicily had been introduced with 12. Aristophanes in Sicily had been beforehand with Aristophanes in venturing on burlesque of divine actions, Hephastos and Herakles specially lending themselves to ridiculous situations. Even in the 4th century the same gay irreverence had occasionally appeared, as in the Homeric hymn to Hermes. These things do not necessarily arise from an anti-religious spirit, but they may be taken as indications of a certain vein in the Hellenic character, a lightheartedness and a reckless freedom in dealing with certain occasions, with things divine that is markedly in contrast to the Oriental spirit. Nevertheless, it is not improbable that comedy at Athens and elsewhere did gradually exercise a weakening or a debasing influence on the popular faith. For the other posts of Attic comedy took greater liberties than even Aristophanes: Kratinos, Teldiades, and Plato of the 5th cent. Amphipolis of the 4th, did not shrink from introducing the High God himself on the stage in ridiculous and licentious situations. There probably was some reserve and no gross indecency in the presentation of these plots. And much is conceded to the spirit of the Carnival, especially when a certain sēxopoiētā was sanctified by custom and ritual. Nevertheless, the more earnest-minded of the Athenians may have agreed with Plato's condemnation of such a handling of divine personages; and, though the popular faith may have been robust enough to endure such shocks, one cannot but suspect that the people's religious imagination suffered a debasement in moral tone. A few south-Italian versions of the god on which are scenes that appear to have been inspired by such comedies, are the worst examples of Hellenic vulgarity.

1 OSB 122-124.

2 Dep. 970 C, where he seems to glance at Epicharmos.
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15. Religion in first half of 4th century B.C.—Yet it is hazardous and probably false to say that the public religion of Greece was decaying visibly throughout the first half of the 4th century. Athens is, as usual, our chief witness. The restored democracy was as it were a new school; it created the spirit, and almost succeeded in establishing the cult of the new goddess of Peace, Eirene, for whose presence among them the weary Athenians might well yearn; it also perfected the ideal of Demeter, the Madre Dolorosa of Greek myth, whose Eleusinian rites with their benignant promise of salvation added power and significance to the later polytheism. The literature of this period still attests the enduring vitality of the popular religion. The Attic oratory of the 4th cent. was more religious in its appeal than any modern has been, as might be expected of a time when there was yet no divorce conceivable between Church and State. It is noticeable, however, that the religious faith of the individual orator, but of the religious temper of the audience, which is attested by many striking passages in the speeches. According to Antiphanes, the punishment of sinners and the avenging of the wronged are specially the concern of the duties of the nether world; and he adds that the soul may be punished for an error of speech. He recognizes the importance of the Attic religion and mythology, and the greatest of his speeches closes with a fervent and pious prayer. It is well to remember ourselves the political or forensic orator is a true witness to the average popular belief than the poet or the philosopher.

16. Plato’s attitude towards the popular religion. —On this background of Greek religious thought as embodied in the surviving writings or records of the philosophic schools of Hellas is far too large a subject even to be adumbrated here; and a general survey of the religion can only notice shortly the leading thinkers whose works there is reason to think had vogue and lasting influence upon the religious world. Among these the chief belongs to Plato; and the full account of Greek religion, both in the period that precedes the downfall of Greek independence and in the periods that follow, must include a critical estimate of his religious speculation. This is no place for an elaborate consideration of the metaphysics of his ideal theory, or the relations of his ideas to a theistic system; only the most general observations may be allowed for the purpose of this sketch. To understand his main attitude towards the popular cults, and his influence upon the later educated world of Greece, we must recognize once and for all that, idealist and formal as he was, he was no revolutionary or iconoclast in matters of religion: he would reform Greek mythology, purging it of stories of divine conflicts, divine vengeance, divine sacrifices; he was fortunate in being born in his sacred books, he feels that this might be done gently and easily without disturbance to the established forms of worship. He does not desire to abandon or idolatry, but he inclines to simplicity in the offerings; in one passage he even maintains that the legislator will not change a single detail of the ritual, if only for the reason that he does not know anything of the inner truth that may lie behind such outward forms. Even in his most advanced physical and metaphysical speculations, he finds a place for the popular pantheon; in the hierarchic scale of things the Olympians are ranged somewhere below the divine transcendental God of the Universe. The Timaeus dialogue presents some interesting theologic dogmas; here in the scale of divine creation, the Olympian pantheon, which seems to be accepted rather for the sake of tradition, is given the third place, after the planets and the sun, which are the second works of the supreme Creator, the first being the cosmic Heaven. These deities of the polytheism, then, are not immortal in their own nature, but are held together for all eternity by the will of the Highest God. And it was to them that he committed the formation of man, and lent for this purpose a portion of His own immortality; the mortality of man is thus accounted for, which would have been inexplicable had man sprung directly from the immortal Supreme Being. It is interesting for our present purpose to note that this ecstatic and transcendental system of the great master and parent of Greek theosophy, would leave the established religion more or less unpimpered; it even accepts its data at certain points, namely, the nativity of its gods, and draws the logical conclusion that gods who were born could not be by essence immortal: therefore Zeus could not be accepted as the Absolute and Supreme Being of the Cosmoe. It also proclaims the idea of an immortal element in man, which, again, is in accord with the contemporary popular faith in the survival of some parts of ourselves. But the work which reflects most vividly the popular religion and betrays the strongest sympathy with it is the Laws, a work of Plato’s old age, in which the conservative spirit of the religious reformer is no less striking than the intellectual decay of the philosopher. He accepts the greater part of the civic political religion, merely purifying the mythology and some of the ideas of the divinity; and it is striking how easily he finds in its materials ready to hand on which he can

1 Proop. 1082.
2 Plat. Apol. 115.
3 Apology, A. x 11.
4 Is. Myst. 125; cf. 111.
5 Is. Myst. 824.
6 Laws, 650 A. B.
7 Epicureans, 398 D.
8 de G. 60. 694 D.
9 pp. 84-86.
build an exalted ethical religious system of rights and duties, especially those which concern the life of the family and the groups of kinship. In fact, the background of the thought in this lengthy treatise is almost always the Greek Polis, though glimpses may here and there break through of a wider vista. Plato expresses a prejudice against all forms of private and orgiastic cult, which were dangerously enticing to women; any doubtful question that might arise concerning rite or cult he would leave to the decision of the oracles of Delphi or other Zeus Ammon near ways.

We feel generally that Plato did not consciously assume the part of an apostle of a new order of religion, but that both in his philosophy and in his religious theory he found a sufficient point d'appui in the old, of which he tried to strengthen the moral potentialities. The later sects which attached themselves to his name or to his school were deeply interested in religious speculation, which degenerates at last into the mystic superstition of Neo-Platonism. Therefore, as the work of Aristotle belongs to the history of European science, so the philosophy of Plato concerns the later history both of pre-Christian and of Christian religious thought. To estimate exactly how his influence worked on the better portion of the centuries before Christ is impossible. We may naturally and with probability surmise that he contributed much to the diffusion of the belief in the spiritual nature and personal God, to the exposition of the crude notions of divine vindictiveness and jealousy, to the interpretation of the external world in terms of mind and spirit; and, as against any materialistic expression, to the acceptance of the belief in the divinity of the human soul, and its affinity with God, and in the importance of its posthumous state. If, at the later periods, the religion of the Hellenes had been less rationalized, and the old polytheism still able to fulfil some degree the religious wants of the individual worshipper. And scholars who have been tempted to anticipate the death of Hellenism in the 4th century B.C., have often ignored, among other evidence, this important historic fact that in the 4th century B.C. it was still vital enough to make foreign conquests, to penetrate and take possession of Carthage, for instance, and that in the 3rd century B.C. it began to secure for itself a new lease of life within the city and the growing Empire of Rome; in fact, the last chapter of Greek religion falls within the Roman Imperial period.

17. Religious art in the 4th century. — Our general survey is now approaching that period of world-change brought about by the rise of Macedon. But, before leaving the scene of the free city-State, we should be better able to estimate the religious works done by the great 4th century B.C. masters of sculpture before the power of Alexander reached its zenith. The perception of the significance of the Sophianic to be expected, plastic types of the Dioscuri and his Thisae, and his work rivalled at least, if it did not surpass, in inspiration of tumultuous life the masterpiece of the older Attic vase-painters noticed above. Praxiteles, the master of the gentler modes of the soul, in the religions sphere consummated the types of Aphrodite and Demeter; the almost perfect embodiment of the latter goddess, the Cnidian Demeter of the British Museum, has affinity with the spirit, if not with the formal style, of this school, and combines something of the tearful expression of the Madre Dolorosa with the blitheness of the corn-goddess. We are conscious, indeed, of a change in the representation of divinity. The works of this later generation have lost the majesty and awe, the σωματον, as the Greeks called it, of the 5th cent. art; nor can the Greek States command any longer the creation of the chryselephantine; it was probably in the earlier half of the 4th cent., of the orgiastic fraternity devoted to Sabazios, with which Ασκληπιον

1 For particulars, see Farnell, Higher Aspects, pp. 67, 68-69, 117, 129. 2 See CUV III. 190-192. 3 BCH xxvi. 299-310. 4 Tb. 199.
in his youth was associated. But it is not till the
Macedonian period that the epicographic record of
these gilds begins; henceforth the inscriptions are
numerous enough to make the religious history
and their organisation and their wide prevalence throughout the
Hellenic world. Their importance for the history of
religion is great on various grounds.

The development of the idea of a
humanitarian religion in that they transcend in
most cases the limits of the old tribal and civic
religion and invite the stranger; so that the mem-
bers, both men and women, associate voluntarily,
no longer on the ground of birth or status, but
drawn together by their personal devotion to a
particularengtment to whom they stand as
intimate and individual relation than the ordinary
citizen could stand to the divinities of his tribe and
city. This sense of divine fellowship might
sometimes have been enhanced by a sacrament
which the members partook of together; we know
that this was the bond of fellowship in the Samo-
thracian mysteries, which were beginning to ap-
pear widely in the early Hellenistic world. A
common meal at least, a love-feast or 'Agape',
formed the chief bond of the theoseoi, and this was
a 'hymn'. On the other hand, we have no
record of the departed brother or sister. There was nothing
to prevent the theoseoi choosing as its patron-deity
some one of the leading divinities of traditional
politeia, as would have been the case if, as Pausanias
supposed them, to stand in any natural
antagonism; for instance, there were local reasons
why Greek merchants whose central meeting-place
was Rhodes should form theocheis under the protec-
tion and in the name of Zeus Xenios, the god who
protects the stranger, or that of Athenes Lintza, the
ancient and powerful divinity of Lintza, or of
Hellas, the pre-historic sun-god whose personality
pervaded the whole island. So far, then, the
religious importance of these societies consists in
their religious fellowship by between the
members, and which later served as a model to
the nascent Christian community.

But in the history of Hellenic religion their
significance was even greater on another ground,
that they wrote a most striking testimony to
that fusion of East and West which it was the
object of Alexander and his mission of his succes-
sors to effect; for many of these religious brother-
hoods, whose members and organization were
Hellenic, were consecrated to foreign deities—
Sabaizos, Adonis, Xonares, and the Syrian god-
desses—so that they played undesignedly the part
of missionaries in the momentous movement some-
times called the theoseis, the blending of Eastern
and Western religious and divine personalities,
of which the significance will be considered below.

3. Menander.—The student who is tracing the
course of the religious life and experience of Hellen
through the Hellenistic period should endeavour
to gather beforehand a vivid impression of the
spirit of the Menanderian comedy. For Menander,
the friend of Epicerus and the devoted admirer of
Euripides, was the favoured heir of the humani-
tarian spirit that had gleamed brightly even in the
Homeric period and had gathered strength and
articulated expression in the century before Alex-
ander opened the gates of the East. Patronized
and courted by Demetrius Phaleres and Ptolemy,
adored by the scholars and reading public of
Alexandria and the Hellenistic world even more
than he had been by his own contemporaries,
Menander was eminently in a position to give a
tone to the religious sentiment of this period; and
the Anthologies of his works prove that he was
actually revered as an ethical-religious teacher.1

Therefore, for the general expository history of
Greek religion he counts for more than any of the
philosophers, for he addressed a far larger public.
Yet the message that he has to deliver has come
to him from the philosophers and from the inspira-
tion of the humanized Attic spirit, of which he
appears the most delicate and final expression.

While writing and thinking pre-eminently as the
enlightened Athenian of the close of the 4th cent.,
he is the mouthpiece of cosmopolitism in ethics and
religion—'No good man is alien to me; the
nature of all is one and the same (οαδει των
διαι των εις υποτικαί των άνθρωπων);2 the Tereitan
formula, 'homo sum, humani nil a me alienum
puto,' is only an extension of this, losing some-
thing of its ethical colouring. Many of the frag-
ments, showing striking approximations to New
Testament teaching, are of vital importance for
the history of Greek ethics. As regards religion,
it may contain protests against superstition and
the extravagance of sacrifice proffered as a
tribute;3 but they exhibit no real or veiled attack
on the popular polytheism of the Areopagite. On
the other hand, they have preserved many memorable
reflexions that bear witness to the development of
a religion more personal, more inward and spiritual,
than had hitherto been possible; a sense
that God is known by personal and spiritual
experience, and not by the spirit of sacrifice or
by the external act of worship. The episcopal
professio divinae soree, 'the light of the mind is
to gaze ever upon God.'4 The sense of close and
mythic communion between man and the omni-
present divine spirit is strikingly attested in the
passage of one of his unknown comedies:

1 See Paus. Associations religioso est in Gree.


3 See a recent paper by Pierre Walke in R.K.G., 1917, 598; the Sentences de Menander; the writer's alma at discovering or
imaginatively the dramatic setting of each fragment, and at
proving the view that Menander was placed as an original
ethical teacher. Accepting his theory, we can still assign high
values to the 'Sentences' for the purpose of illustrating the
history, whether we regard them as original and earnest utter-
ances of Menander or as commonplace which he uses lightly
for dramatic purposes; for, if the latter view is the more
correct, they show at least what was in the air.

4 000, 000, Att. Prop., Leipzig, 1860-86, no. 626.

5 e.g. quotation by Cicero, Strom. p. 790: 1.17. fragment of the Thebes, 000, 000, 000.

6 000, 000, Att. Prop., Leipzig, 1860-86, no. 602.

7 Tereitan formula, 'homo sum, humani nil a me alienum
puto,' is only an extension of this, losing some-
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to gaze ever upon God.' The sense of close and
mythic communion between man and the omni-
present divine spirit is strikingly attested in the
passage of one of his unknown comedies:

1 See Paus. Associations religioso est in Gree.
of the Peloponnesian war, trailing with them the orgiastic atmosphere of Phrygia; and at some indefinite time before this the impure ritual of certain oriental goddess-cults had invaded the Corinthian worship of Aphrodite. But after the establishment of the kingdom of the Diadochi, the gentile barrier in religion gradually loses its force and significance. It was, in fact, a fact of the times and policy of the part of some of the kings to establish some common cult that might win the devotion of the Hellenic and Oriental peoples alike. Such was the intention of Ptolemy when he founded at Alexandria the cult of the Babylonian god Sarapis, whom the Egyptians were able, owing to a similarity of name, to identify with their Osiris-Apis, and the Hellenes, with their Plouton, owing to the accidental fact that an image of this underworld-god happened to be consecrated to the cult at its first institution. Similarly, when the Syrian city of Bambyles was re-settled as Hierapolis by Selenocos Nikator, the personality of the great goddess Astarte (q. e. c.) was mingled with that of Artemis, Hera, Aphrodite, and other Hellenic goddesses; and the temple of the great Mother of Phrygia and her mendicant priestess; and the fragments in a newly discovered papyrus of a treatise by Kerkiades, the Cynic philosopher, on the use of opium in the 3rd cent. B.C., contain a theory which reduces personal deities to impotent instruments of Fate, and would substitute for Zeus and his colleagues certain divinized abstractions such as Nous and Natura; the latter term, if the reading is sound, seems to denote the spirit of unselfishness or sacrifice—an interesting and potentially valuable idea but at this time still-born.

6. Asklepios-cult and later mysteries.—These sectarians of this later age do not appear to have made a serious attempt to capture the public; and the popular religious movements for the most part ignored them and their teaching. The Hellenistic religions are as convincedly theistic and moralistic as the older were. The chief change lay in this, that a man now might to some extent choose his own divinity or—what was even of more import—be chosen by him or her; he was no longer limited to the cults into which he was born. This freedom had already for some time been offered by the thesitai; and now in the Hellenistic world, especially by the powerful and wide influence of the cult of Asklepios, the idea was developed of a deity who as Healer and Saviour called all mankind to himself; and it was this significant cult-phenomenon that induced Kerkiades in the above-mentioned passage to include Iads, 'the Healer,' among the true divinities whose worship ought to supplant that of the old gods. In the treatise called Asklepios of the pseudo-Apuleius a long address and prayer to this deity are preserved, of which the tone is strikingly Christian.

5. Stoicism, Epicureanism, Cynicism.—This pantheistic speculation inspires some of the dogmas of Stoicism; and for most of the Stoic writers and thinkers the concept of divinity was less that of a personal concrete Being than of a spiritual force or soul-power immanent in things; therefore, while some of them tried to find a place in their metaphysical system for the creations of the polytheism and even a justification for angry and divination, the impression left on our minds by the fragments that have come down to us of the religious specula-

1 de larnarutzch f. 60 (scil.); de de larnarutzch f. 5
2 See Parnell, Higher Aspects, pp. 104-105.
3 Philetarum, § 21.

1 Clem. Strom, p. 251.
2 See Opos. V. 485-479, ref. 221.
3 See Parnell, Higher Aspects, II. 81.
4 See A. W., 1894, p. 10; Parnell, Evolution of Religion, p. 107.
as communion with the divinity through sacrament, the mystical death and rebirth of the individual, the saving efficacy of baptism and purification. These rites could satisfy the craving of the mortal to attain to the conviction of immortality and to the ecstatic consciousness of complete or temporary self-absorption in God. But in the mysteries of Sabazios and Cybele, and possibly in others, this mystical divinity was conveyed to the mystic by the simulation of a holy marriage or sex-communion with the god or goddess; and for this reason the pagan mysteries were generally attacked by the Christian Fathers as obscene; the charge was unjust on the whole, though the psychic effect of the special act of ritual just alluded to was probably detrimental to the moral imagination.

8. Hermetic literature.—The strongest and most interesting reflexion that the ancient records have preserved for us of this fusion of Hellenic culture and Oriental religious sentiment is presented by the Hermetic literature. The origins of this most fantastic product of the human mind are traceable by Plinders Petrie back to the 6th or 5th cent. B.C. But though much of it is pre-Christian, its philosophic diction proves that it cannot be earlier than 300 B.C., and the bulk of it is probably much later.

Accepting this address to the Deity—έχειν δὴ σεν καὶ σε συν Τὸν Θεόν, 'I am Thou and Thou art I'—may be taken as the master-word of these hieratic writings. The unnatural alliance between Greek philosophy and the Oriental mysticism of the Hellenic imagination almost effaced. And the learning and science of the Hellenistic age stood mainly aloof from the religious forces that moved the masses of the people.

9. Daemonicism.—The mystic and theosophical literature of the Hellenistic and Greco-Roman period was marked by a daemonicism, being infected with the polydaemonism of the East and positing the existence of good and evil daemons as a metaphysical dogma. We can trace a corresponding change in the popular Hellenic imagination. In the earlier period, as has been shown, the native Hellenism was, as compared with other races, fairly strong-minded in respect of the terrors of the demon-world; but the later people of the Greek area were certainly tainted in some degree with this unfortunate superstition of the East, and various forms of exorcism, conjuration, and evocation became more prevalent. The modern Greek temperament appears to be possessed with this daemoniac spirit, and many forms have been inherited and developed from this last period of the old civilization.

10. Eschatology.—But another feature that we mark in this mystic religion and these mystic societies of the Hellenistic world indicates a higher aspect of religion, and suggests possibilities of momentous development; most of them, if not all, proclaimed the immortality and happy resurrection, a divine life after death. The Hellenes who had been initiated into the Orphic faith hoped to attain immortal happiness in and through Orpheus, availing of Egyptian ideas and Egyptian spell-formules. The priest of the mysteries of Atthis comforted the congregation of the faithful, sorrowing over the fate of the god, with words that aver the certainty of his resurrection and by implication the hope of their own:

The mysteries of Mithra embodied much the same eschatologic ideas and hopes; but those came to the Greco-Roman world only in the last period before the establishment of Christianity, and had little hold on Hellenic society proper.

11. Hero-worship and apotheosis.—The idea that was common to many of these mystic brotherhoods, that the mortal might achieve divinity, is illustrated by another religious phenomenon which stands out in this last period, namely, the worship of individual men and women either in their lifetime or immediately after death (see art. Dextra, Héroes [Greek and Roman]). To appreciate the full significance of this, one must be familiar with the usages of the earlier Hellenes as also of the Oriental peoples who became subjects of the Diadochi. We have observed that the Greek of the 6th and 5th centuries was willing to confer heroic honours to certain distinguished individuals after death; in this there was nothing inconsistent with the principles of higher polytheism; and in the earlier cases the gods of the Hellenistic world showed a corresponding change in the popular Hellenic imagination. In the earlier period, as has been shown, the native Hellenism was, as compared with other races, fairly strong-minded in respect of the terrors of the demon-world; but the later people of the Greek area were certainly tainted in some degree with this unfortunate superstition of the East, and various forms of exorcism, conjuration, and evocation became more prevalent. The modern Greek temperament appears to be possessed with this daemoniac spirit, and many forms have been inherited and developed from this last period of the old civilization.

The same kind of adulation was lavished by the degenerate Athenians on Alexander and Demetrius Poliorcetes. The most salient examples are to be derived from the records of the Seleucids and the Ptolemies, the kings of these dynasties usually...
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enjoying divine honours after death, and sometimes bearing divine titles such as Xerxes, 'Saviour,' Zeus, 'God,' in their lifetime. Is this merely the gross servility of a decadent age that had lost all real sense of religion? If so, the truth must be accounted for in some degree: Dio Chrysostom exclaims against the quackery and vanity of it; and the sharp-witted Athenians and the educated Greeks generally would be unable to account for their superstitions; they protected themselves before these human gods. It is natural to suppose that the effect upon it, if the real religion was to be found, in a higher account of the Deity, Apollo and Dionysus would tend to collapse when the one was identified with the Selenikai, the other with Attalos. Yet the faith in Dionysus at least was able to survived the strain. And what looks to us mere hypocrisy and blasphemy would appear to many of the Hellenic communities in another light. It seems that the uncultured Greek in the time of Herodotus was capable of believing in all seriousness that Xerxes might be a real incarnation of Zeus upon earth; and such an idea would be familiar, as an old tradition in the popular estimate of kingship, to the native of Syria, and still more so of the Egyptians. When the Rosetta Stone proclaims the Ptolemy as 'the living image of God,' the average Greek might smile in secret, but the native Egyptian would instinctively assent to this assumption of a deity belonging to the high world of the ancient Pharaohs.

This delusion of the mortal, so rife in this later period, may be regarded as a moral and religious evil. Yet it must not be taken too hastily as a proof of the unreality of the prevailing polytheism. And, for better or worse, it is the life of the church belonging to the high world of the Greco-Roman world with the idea of the incarnation of the Man-God.

The Hellenic period cannot be severed by any sharp dividing line from the Greco-Roman; but it belongs rather to the student of Roman religion and the Roman Empire to pursue the history of Hellenic polytheism through the first centuries of our era down to the establishment of Christianity.

The religious phenomena of the period that has just been sketched present, on the one hand, the signs of decay—of the old civic and political religion which fostered the growth of the Greek Polis,—and, on the other hand, the working of new religious forces which prepare the way for Christianity. The gods of Apollo, Zeus, and Athena were among the first to wither; yet a living and personal religious sense was in all probability more diffused through the Greek world under the Empire and the Roman Empire than it had been in the earlier centuries. Contact with the Oriental spirit brought to many a stronger intensity of religious life; religion is no longer preoccupied with the physical and political world; its horizon lies beyond the grave, and its force is 'other-worldliness.' Men flock to the mysteries seeking communion with the divine by sacrifice, and sustaining their faith by mystic dogmas. The religious virtue most emphasized is purity, of which the influence is often anti-social; this was not always understood in a pharisaic sense, but its spiritual significance was proclaimed to the people and penetrated the sphere of temple-religious. An inscription from a temple in Rhodes of the time of the emperor Constantine lists a series of rules concerning righteous entrance into the shrine; 'the first and greatest rule is to be pure and unblemished in hand.'


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The name. — The term ‘orthodoxy’ (apostolos) is used to indicate the immutable conservation of the true Christian doctrine, as taught by Christ and the Apostles, and set forth in Holy Scripture and Holy Tradition, as against the divergence therefrom of heresies, which is heterodoxy (episkopos). In this sense the word is used as early as the 2nd cent. (e.g. in Clement of Alexandria). The appellation ‘Orthodox’ was applied in ancient times to the whole Church; but after the Western Church separated from the East, it was appropriated by the Eastern Church and was in the name of this faithfulness that it broke off the connexion with the Western Church, which has appropriated to itself the name ‘Catholic.’ Since the chief part in the Eastern Church takes up the Greek nation, very often, even in official documents, especially in the West, the name ‘Greek Church’ was also used for the ‘Orthodox Church;’ but at the present time, when out of the 16 Orthodox Churches only 5 are Greek, and out of the 106 million Orthodox people the Greeks number less than 8 millions, the appellation has become an anachronism. A more correct term is ‘Eastern Church,’ so far as it denotes her geographical position, and brings out the idea that the ‘Orthodox’ Church is not a part of the whole Christian Church; but even this without the addition of ‘Orthodox’ is incorrect, as the term ‘Eastern’ may as justly be applied to the Nestorians, Monophysites, and others.

2. History. — The history of the Orthodox Church falls into four periods, each division being marked by an event which defined its character for the whole period, viz. in the first, the first cent. as the initial development; in the 4th cent. the recognition of Christianity as the State religion (A.D. 313); in the 9th cent. the completion of the Orthodox system of dogma (843); together with the beginning of the separation of the Western from the Orthodox Church, and the adhesion of the Slav peoples to the latter; in the 15th cent. the subjugation of the Greco-Slavic world by the Turks, completed by the capture of Constantinople in 1453.

(1) The early period. — The first days of Christianity were marked by the invitation of the Hellenes to accept it, and the Christian Church of the first two centuries was a Church of the Greeks. Even in Rome the Christian community was Greek, both in comprehension and in language. The missionary activity of the Church was wider and more successful in the regions in which the influence of Hellenism had spread. The Holy Spirit, as the Body and Head of the NT, as well as the first productions of Christian theology, were written in the Greek language. It was the Greek Churches that developed the idea of the Logos, the doctrine of the Person of Christ, of the Holy Trinity, and the like; they were the first to introduce order into the life of the Church, and created a Christian terminology which was accepted everywhere; it was they that introduced the idea of a Church of the whole world. The tendencies of the Roman Church are in this period very slightly noticeable, so that the history of Orthodoxy almost coincides with that of Christianity.

(2) From A.D. 313 to 843. — After Christianity had been recognized as the State religion, the Greek Church elaborated the normal relations between Church and State, being guided by the principle of symphonia and an adaptation of the Church organization to that of the State, according to which the diocesan bishops were subordinate to the bishops of the chief towns, or metropolitans, i.e. to the Metropolitans, and those in the time to the bishops of the capitals of the ‘dioceses’ established by Diocletian, the bishops receiving the titles of Archbishops, Exarchs, and Patriarchs. Such as first were the bishops of Antioch, Cæsarea in Cappadocia, Ephesus, Heraclea (capital of the Thracian ‘diocese’), and Alexandri; in the last case the bishops were all directly under the Patriarch, without the intervention of Metropolitans. Finally, the Patriarchate of Constantinople took a special place among the Churches, becoming the permanent residence of the Emperor from the time of Theodosius I. Constantinople had originally been subordinate to the Metropolitan of Heraclea, but the second Ecumenical Council (canon 3), at Constantinople in 381, gave the bishop of the latter precedence (prozetaîo tois episkopois) next after the Bishop of Rome, as being bishop of ‘New Rome’; and in
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A.D. 451 he had put under him, by the 28th canon of the Council of Chalcedon, the 'dioceses' (provinces) of Hercules, Ephesos, and Cæsarea, and gained a position second to Rome, but superior to Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. He had authority
over all Asia Minor, and in Europe over Thrace, from the beginning and ever, in St. 736, the long controversy with Rome, over Illyricum
Oriental, i.e., the countries south of the Danube, toge-
ther with Dalmatia, Epirus, Greece, and Crete.
To him also were assigned, by the 28th canon of
the Council of Chalcedon, 'all other tribes' as well
(άλλα φυλής), and this became a matter of great
importance from the time of the conversion of the
Slavs to Christianity, when by other tribes they
began to mean peoples living outside the limits of
the Empire. About A.D. 500 the Patriarch of
Constantinople received the title of 'Ecumenical'
(ὁ οἰκουμενικός), i.e., the Patriarch standing at the
head of the whole (Eastern) Empire.

With the elaboration of Church organization,
Church life reached a very high development.
The lively intercourse between the Churches
allowed the seven Ecumenical Councils to settle
definitions of a dogmatic and canonical character
in the name of the Universal (Ecumenical) Church;
Theology in its various branches—Dogmatics,
Church-History, Exegesis, Apologetics, polemics,
sermons, etc., supplies admirable examples.
There arose the heresies of the Arians, Macedonians,
Monophysites, Monothelites, with their reactions,
and that of the Iconoclasts, which gave rise to debates in which part
was taken by the people, by monks, and by the civil
power; but the Councils made clear and settled
the doctrine of the Church, and excommuni-
cated those who did not receive it. This resulted
in the formation of the Eastern non-Orthodox
Churches—Nestorian, Monophysite (Coptic, Jacobite,
and other); and the Council's work was for the
world and the Church, and is not to be mocked.

The Councils established the rules of Church
discipline; but side by side with these rules there
now appeared a new source of ecclesiastical law in
the decisions concerning the Church emanating from
the Patriarchate of Constantinople. At the end of the Pseudo-
Theodorianus (A.D. 438), and at the beginning of
Justinian's Code (A.D. 534), and supplemented by
numerous provincial enactments, Church discipline
was thus given a very wide extension, which showned itself, on the one hand, in interference
by the Emperor in Church affairs, in particular as
concerning its property, in the election of bishops,
in the summoning of Councils, and even in the publi-
cation of ecclesiastical edicts during the formule of the
Creeds; and, on the other hand, in the action of the
Church upon the civil laws and administration.
Bishops had the right of supervision even over the
civil administration; the right to sit in judgment,
and to give protection to the poor (peregrina miserales); and sometimes they are found as rulers of the people (ἐπισκοπή), and even
received royal honours.

Church property increased, and Christian phil-
anthropy, under the protection of the State, assumed
great importance. Monasticism, which had already
made its appearance, and gained a position at the
head of scriptural study, spread widely in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Armenia,
and Asia Minor. At first each monastery was
managed under its own rules; but later in the
Church of Constantinople, in the rule of St. Basil
the Great, and in that of Jerusalem the rule of
St. Sabbas the Consecrated, became dominant.
Church Service also became more elaborate.
There came into use bells, incense, and candles;
they appeared splendid examples of Church poetry;
festivals and feasts were established; ecclesiastical
art elaborated itself into its own (the Byzantine
style), including a surpassing technique (mosaic),
the examples of which, e.g., St. Sophia at Con-
stantinople, remain unapproachable to this day.
Orthodoxy spread beyond the limits of the Empire
to Ethiopia, Iberia (Georgia), Persia, Armenia,
among the Goths, Avars, Alans, Lazi, and other
Caucasian tribes in India, China, and Arabia
among the Saracens. Only in the second half of
the period does the region over which it dominated
begin to be narrowed by the spread of the Mono-
physites and the conquests of the Arab Musulmans.

Within the Empire the battle with the remains
of paganism went on, special zeal being shown by
Theodotus II., Theodosius II., and Justinian.

(3) From A.D. 424 to 457. The reasons for the separa-
tion of the Western Church are very numerous and
very complicated. Already in the 3rd cent. the
Roman Church had begun to acquire a special character on account of its
position in the centre of the whole State and the
influence exercised upon its theology by Roman
Christian thought, and this led to the separation
of the Church into two parts, Eastern and Western, prepared the way
for the differentiation of their Churches. The
weakness of the Western Empire, its fall, the
great migration of peoples, and the fact that the
Romans gave up the idea of a single Latin Empire
were enough for the relation of Church and State in the West to assume a different form, and for the Popes to take upon themselves the rôle of representatives and defenders of the Roman ideals
in civilization and politics. This is the basis of
the misunderstandings which began to arise with
the Eastern Church, especially with that of
Constantinople, and these passed into disputes
which finally ended in complete disruption. Rome
rejected the 28th canon of the Council of Chalcedon,
which conferred upon the Bishop of Constantinople
powers equal to the Pope's. From A.D. 424 to 518 relations between Rome and Constantinople were broken off on account of the Monophysite dis-
pute. Under Pope Gregory the Great a dispute
about the title 'Ecumenical' began. Certain
canons (nos. 1, 2, 3, 6, 12, 13, 30, 55, 67, 83 of the
'Synodicon' Council at Trullo) which condemned
Western practice were not received in the West.
In the Frankish Empire there arose the question of
the Filioque, and the decisions of the 7th Eco-
menical Council as to the honouring of icons were
rejected. The question of the Papal territory
which began in A.D. 787 was ended in A.D. 800 by
the coronation of Charles the Great. Out of the 330
years of the second period (A.D. 313–843) relations
between Rome and Constantinople were inter-
dicted during a total of 298 years. The affairs of
Photius and 1164 Pope Formosus († 855) were
interfered (861), ended in the heads of the two
Churches reciprocally excommunicating each other.
In consequence of the insertion of the Filioque
into the Creed and the personal union of the
Roman peculiarities in ritual—fasting on
Saturday, celibacy of the clergy, and the like—
are in Photius' Epistle (A.D. 856) the eviden-
ces of Rome's defection from Orthodoxy, the
only defender of which was now to be found in the
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Eastern Church. After the second deposition of Photius in 886, the name of the Pope was again inserted into the Dipthych of the Eastern Church. At the beginning of the 10th century, relations once more became strained over the question of the fourth marriage of the Emperor Leo the Philosopher, which after his death was condemned at the Council of Nicaea of 905, and the final coalition of the church and the state, beginning with the question of the veneration of the cross, against the Pope by Photius, and the dispute which arose on 1064 in the excommunication of the Patriarch of Constantinople by the Papal Legate and the final counsel of the Pope's name from the Dipthychs. Attempts at reunion of the Churches went on until the end of the period; in 1099, at the Council of Bari under Alexius I Komnenos and Pope Paschal II (1099–1100), and in 1116 at the Concilium, under Manuel Comnenus (1118–43), in 1232, 1256, 1274 at Lyons, in 1339 at Avignon, in 1386 at Florence. These were not successful, insomuch as they were undertaken from motives not directly concerned with reunion—on the part of the Pope for the sake of increasing his influence over the Church, on the part of the Orthodox to obtain the political support of the West.

For the Musulman conquest of the Patriarchates of Antioch, Alexandria, and Cilicia, and the Slavs in the 9th and 10th centuries, and the defection of the Western Church in the 9th–11th centuries, the Orthodox Church found compensation in the conversion to Orthodoxy of the populous Slavic nations in the 9th and 10th centuries. These nations formed national Churches, at first remaining dependent upon the Church of Constantinople, but afterwards forming several independent (autocephalous) Orthodox Churches.

So in A.D. 864–65 the Bulgarians and the Serbs at almost the same time submitted to baptism, and in A.D. 868 the Russians. This addition, however, while increasing the number of the members of the Orthodox Church, did not stimulate any great improvement of her internal condition, partly because among the newly converted nationalities education was in a rudimentary condition, but principally because of the pressure of Mongolian nationalities in Russian Christianity. From A.D. 1224 to 1480 was under the yoke of the Tatars. The Church of Constantinople from the 11th century onwards suffered first from the Seljuk Turks, and at the same time from the Crusaders; in the 13th century (A.D. 1204–51) from the Crusaders, consisting of bishops and patriarchs, and having the authority of a final, highest administrative, and judicial court. About the Patriarch there was formed a whole staff of officials ('the nine pontals'). Enormous influence on the life of the ecclesiastical community was exercised by the monasteries, especially those on Mt. Athos, the Stadium at Constantinople, the Monastery of the Holy Cross in Thessaly, etc. They stood up for the exact observance of dogmas and canons and for ecclesiastical independence, supported the science of theology, spread education abroad, and sent out missionaries. The education of the clergy, which had declined at the end of the preceding period, in the middle of the 9th century, recovered and attained a higher level under the Comneni in the 12th century. In the 13th century, at the time of the Latin dominion, Byzantine learning again declined; but in the 14th century, under the Palaeologoi, it still flourished, though during the whole period (as against the last period) it suffered from a want of originality. This movement, moreover, was not disregarded by the newly converted Slavic nationalities.
(4) From 1453 to the present day.—After the taking of Constantinople (29th May 1453) the Orthodox Church within the boundaries of Turkey retained its internal organizations without any substantial change, but the Patriarch of Constantinople, in his capacity of ‘head of a nation’ (Midlet-bashi), received also civil authority over all Orthodox people, especially in this increase of authority, however, neither the Patriarch himself nor his flock was in the very least guaranteed against the violence of the conquerors, who regarded the vassals as without rights and a mere mouth of income. The Patriarchs were forced to pay taxes beyond their resources, both at their election (psikêkes) and year by year (chhrasdas). Vacancies occurred extremely often, and few Patriarchs ended their days on the throne (30 out of 103). Many were elected several times. Still worse was the position of the rest of the clergy and of the lay people, who suffered from the fanaticism of the Turks, and contributed no small number of martyrs for the faith canonicalized by the Church. There were martyrs also among the Patriarchs. The internal life of the Church was uneasy too by reason of the struggles of candidates for the Patriarchate and the interference with ecclesiastical affairs of the Phanariotes, or rich and distinguished laymen living in Phanar (a quarter of Constantinople), who, on account of their knowledge, enjoyed influence with the government. Somestrouble resulted from the institution under Patriarch Manuel (1764–80) of the geroske, an ecclesiastical oligarchy consisting of the six senior bishops and four lay Phanariotes, which was abolished in 1828. It was not until the 19th cent. that the position of the Orthodox Church was improved (Khâti-i-sharif, 2nd [14th] Nov. 1833, and Khâti-i-umrûnûn, 16th Feb. [1st March] 1856) in Constantinople, and in 1862 in all the towns; a Code of canons (in 1909) did not bring the anticipated advantage to the Church, and an attempt was even made to deprive the Patriarchate of its ecclesiastical privileges.

Taking advantage of the sad position of the Orthodox Church, the Popes tried to subject it to their power, and with that intent dispatched several envoys and sent a whole army of missionaries to the East. Success crowned these attempts in one region only, S.W. Russia, thanks to political circumstances. There the Jesuits succeeded in establishing change in the Church, and the Russian Patriarch Gregory VI. refused to accept an invitation to the Vatican Council. To Leo XIII.'s Bull of the Roman Church (20th June 1894, Proclaima gratulatiunis) the Ecumenical Patriarch Anthimus VII. answered on 29th Sept. by an epistle enumerating the errors of the Roman Church. Negotiations as to union with Protestants were also unsuccessful: in 1559 between Melanchthon and the Patriarch Joseph II., in 1576–81 between the Lutherans of Tübingen and Patriarch Jeremias II., and in 1731 the attempt of Zinzendori. Great trouble was caused by the attempt made by Cyril Lucar, who was Patriarch seven times (1612–38), to approximate Orthodoxy and Calvinism. More success has attended the attempts which are still going on to make a rapprochement with the Anglican Church. They were begun in 1717–25 by the party of the Nonjurors, and renewed in 1935 by the adherents of the Oxford movement. So far they have led only to the establishment in 1899 of the representation between the Constantinopolitan and the Anglican Churches, that is, to permission given to laymen of one Church in special cases of extreme necessity to have recourse to the clergy of the other, and to an end being put to protracted negotiations. Negotiations, likewise still in progress, for reunion with the Old Catholic Church, which were begun soon after the establishment of the latter (Conference of Bonn, A.D. 1874), have led to no results.

The weakening of Turkey during the 19th cent. led to the process, still at work, by which the Orthodox nationalities are being freed from her yoke, and they have formed the independent States of Montenegro, Greece, Servia, Rumania, and Bulgaria.

With the diminution of Turkish territory has proceeded the tendency to add new subjects to the Patriarch of Constantinople, as it appeared unsuitable that the new States should continue in ecclesiastical dependence upon a Patriarch who was a Turkish subject. Several States have also been formed by the Orthodox nationalities of Austria-Hungary. Side by side with this the importance of the Greek nationality is increasing. At the end of the 18th cent. in all Orthodox Churches except the Russian and the Montenegro the hierarchy was Greek. At the present time the Churches remaining Greek are the Constantinopolitan, Alexandrian, Hellenic, Cyprian, and Sinaiite. In the Church of Jerusalem the struggle of the Arabic population against the power of the Greek Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre has already been crowned with decided success. The unwillingness of the Greeks to give up their ecclesiastical privileges, which raised them above the other nationalities, gave rise to the schisms of Antioch and Jerusalem, now satisfactorily settled, and to the more serious Bulgarian schism.

In the Greek Church a new Collection of Canons has appeared, viz. the Πανάρχιον, compiled in 1793 by the Athos monks Nicodemus and Agapits, and in the Constantinopolitan Encyclopaedia Indipetrae Legii. Both are modifications of the Slavic Kormchais. In the Russian Church the Kormchais ceased to be the source of law still in force, and in 1887, together with the Russian Canon Law, by the Book of Canons, in which a place is given only to the minimum of canonical rules accepted by the whole Orthodox Church: the 85 Apostolical Canons, the Canons of the Seven Ecumenical and eleven Local Councils, and extracts from the canonical works of the thirteen Holy Fathers. There have also been published editions of canonical documents, among which special importance attaches to the so-called Athenian Syntagma (G. A. Ralli's and M. Polien, Συνταγμα των τειων και λεπτων κανων, Athens 1896). In 1894, T. Geisch in the Rheinische Diägesch... ταπαραγματ Κωσταντινουπολιτ, Constantinople, 1888–99).

The present time the Orthodox Church consists of 16 Orthodox Churches of which 5 are Greek: those of Constantinople, Hellas, Cyprus, Alexandria, and Sinai (in all 7,500,000 souls); 7 Slavonic, viz. those of Russia (116 millions in 1911), Bulgaria, Servia, Carlowitz, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bukovina with Dalmatia, and Montenegro (8,920,000); 2 Rumanian, that of the Kingdom of Rumania and that of Hermannstadt in Austria (about 6 millions); and 2 Arabic, Antioch and Jerusalem (some 380,000). The ancient Church of Georgia (1,300,000 souls) now officially forms part of the Russian Church (q.v.).

Accordingly, the number of all the Orthodox Churches together in 1935 reached 102,000,000. All these Churches are autocephalous, i.e. independent of each other as regards internal administration, but make up one Orthodox Church, as they have one Head or Patriarch, one doctrine and communion in sacraments and services. The communion between them also finds expression in Councils, the decrees of which are obligatory for the Churches that take part in them, or in the interchange of epistles. Both the Councils and the exchange of epistles take place rather seldom, and not regularly, mainly owing to political circumstances.
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(a) GREEK CHURCHES.—(1) The Constantinople Patriarchate is bounded by the frontiers of Turkey, but even within these limits the Orthodox Bishopric is a province of the Bulgarian Exarchate. Exact statistics do not exist, but the most likely number for the Orthodox of the Patriarchate is 2½ millions in Europe, and 2½ millions in Asia Minor and the Islands. At the head of the Patriarchate stands the Patriarch (since 26th Jan. [10th Feb.] 1913, Germanus V.) with the title of 'His All-Holiness (Πατριάρχης), the Archbishop of Constantinople the New Rome, the Ecumenical Patriarch.' He has precedence over all Orthodox hierarchs throughout the world. The Holy Synod (Σύνοδος) consists of 12 Metropolitans, half of whom retire in rotation every year. The Permanent National Mixed Council (Διοικητική Επιτροπή Μεταξύ Σιωπηλών) consists of 12 members, 4 Metropolitans, and 8 of those who retire at the same periods as the members of the Synod. The sphere of the Synod's activity is that of a spiritual court for the settlement of disputes, and the administration of civil and economic character—schools, hospitals, almshouses, looking after the Church finances, questions of legitimating children, of testamentary dispositions. But the jurisdiction of the Synod and the Council, the Patriarch has a large number of secondary organs of administration; the central ecclesiastical Epitropia, the pedagogic Epitropia, the Epitropia of episcopal property, the financial Epitropia, the Ecclesiastical Court of Justice, the Notary's office, the Ottoman Chancery, and a whole series of officials both spiritual (for example, the Chief Metropolitans, the Chief Archdeacon, and such like) and secular (as the Chief Logothete, etc.). In the Patriarchate are numbered 73 metropolitans in the seas of which 6 are in the semi-independent Bosnia and Herzegovina. The dioceses (ἐπισκοπαί) are ruled by Metropolitans. Some Metropolitans have bishops subordinate to them, e.g., the Metropolitan of Ungria has 7 suffragans, the Metropolitan of Ephesus 6, the Metropolitan of Thessalonica 5, and so on. The dependence of certain Metropolitan sees in Bosnia and Herzegovina and of the Metropolitans of Ungria and Slavonia is purely nominal. The organ of the Patriarchate is the journal Εκκλησιαστική Αδύναμη. The higher clergy recognized by the Patriarch are the bishops of Chalki, in the Sea of Marmora not far from the Bosporus (since 1844), the inferior clergy in the Seminaries at Cesarea in Cappadocia, on the Isle of Patmos (since 1718), and on Mt. Athos (since 1890). The authority of the Patriarchate also extends to secular schools.

(2) The Church of Hellas was proclaimed independent of that of Constantinople at a Council of 6 bishops at Nauplia, 15th [29th] June 1833, but in Constantinople it was recognized as autocephalous only in a decision of the Synod on 11th [23rd] July 1850. Now the Church of Hellas is governed by a Synod modelled on the Russian Synod, and consisting of the President, the Metropolitans of Athens, and 4 diocesan bishops, who change every year. In purely spiritual matters the Synod is independent; in affairs of a mixed character it has to obtain the approval of the civil power. Its decrees are sanctioned and enforced by the king's Commissioner. There are 32 dioceses in all, including 4,225 parishes and 1,622,000 souls. Together with the Diapora, who have since 1808 been reckoned as under the authority of the Athenian Synod, they amount to 2,400,000. In 1908 there were in Greece one Metropolitan (at present Tholoulis), 6 archbishops, 25 bishops, 167 men's monasteries with 1748 monks, and 10 convents with 325 nuns. The yearly income of the monasteries amounted to 2,121,165 drachmas, the revenue of the province to 60 million drachmas. Higher theological training is received by the clergy in the theological faculty of the University of Athens, secondary instruction in seminaries—the Rhinac, one at Arta, and one at Tripolis. The chief clerical journal is the Ιερός Σύνδεσμος, published by the league of that name. On 15th [28th] Jan. 1910 a 'law' was published with regard to Parish Churches and their property, the qualifications of parish priests and their stipends, and on 1st [14th] Feb. 1911 a supplementary act, as a central Church treasury and the administration of the monasteries.

(3) The Cyprian Church was recognized as autocephalous as early as the Council of Ephesus in A.D. 421. In recent times it has occasionally been subject to the influence of other Patriarchates, but formerly its autocephaly had always been recognized. At its head stands the Archbishop (at present Cyril), who bears the title of 'the Most Blessed the Archbishop of Justiniana Nova and all Cyprus,' and lives at the Archbishop's Palace. The bishops are the bishops (Metropolitans) of Paphos, Citium, and Cyrenia. The Archbishop and the Bishops make up the Synod which administers the Church of Cyprus. In the elections the lower clergy and the people have their part. In April 1911 the Orthodox in the island amounted to 182,737; and there were 607 churches and 79 monasteries. At Larissa there has been a seminary since 1910, and a journal is published, Εκκλησιαστική Εφημερίς.

(4) The Patriarchate of Alexandria, founded, according to tradition, by St. Luke, included in the 4th cent. Egypt, the Thebaid, Libya, and the Pentapolis, and had more than 100 dioceses. In the 5th cent. Monophysitism spread in this region. In A.D. 638 it fell under the power of the Arabs. In the 18th cent. the patriarchs lived in Constantinople. Now it has an extremely small population. The Greeks put the number at 150,000, but, as a matter of fact, it does not reach 100,000. It is governed by the Patriarch (at present Photius), who bears the title of the 'Most Blessed Patriarch of Alexandria and all Egypt and Ethiopia,' and lives in Cairo. In the Patriarchate there are (1st Jan. 1913) 7 dioceses, 5 monasteries, 31 parishes, and 56 churches. The Bishops with the Patriarch form the Synod. In Alexandria two clerical journals are published, the weekly Ηεραυρά and the monthly Εκκλησιαστική Φύσης. In 1908 a diocese was founded in Abyssinia (Χριστιανή).

(5) The Church of Sinai consists of no more than the monastery on Mt. Sinai, built in A.D. 527 by Justinian. The monastery received autocephaly by a decision of the Council of Constantinople in 1756, which ended a controversy between Alexandria and Jerusalem as to which had authority over the monastery, by declaring it independent. The monastery is governed by the Hegumos Archbishop, who bears the title of 'Archbishop of Mount Sinai and Raitha' (a village on the Red Sea) and 'all honourable,' and is consecrated by the Patriarch of Jerusalem (at present Porphyrios). The number of brothers is not more than a few dozen (now 50). At Cairo the monastery possesses a branch establishment (μετοχία) in which the Archbishop mostly resides; the latter, however, as the monastery is governed by the 'Dikasios.' The monastery is famous for its library, in which among other things was found the renowned Codex Sinaiticus.
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(6) Slavonic churches.—(5) Russian Church.—See separate article.

(7) The Bulgarian Church, originated under King Boris in A.D. 865, was at first subject to the Patriarch of Constantinople, but very soon submitted to authority over it were made by Rome. Under Czar Simeon it became independent and the Archbishopric was transferred to a Patriarch, and this was recognized even by Constantinople in A.D. 946 under Czar Peter. Under Pope John (A.D. 1197-1204) a union with Rome was agreed upon, but it came to an end in 1222. The throne of the Patriarchs was successively at Dorostolium (Silsilstya), Serdica (Sophia), Velika Moglena, Prespa, and finally at Ohrida. In 1326, under the Patriarchate was founded at Tarnova, in the 14th century, Bulgaria was conquered by the Turks, and from then on the Patriarchate of Tarnova was subordinate to Constantinople and ranked as a Metropolitan see. But the Archibishopric of Ohrid preserved its independence until 18th [27th] January 1787, when it was united to the Patriarchate of Constantinople. When there was an awakening of the national self-consciousness of the Bulgarians in the first half of the 19th century, there was a struggle to be ecclesiastically independent of the Greeks, and this found its consummation in the declaration of March 10th (22nd) 1870, that the Bulgarian Church was autocephalous. This was later confirmed by the Sultan, and was not recognized by the Patriarchate in September 1872 a Council was held in Constantinople which pronounced the Bulgarians ecclesiastically, that they had based their scheme of ecclesiastical organization upon the principle of nationality (ethnophilanthism). But the decisions of this Council were not recognized by the Slavonic churches. This did not affect the position of the Bulgarian Church remains undefined. It consists of two parts, one in Bulgaria, was established in 1889 and now independent; the other in Turkey, consisting of 5,000 Serbs are under the Exarchate (at present Joseph), who resides in Constantinople and has a deputy in Bulgaria. At Sophia there is a Synod and since 1919 there has been one at Constantinople, each consisting of 4 Metropolitan sees. At Constantinople there is also (since 1910) a Mixed Council, consisting of the 4 Metropolitan sees and 8 laymen. In Bulgaria there are 11 bishoprics (with 3,334,700 souls), in Turkey 9 with bishops. In 1909 there were in Bulgaria 214 village churches, 2066 village churches, 768 Town churches, 9 metropolitan sees, 1 bishop, 8 archimandrites, 22 economi, 1917 priests, 11 deacons, 8 archidiacons, 49 hegumeni, 13 hegumenesses, 62 hieromonachi, 66 monks, and 247 nuns. At Sophia there is a Clerical Seminary (about 150 students), and at Bachkov a school for priests. At Sophia is published the journal Svetoslav ('Counselor'). The Turkish part of the Exarchate consists of 22 sees, but there is bishop only in half of them, the rest being governed by the Bosnian Congresses, consisting of 4 clerics and 5-7 laymen. In the population amounts to 1,057,092 souls (1906). There are 1233 churches, and 51 monasteries. At Shishel near Constantinople there is a Clerical Seminary and at Vuktor (Sokolje), a Priests' School. The authority of the Exarchate extends to the secular Bulgarian schools in Turkey. The organ of the Synod of Ohrid is the journal Tovarnoto Platnost ('Ecclesiastical Messenger'), of the Exarchate, Vesti ('News'). The Bulgarian Church is governed according to the 'Regulation of the Exarchate' elaborated in 1883 and adapted to the kingdom in 1885. By the law of 1808 the clergy in Bulgaria receive their stipends from the State.

of Constantineople A.D. 1219, and under King Stephen Dushan (1331-56), a Patriarch was appointed with his throne at Ipek. The Patriarchate of Ipek extended to a great part of Bosnia, and included Montenegro, Dalmatia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina. In 1375 its autonomy was recognized by Constantinople, but between 1386 and 1429 the whole Patriarchate fell under Turkish domination and was united to the Bulgarian Patriarchate of Ohrida. The Patriarchate of Ipek was re-established in 1557. In 1880, under the leadership of the Patriarch Armenius, some 200,000 souls migrated to Hungary where they formed the Church of Karlowitz. On 16th [22nd] 1706 the Patriarchate of Ipek was once more abolished and its dioceses were over and 1830 ruled by Greeks, bishops named from Constantinople. In 1832 the Servian Church, or rather a part of it, gained some independence, and in October 1879 full autocephaly. By the Tómos evnoçitis of 1879 the Church of the kingdom of Servia is governed by a Metropolitan (at present Demetrius) and 4 bishops in the towns of Zic, Timok, Niš, and Sabac, who form 3 sees of Bishops. At present the organization of the Church is regulated by the law of 27th April (7th May) 1886. There are 12 metropolitan sees, numbered 2,735,147 souls, 5 dioceses, 651 churches, 71 chapels, 54 monasteries (men's), 887 parishes, and 1145 clergy. The clergy are educated in the Seminary of St. Sava, and there are several religious journals are published at Belgrade—Glavni Pravoslavni Orki ('The Herald of the Orthodox Church'), the organ of the Male College; Vatnik Srpske Crkve ('The Messenger of the Servian Church'), and Pastirske Boč ('Pastoral Speech'), the organ of the secular clergy. In accordance with the law of 31st Dec. 1901 (12th Jan. 1902), the clergy are supported by payments made according to a tariff for services rendered.

(9) The Karlowitz Servian Church was formed of the 200,000 Servian inhabitants under the Patriarchate of Ipek under the leadership of the Patriarch Armenius III. Crnagorčić, in the time of the Austrian Emperor Leopold I. The immigrants were granted rights of ecclesiastical and civil autonomy, confirmed in 1791 by the Reichstag. Their dependence upon the Patriarchate of Ipek came to an end with the abolition of the latter in 1796. In 1845 the Metropolitan of the Karlowitz Church received the title of Patriarch from Francis Joseph. In 1894 the Church of Hercegovina was separated, and 1878 the Bukovina-Dalmatian Church. Now the Karlovitz archbishopric contains over a million members, 7 dioceses, and about 500 parishes. In the Church is an Exarchate. The bishopric stands the Metropolitan-Patriarch with the title of 'Holiness' (at present Lucian Bogdanović), and at the head of the bishops in the 8 sees: Karlodak, Pakracy, Buda, Temesvar, Vrsec, and Bača. Questions of dogma are decided by a Synod consisting of all the diocesan clergy and the presidency of the Patriarch. The Patriarch is elected by a congress of Church and people held every three years, and exercising the right to decide all matters concerning the Church's autonomy.

By the Regulaciones of Ipek, 27th July 1911, and an edict of Francis Joseph published in June 1912, the rights of the congress have been restricted, while the power of the Hierarch has been increased. The clergy are educated in the seminary at Karlovitz, established as long ago as 1792. The Archbishop publishes a monthly journal, Bogatanstvo Glavni ('The Herald of Theology'). By the Law of 1869 the clergy were assigned a stipend, glebe, and a tariff of fees for occasional offices.

(10) The Church of Bosnia and Herzegovina has been de facto ecclesiastical since 26th March 1880, when an agreement was made between Austria and
the Patriarchate of Constantinople, though nominally it is dependent on the Patriarchate. Down to A.D. 1768 it was under the Patriarch of Ipek, and since then under that of Constantinople. It is divided into four dioceses—Zara, Mostar, Doljnia-Tuzla, and Banjaluka—governed by Metropolitanians. In 1910 it numbered 855,418 members. At Relief there is a Theological College at which candidates for the clergy are trained. Since the beginning of 1914 there has been a publishing institute at Sarajevo an organ of a league of secular clergy, the Željezna Oružja (Steel Bullets); formerly the Archbishop published Istočnik ('The Source'). The ecclesiastical organization is regulated according to a Code for Churches and Schools, published on 1st September, 1905, by the American Government, according to which a stipend is assigned to the clergy.

(11) The Bukovina-Dalmatian Church consists of two parts, Zara and Bocca di Cattaro, the link between which is almost nominal—the Metropolitan see of the Bukovina and 2 dioceses in Dalmatia. The Metropolitan see is governed by the Archbishop of Csernowitz, who is Metropolitan of Bukovina and Dalmatia (at present Vladimir Repta), with his throne at the town of Csernowitz; and the dioceses of Dalmatia and Bocca di Cattaro are controlled by the bishops. Founded in A.D. 1402, the diocese of Bukovina was at first part of the Moldavian Archbishopric of Kariowitz; from 1738 to 1738 it was part of the Archbishopric of Kariowitz; and in 1733 it became autocephalous; and at the same time the see of Zara and Bocca di Cattaro was subordinated to it. The former was founded by Napoleon 1. in 1806, the second in 1809. In the Archbishopric of Bukovina there are 2333 priests; in the diocese of Dalmatia (1910), 89,951 members, 77 priests, 54 parishes, and 3 monasteries; and in that of Bocca di Cattaro, 21,775 souls, 64 priests, 45 parishes, and 5 monasteries. Besides these there are in Lower Austria 6856, in Bohemia and Moravia 7311, in Triste and Styria 2649 members—altogether an Orthodox diaspora of 17,119. In the Archbishopric of Bukovina the clergy are educated at the Theological faculty of the University of Csernowitz; in Dalmatia, in the diocese of Zara, by 1888 by the Austrian Government, a Rumanian-Russian Candela is published. At Zara, down to 1912, there was published the Glaziul Pravoslavei Dalmatinei (The Herald of the Orthodox Dalmatian Church). In Bukovina the clergy receive their stipend from the Fund for the Religious, founded in 1792; in Dalmatia, from the treasury, according to the law of 4th Feb. 1797.

(12) The Montenegro (Corna Gora) Church became autocephalous in 1661, when the Patriarchate of Ipek, of which it had been a part, was abolished. Down to 1862 it was governed by Metropolitanians who were at the same time the Princes of Montenegro. But in 1862 this theocracy came to an end, and Prince Danilo kept for himself the civil power only, and handed over the spiritual to a separate Metropolitan. At the present time the Montenegro Church numbers some 230,000 members, and consists of two dioceses—Cetinje, governed by the Metropolitan (at present Metropolitan), and Zvoling-Rushe (since 1906, governed by the Present Bishop). There are usually consecrated in Russia. In 1909 a law was passed defining the stipend which the parochial clergy are to receive from the State. On 30th December 1914 there was issued a 'Constitution for the Holy Synod,' consisting of the Metropolitan, the Bishop, 2 Archimandrites, 3 Proto-presbyters, and a Secretary. On 1st (14th) Jan. 1904 was promulgated a 'Constitution for Spiritual Consistories.'

(c) RUMANIAN CHURCH.—(13) The Rumanian Church has enjoyed de facto independence since 1864, but this was recognized by the Patriarch of Constantinople only in 1885. In 1889 it numbered 5,451,787 members, 3566 parishes with 8000 clergy, and 41 monasteries. It includes 8 dioceses, 2 Metropolitan sees, viz. the Orthodox Bucharest and the Moldova-Suwan (Jassy), and 6 bishoprics, viz. Arjash, Buzau, Londer Danube (Galatz) (Romania, Rimnik-Vid, and Hus), of the Metropolitan and the bishops with sees have a suffragan bishop. The Church is governed by a Synod consisting of the bishops and a Highest Church Council (since 1900), in which secular clergy and laitymen take part. The election of a Metropolitan and certain ecclesiastical affairs are in the competence of Parliament, but in these proceedings only Orthodox members take part. The country clergy are educated in (secondary) Seminaries with an eight year course, the town clergy at the Theological faculty of the University of Bucharest. At Bucharest is published a religious paper, the Biserica (i.e. Baslica—Church) Ortodoxa Romana. By the law of 21st Jan. 1902 the clergy receive their stipends from the Church fund (asesa bisericii).

(14) The Hermannstadt (Sibiu) Rumanian Church in Hungary was severed from the Archibishopric of Kariowitz in 1834; from 1738 to 1783 it was part of the Archbishopric of Kariowitz, and in 1733 it became autocephalous; and at the same time the see of Sibiu and Hermannstadt was subordinated to it. The former was founded by Napoleon 1. in 1806, the second in 1809. In the Archbishopric of Bukovina there are 2333 priests; in the diocese of Dalmatia (1910), 89,951 members, 77 priests, 54 parishes, and 3 monasteries; and in that of Bocca di Cattaro, 21,775 souls, 64 priests, 45 parishes, and 5 monasteries. Besides these there are in Lower Austria 6856, in Bohemia and Moravia 7311, in Triste and Styria 2649 members—altogether an Orthodox diaspora of 17,119. In the Archbishopric of Bukovina the clergy are educated at the Theological faculty of the University of Csernowitz; in Dalmatia, in the diocese of Zara, by 1888 by the Austrian Government, a Rumanian-Russian Candela is published. At Zara, down to 1912, there was published the Glaziul Pravoslavei Dalmatinei (The Herald of the Orthodox Dalmatian Church). In Bukovina the clergy receive their stipend from the Fund for the Religious, founded in 1792; in Dalmatia, from the treasury, according to the law of 4th Feb. 1797.

(15) The Church of Antioch numbered in the 4th cent. as many as 220 sees. In 431, Cyprus was separated from it, and in 481 the Church of Jerusalem. In 638 it fell under the power of the Arabs; in 728 it was taken back again by the Greeks, and in 1263 by the Turks. It now numbers some 316,000 members, mostly Arabic-speaking, living in Syria, Cilicia, Mesopotamia, and the provinces of Arabia Minor. It is governed by a Patriarch (at present Gregory IV.), who bears the title 'Most Blessed Patriarch of the Great City of God, Antioch, and of all the East,' and resides (since 1929) in Damascus. The Patriarchate is divided into 14 sees, governed by Metropolitanians. A great and beneficent work connected with it is the Russian Imperial Palestine Society, which establishes schools for the Arabs. The Patriarchate publishes in Arabic a journal called Graeco. There is a seminary at Damascus. The Hierarchy was for a long time Greek, but the last two Patriarchs (1885) have been chosen from among the Arabs, for which reason the other Patriarchs refused for some time to recognize them.

(16) The Church of Jerusalem was originally a bishopric subject to the Metropolitans of Csesarea Philippi. The Council of Chalcedon in 451 accepted the bishop of Jerusalem as a fifth Patriarchate, subordinating to it all the bishops of Palestine to the number of 50. From the 4th to the 6th cent. monasticism was very general in this region. In A.D. 614 it was wasted by the Persians, in 623 recovered by the Greeks, in 636 conquered by the Arabs, in 707 by the Seljuks, in 1096 by the Crusaders, in 1187 by the
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Muhammadans, and finally, in 1517, by the Ottoman Turks. It now numbers no more than some 30,000 members, mostly Arabic-speaking, but is governed by Greek monks, about 20 in number, who, since 1687 formed the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre (Αγιου Θανατου Λαμπροτριον). The Patriarch and all the bishops are elected exclusively from the members of the brotherhood. The former bears the title, Most Blessed Patriarch of Jerusalem and all Palestine. To the Patriarch are subject 6 Metropolitans and 11 Archbishops, of whom only a few live in their sees, the majority residing in Jerusalem. The Patriarchate is governed by a Synod, presided over by the Patriarch; the members (16) are certain members of the Brotherhood. On 29th Dec. 1911 (2nd Jan. 1912), beside the Synod, there was established, on the demand of the Arabs, a Mixed Council (Μείγμα Ζώμαρος) of 6 clergy (members of the Brotherhood) and 6 laymen (Arabs), and this slightly restricts the power of the Brotherhood in matters of marriage, Church property, and schools. In the Patriarchal journal is published called Νεα Ζως. In the Monastery of the Cross is a seminary, temporarily closed. Relations with the Patriarchate of Alexandria have been renewed through personal questions between the Patriarchs.

4. The dogmatic system of Orthodoxy.—The fundamental dogmas are not identical with the dogmatic teaching of the Orthodox Church and that of other confessions consist in the particular view it takes of dogma. Orthodoxy does not allow of the possibility of dogmatic development. The complete fullness of dogmatic doctrine was once for all taught by Christ and the Apostles, and is an object of faith. Modification and development can affect only the external forms of the dogmas. So-called dogmatic is the more authoritative according as it expresses better the faith of the whole Church at all times, i.e., according as it answers to the formula of Vincent of Lerins: quasi semper, quasi ubique, quasi ad omnium. For this reason the highest authority in the Orthodox Church is the Seven Ecumenical Councils, because they had representatives of the Church from all parts (ubique), and because they did not establish any new dogmas, but only formalized which already (semper) had been confessed by the Church ('following after the Divine Fathers'). Guided by this principle, the Orthodox Church regards as invasions of man's mind the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church as to the perpetual procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son as well (Φιλογενεσις) (instead of the momentary sending of the Holy Ghost by the Son), the Immaculate Conception of the Theotokos, the Infallibility of the Pope and his power over the whole Church, and the doctrine of purgation. The Orthodox Church is distinguished from Protestantism by its recognition of Holy Tradition as a source of teaching as to faith; by its doctrine of Seven Sacraments, not as signs of grace, but as the grace itself; and in particular by its doctrine of the Transubstantiation of the bread and wine in the Sacrament of the Eucharist into the very body and very blood of Christ; and by its doctrine of the Resurrection of the dead not by faith alone, but also by good works. It also rejects the Reformers' doctrine of the working of salvation by grace, and of unconditional predestination, and it teaches that grace works together with man's freedom (συνεργισιμος), and that predestination has its foundation in the Divine foreknowledge. While admitting the common priesthood of believers, the Orthodox Church admits at the same time a special priesthood in a hierarchy of three orders (Bishop, Priest, and Deacon), and that this receives its full powers not from other members of the Church, but from her Founder Himself, and hands it on in succession by episcopal laying on of hands. Reckoning the Church on earth as only a part of the whole Church, Orthodoxy recognizes the indispensability of lively communion between the Church on earth and the other part of the Church—the Church in heaven. This is the doctrine of the 7th Ecumenical Council, not to the word and the painting but to the persons represented in them. In its moral teaching, Orthodoxy, in contradistinction to Protestantism, considers asceticism to be indispensable, not as an independent end in itself, but as a means for fallen men to reach moral perfection.

Both Holy Scripture and Holy Tradition are admitted as sources of doctrine as to faith. Any question of the comparative authority of one or the other source is impossible in Orthodoxy, inasmuch as each is merely a different mode of expressing one and the same doctrine of the Church. All its fullness is already included in Holy Scripture, and finds its foundation therein. Holy Scripture includes both canonical and uncanonical Books. Among the latter are the so-called Nicomo-Constantinopolitan Creed (Συμβολος της Ιερας Συμβολος); the Epistle of the orthodox Theoptriarch of the Eastern Orthodox Church touching the Orthodox Faith, as it was sent in 1723 to Russia and Great Britain.

A fuller statement of Orthodox teaching is given in the so-called Symbolic Books. This expression has been borrowed from the Protestant; but, strictly speaking, the term 'Symbol' in the Orthodox Church, as no single one of them has been approved by the highest ecclesiastical authority—an Ecumenical Council—and the name merely attaches to certain more or less authoritative statements of faith, the number of which cannot be exactly defined. Generally the term is applied to the following:

1 Pravoslavna Epirodiama ('The Orthodox Confession') of the Metropolitan of Kiev, Peter Moglias, composed in 1685, and approved by all the Patriarchs and by the Russian Holy Synod.

2 The Confession of Dositheus of Jerusalem, approved in 1672 by the Council of Jerusalem. It is also known by the title of The Epistle of the Patriarchs of the Eastern Catholic Church touching the Orthodox Faith, as it was sent in 1723 to Russia and Great Britain.

3 Pravoslavna Sviatoslavtstvo ('A Longer Orthodox Catechism') of the Orthodox Catholic Church of Moscow, Philaret; approved in 1839 by the Russian Synod and afterwards also by the Patriarchs.

Among works on Dogma, the best known in the Russian Church are the Dogmatic Theologies of the Metropolitan Macarius, Archbishop Philaret, Bishop Sylvester, and the Protobishops Malinovsky; in the Greek Church, Ίησος Καιναχιστής, Στηνοαγμα Διακοπητη της ανθρωπης αποκομια εξηγησις of Z. Rhomos, Athens, 1893, and the work of Androuzou, do. 1907.

Editions (fairly well known) of the Confessions of Moglias and Dositheus in Gr. and Latin, by A. E. Rhomel, Korektononton (Athens, 1893); Κοροκτονοντον, Athens, 1890, and earlier; E. N. Mesolos, Κοροκτονοντον, Athens, 1890; in Greek, J. Tchoukoulof, Κοροκτονοντον, Leipzig, 1894. There is a German translation of the first in Hoffmann, Historia Catechismorum, Ratisbon, 1783; of the second, in Revue Internationale de Théologie, 1. (1895) 220-295; an English tr. of the Catechism of Dositheus in 1

1 Sometimes the title of a 'Symbolic Book' is applied to the works of Jerome II., Patriarch of Constantinople (to the Theophilius of Tilsit), and the Confession of Metropolitan Epiphanius, afterwards Patriarch of Alexandria.
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As a basis for a summary of the dogmatic teaching of Orthodoxy we must inevitably take the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed (Symbol) as it is worded in the authorized statement of the faith of the Orthodox Church. The first Article of the Creed speaks of the Creation of all things visible and invisible by God the Father. In connexion with this the Orthodox Theologians develop the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, traces of which they find in the OT, the doctrine of angels and their seven orders, of the veiled question of demons, of the double bodily and spiritual composition of man's nature as a microcosm, and of Providence, under which predestination (προόρωμα) is explained as foreknowledge (προγνωσία), through which the freedom and the fall of man become intelligible. In opposition to the Pelagians it is recognized that in Adam there sinned also all his descendants, and they are therefore liable to the same punishments, but possess a special potentiality for good as having preserved the σωτήριον thought has gone astray.

The second Article speaks of the Person of Jesus Christ. In developing this and the eighth article on the Holy Ghost there is given a detailed refutation of the Nestorianism, by each of which is introduced teaching irreconcilable with Holy Scripture, the immutability of the Creed is violated, and a doctrine of two θεός in the Deity formulated. The teaching of the Creed as to the Godhead and manhood in Jesus Christ is supplemented by the definitions of the 3rd to the 6th Council as to the unconfounded, immutable, inseparable, indissoluble union in Him of two natures in one Person. χριστός is by some (e.g. V. V. Bologov) understood as the unity of self-consciousness but not of consciousness, by others as a union on one side. In connexion with the teaching as to the Incarnation the doctrine of the Perpetual Virginity of the Theotokos before, at the time of, and after the birth of Christ is set forth.

The salvation of mankind through the Incarnation, Passion, Death, Resurrection, and Ascension of Christ (Articles 3-8) is understood as a deliverance from sin, the curse, and death. This salvation is completed by Christ's threefold service as King, High Priest, and Prophet. The Descent into Hell was the manifestation of Christ's kingly power, and its purpose was to liberate those who under the Old Dispensation believed in His coming. The 9th and 10th Articles speak of the Prophetic and High Priestly service of Christ. His Prophetic service consisted in His giving the doctrine of ἑκάστη ἀλήθεια and the means for its attainment. This doctrine, passing from the Apostles to the Bishops, is preserved by means of oral and written διδασκαλία in the Church. The Church is called 'Apostolic' because she is faithful to this Apostolic tradition; she is called 'One' because she has one Head, Christ, and in her works one Holy Ghost; she is 'Holy' because her members are made holy by true doctrine, and by the Sacraments; she is 'Catholic' because she ought to be united by the whole world. An attempt to give a more exact definition of the Church as 'the Body of Christ' has not been successful. In opposition to the Protestant it is explained that the Church is at one and the same time both visible on earth (or militant) and invisible in heaven (or triumphant). The existence of several autonomous Churches contradicts 'sacral unity of the Church, inasmuch as they are united by unity of confession of faith and communion in prayers and Sacraments. Her task, the salvation of souls, is exercised by the Church and those that bear office in her, through preaching the doctrine of Christ and the Apostles, and celebrating the Sacraments established by Christ for the sanctification of men.

The 10th Article of the Creed mentions only one Sacrament—Baptism; but all statements of faith enumerate seven—βάπτισμα, χρίσμα, σύμβασις, μεταμορφώσεις, λειτουργία, γεύμα, and also the seven Sacraments was not established till the 13th cent., apparently under Western influence (Council of Lyons, A.D. 1274). St. John Damascene mentions only the first three Sacraments, Dionysius the Areopagite six, and among them the taking of monastic vows and τὰ ἑκάστη ἱεραμομαχία τελειώματα. The taking of monastic vows at the monk Job in A.D. 1270, and by some modern Russian theologians (Leontiev—as a form of penance; Archbishop Antonius of Volynia).

The Sacraments are looked upon as spiritual means by which, under visible signs, there is granted an invisible grace of God, i.e. a saving force of God. The Roman Catholic doctrine of their acting opera operato is rejected. The unworthiness of the celebrant does not interfere with their efficacy; but on the side of the recipient, faith in the administration, in accordance with the ordinances of the Church, are indispensable. Baptism begins with the rite of the renunciation of Satan and his works, by the one to be baptized. Baptism is a new birth which annihilates original sin and all sins previously committed, and makes the baptized a member of the Church; but the consequences of sin remain in a tendency to sin and disease. At Baptism there must be sponsors. The ordinary practice is the baptism of infants as soon as possible. Re-baptism is not allowed, if only because of the words of the Creed 'one Baptism.' Baptism by immersion is based on the baptism of the Roman Catholic Church. The ordinary practice is the baptism of infants as soon as possible. Re-baptism is not allowed, if only because of the words of the Creed 'one Baptism.' Baptism by immersion is based on the baptism of the Romans.

The ordination of bishops and priests is the Sacrament of Holy Orders. The ordination of a bishop is the consecration of a bishop, and the ordination of a priest is the ordination of a priest. The ordinary practice is the ordination of bishops and priests as soon as possible. Re-baptism is not allowed, if only because of the words of the Creed 'one Baptism.' Baptism by immersion is based on the baptism of the Romans.

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unto condemnation. The term 'transubstantiation' (μεταβολήσωσις) is borrowed from the West, but in the Orthodox Church it does not imply the raising into a new being of substance by the conversion of accidents, but implies only that the bread and wine upon consecration are transmuted (μεταβολήσωσις) in the Body and Blood, not τρέφω nor είνηραται, but ἐδόθη καὶ γεμαίρεται, i.e., into the very Body and very Blood of Christ. In contradistinction to the Roman Church, Communion is administered in both kinds and with leavened bread. The consecration of the Holy Gifts takes place not by the repetition of the words of Christ, 'Take, eat...,' but by the 'laving of the creatures of the Holy Ghost (πνεύματος, πνευμαλωσία). The Eucharist is not only a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, but also an atonement (λατρεία) on behalf of living and dead, identical in essence with the sacrifice of Golgotha. In contradistinction to the Roman Church, the participation of the faithful in the Eucharist is regarded as indispensable, and 'private masses' are not permitted at a celebration of the Eucharist. At any rate, those engaged in the service must communicate, and non-communicants receive particles of the τροφή (ταλάντιον) from which were taken pieces for the sacrament (εὐλαβεία). The Eucharist can be celebrated at the same altar only once in the day, and the celebrant can celebrate only once in the day. The consecrated elements remain for ever; they are kept in pyxides and ciboria, and are used for the celebration of the Liturgy of the Pre-Sanctified and the communion of the sick. The Liturgy (i.e. the Eucharist) can be celebrated only by a priest or a bishop, and only upon an εὐλαβεία. Penitence (μεταμέτρεσις) is usually taught from the age of seven years, and precedes communion. In penitence there are distinguished the moments of contrition (μεταμέτρεσις), and remission of sins (ξένος). But the Roman doctrine of satisfaction for sins on the part of the repentant is definitely rejected. Sometimes a penance (εὐκορία) is laid upon the repentant; this is meant as a spiritual exercise or self-denial necessary for a victory over evil habits, e.g. fasting on other than the appointed days. It is recommended that confession be made to one 'spiritual Father,' who acts not as a judge, as in the Roman Church, but as a spiritual physician. Denial is given to the doctor, but time, after the lapse of a certain time, but also temporary punishment, from which doctrine proceeded the theory of the thesanurum mari- tium and the practice of indulgences.

Besides the Sacrament of Confession there is the so-called 'confession to elders,' i.e. to elders among the monks (hieromonachs) for pious living.

The Sacrament of Ordination is administered by the laying on of hands (χειροτονία) by a bishop. Ordination with the three degrees—bishop, presbyter, deacon—was instituted not by the Church but by her Founder, Christ. A second conferment of ordination to the same degree is not allowed even in the case of converts, as long as the orders of the non-orthodox Church are recognized as valid. Accordingly, Roman Catholic clerics receive the rank that belongs to them. The practice in regard to Anglicans has not been settled, and the question in America of the unfrocked Anglican priest Irvine, on 8th Nov. 1905, by the Russian Bishop Tycho, has no decisive bearing upon the point. Ordination is allowed only in the case of the unmarried, or the one married. Marriage after ordination is not allowed. Since the Council in Trullo (A.D. 692), bishops have been excluded from among the unmarried, and mostly from those who have taken monastic vows. The rite of admission (χειροτονία or εὐχλασία) to the minor orders or offices of the Church is not considered a Sacrament. Only two lower orders now exist, the Reader (or Singer) and the Subdeacon. However, there are also—exorcist, doorkeeper, and women servants of the Church, widows, and deaconesses. Bishops, according to the light they hold, or their distribution in the services of the Church, bear the titles of Patriarchs, Exarchs, Metropolitans, Archbishops; presbyters of archpriests, protopresbyters, protodeacons; deacons of archdeacon and protodesceni. These are not different orders, but only honorary titles. Monks are said to belong to the clergy only when they have received ordination, in which case they bear the title of hieromonachs (prosubdea) and hierodeacae. Those who have embraced the monastic life are divided into novices (μαρτυροψελφέροι) who have not yet taken vows, monks of the lesser schema (μικρόχειρωμένοι, μικρομοιχός) who have taken vows and received the tonsure, and monks of the great schema (μεγάλχειρωμένοι) who have taken special strict vows. Monasteries are not classed in orders, but all follow the rule of St. Basil the Great, somewhat modified in modern times. Their general vows are obedience, poverty, and penitence. The last is variously interpreted: in some monasteries with common life (κοινωνία) monks may not possess any individual property, in others (κοινωνία) they may. The heads of monasteries bear the title of hegumenos, those of convents κοινωσόμενοι. The larger men's monasteries are ruled by Archimandrites.

Marriage is declared to be a Sacrament on the authority of Eph 5.25. It is preceded by betrothal (μαρτυροψελφέροι, μαρτυροψελφέροι), formerly entered into long before marriage (even up to 10 years), but now usually, both in the Greek and in the Russian Church, celebrated just before the Sacrament. The chief moment of the Sacrament is held to be the crowning. In contradistinction to the Roman Church, in which the parties themselves are considered to be the celebrants of the Sacrament, and its essence is held to be rather the consecration of the copula, the Orthodox Church considers the clergy to be the celebrant of the Sacrament, and its essence the conferring of a grace. Wedlock is allowed only between Christians, and at least one party must be Orthodox. Marriage between blood relations is forbidden to the seventh degree inclusive, but is allowed to the collateral line. In the case of relations by marriage, wedlock is not allowed in the first four degrees. In particular, a man is not permitted to marry his brother's wife or his sister's husband's sister. An impediment is also found in spiritual relationship, i.e. relationship arising through standing sponsor at baptism. The Sacrament of Church mar-riages only between a godfather and the mother of his godchild, but at one time this impediment extended to the seventh degree (e.g. in the Patriarch Nicholas III. Grammati; 1062-1107). From this general norm there are variations both towards condensation and towards greater strictness. A second marriage is allowed, but, if both sides have been married before, it is celebrated with less pomp; a third marriage is allowed only by condensation (εἰρητική); a fourth is absolutely forbidden, and in some Churches exceptions have been allowed (as nowadays in Bulgaria and Bosnia). Divorce on the authority of Mt 5.31 is allowed in case of adultery, with the immediate right of re-marriage. In the Russian Church in recent times divorce has been allowed on other grounds, and second marriages are not allowed to the very party after the expiration of a period of penance.

The use of holy oil (chrima) is mentioned in Mt.
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16th April 1836: it is a sacrament in which the body of a sick man is anointed with oil with an invocation of the grace of God which heals the diseases of the body and the weaknesses of the soul. It is performed by a priest (Russian - отец) of 7 priests; hence in the Russian Church it is called 'Soborovanie.' In contradistinction to the Russian Church, in anointing with oil that it is the last anointing of a dying man (extrema unctio extimantium), the Orthodox Church teaches that it should be performed only upon the sick for their recovery and not for the dying, though the Western practice is fairly widespread. Sometimes anointing with oil is performed upon the healthy, e.g., at the Trinity Laura of St. Sergius on Maundy Thursday.

The 7th, 11th, and 12th Artt. set forth ecclesiastical. The Orthodox Church recognizes a double judgment, one particular and final on the soul of each human being at his death, the other general and final—the last judgment (the dreadful judgment) which will follow after the universe has ceased to exist with their bodies, and will also be for those then living. Until the last judgment those who have been condemned by the particular judgment may receive pardon through the intercession of Christ and the saints.

The existence of Purgatory as a place midway between heaven and hell is not recognized.

See also Church, vol. iii. p. 622, and Confessions, vol. iii. p. 837.


III. INDIVIDUAL CHURCHES. — I. TH. Kurganov, The Orthodox Church in the Government of the Kingdom of Greece [Russ.], Kassai, 1871; E. E. Golbinski, A short skit on the Orthodox Church in the Government of the Kingdom of Serbia, and Romania [Russo.], Moscow, 1871; P. Papadopoulos-Keramov, Ιστορία των εκκλησιαστικών σχέσεων των Ελλήνων και Ρώμανών, Kassai, 1871; M. G. D sorting, Η ορθόδοξη εκκλησία της Κωνσταντινούπολης, Athens, 1874; J. M. Neale, History of the Orthodox Church in Austria-Hungary, London, 1905; V. Kolo-

GREEN, THOMAS HILL. I. Life. —An adequate account of T. H. Green's life is given in the monograph prefixed to the Works (posthumous) of T. H. Green, by J. W. C. Mils, from which the following details are selected (cf. also DNB, s. v.).

Green was born 7th April 1836. His father, Valentine Green, was rector of Birkin in the West Riding of Yorkshire. His relatives on both sides were clerical—a fact of some interest in estimating the influence which formed his intellectual development. His family was distantly connected with Cromwell—a circumstance which seems to have had no effect on attracting his mind to the political theories of Cromwell's time. At the age of fourteen (1850), Green went to Rugby; in 1855 he
entered Balliol College, and in 1859 gave the first proof of his ability by obtaining first-class honours in the school of Literae Humanae Artis. His mind appeared to have developed slowly; he was more inclined to meditation than to accumulation of facts, and therefore never exhibited the qualities of the prize-winning scholar. In 1862 his interest was first identified by his Professor, Mr. J. M.十四条, who also attempted to cultivate his interest in Carlyle, Wordsworth, Kegan Paul, and P. D. Maurice, and he lectured in Oxford, at first on History and afterwards on Philosophy, slowly making up his mind to enter upon teaching as a profession. The influence of Jowett was the one dominant factor of this period. During 1864-66, Green was engaged in the work of a Royal Commission on Education, and his reports did much to further the development of education for children of the middle classes; his interest in this type of secondary education was a phase of his democratic tendency, and lasted through life.

In 1867 he finally settled to the work of College Tutor, showing capacity for the details of his post beyond expectation. He was elected a Fellow of All Souls in 1865. In 1867 he married Charlotte Symonds, daughter of Dr. Symonds of Clifton, and sister of John Addington Symonds. In 1872 he began a temperance campaign, engaged in social work, opened a coffee-room in Oxford (1875), and was a member of the Town Council in 1876. In these activities he showed the qualities of a reformer, and might have advanced to a wider sphere of activity as member of Parliament if his health had allowed him to stand the strain. From 1873 he was actively interested in the discussions over the reform of the Church in England. As early as 1871, Green was writing largely as a way of forcing himself to work systematically. He wrote articles for the North British Review on that subject. In 1874, his views were enunciated in his introduction to Hume's Treatise of Human Nature. This was his major work in the period 1875-77. When, having been elected Wykeham Professor of Moral Philosophy, he gave the lectures which form the Principles of Ethics, this work never reached its final form. In 1878, however, he lectured at Oxford, and others who stood between Kant and Hegel, but the work of translating Locke was cut in the middle when, after a short illness, Green died on 26th March 1882.

2. Philosophical views.—(a) General position.

In the history of English speculative thought Green deservedly holds a high position. He forms one part of a well-defined antithesis, in reference to which both his ideals and his achievements must be estimated. The close of the 18th cent. was a period of transition for British philosophy. On the one hand, there remained the method and principles which sprang from Plato and were established, for Englishmen, by Locke. These had been developed, after Locke, by Berkeley and Hume, and may be called, for convenience, 'Associationism' or 'English Empiricism.' After Hume there was further progress of a somewhat decurrent kind, leading to a revival of the spirit of Empiricism in the figures of Mill, Hume, and others. In Utilitarianism as begun by Hume, defended by James Mill, and most brilliantly expounded by J. S. Mill, there is a continuation of the empirical thought with increased emphasis on ethical and political doctrines. In the work of Bentham, speculative questions were relegated to the background. Similarly, in the case of James Mill and J. S. Mill, the real significance of their thought is to be looked for in practical as opposed to speculative questions. This must be emphasized, because Green approaches the work of Hume and Mill from this side, and is most concerned with the ethical implications of Empiricism. The roots of Green's own position are to be found in Kant, so that, in J. S. Mill and Green, British and German lines of development came into direct conflict. The position was further complicated by a new development on the British side. While Kant's successors rapidly moved away from his basis, and Hegel finally emerged as the outcome of a revolutionary development, the empirical position was further reinforced by the ethical work of Herbert Spencer, which ultimately incorporated Darwinism in its expansion of Empiricism. Green, therefore, found himself face to face with a growing opposition, and was compelled (M.E.) to G. H. Lewes, and Spencer. This whole movement is conveniently covered by the term 'Naturalism,' and it is not clear that Green challenges in Naturalism a long line of thought which was by no means a stagnant perpetuation of doctrine, but a living and aggressive development. In order to understand Green, it is necessary to grasp the character of this Naturalism. J. S. Mill accurately describes the nature of the first reaction against the 18th century. Speaking of the 'German-Cole- rigidian doctrine,' he says:

It is ontological, because that was experimental: conserva tive, because that was innovative: religious, because so much of that was inculcated: concrete and historical, because that was matter-of-fact and precise. (Dissertation 1869, 421.)

This description of the first reaction applies to the later period also. Coleridge began the movement with a sentimental opposition to Locke's school; J. F. Exner had the opposition to Locke's philosophy at St. Andrews, 1845-46) was vaguely Hegelian; J. H. Stirling began in 1856 to translate and expound the systems of Kant and Hegel; after him William Wallace at Oxford, and Edward Caird at Glasgow (1866-68) and Oxford, continued the work of expounding German philosophy in Britain. Thus before and during Green's time there was an established line of Idealism with which he could associate himself in his opposition to Naturalism, and in all this movement there is close evidence of his association with it. Green's general position may be described as spiritualistic, religious, or Idealistic in comparison with the Naturalism, Agnosticism, or Utilitarianism of the opposing side. As has been said above, Green was associated himself with the Idealistic movement. The vagneness of that expression is justified by the facts; for Green took Kant as his basis, but developed his own doctrine cautiously, and expressed considerable doubt as to the value of Hegel's position (Works, iii. 143). Consequently it is inaccurate to call Green an 'idealistic Naturalist'; just what it is accurate to call Green is a difficult question; while the influence of Hegel is very potent, there is much in Green which should be regarded as directly developed out of earlier theories. It is partly on this basis that the opposition between J. S. Mill and Green appears now to have been often exaggerated: for Mill included under Utilitarianism a strong element of Kantian morality, and Green tended to limit himself to a combination of Platonicism and Kantian rationalism. In both cases the influence of earlier British writers (e.g. Butler, Price) is a factor which tends to diminish the difference in their conclusions. When Utilitarianism took still another form at the hands of Henry Sidgwick, the controversy turned on points that were only of secondary importance. Utilitarianism made room for immediate moral judgments as originally found in Butler, thus admitting a rationalistic theory of conscience; while in Green the idea of absolute ends or absolute values, when closely inspected, becomes a formal concept of the end with no material content except what Utilitarianism was, by then, prepared to supply.

The first consideration has been given to the ethical part of Green's work because that is the focus of his interests; and in dealing with that aspect it has become clear that Green was an opponent of Naturalism and of Utilitarianism in all the various forms which each assumed. The deepest ethical problem for Kant and naturally those of God, freedom, and immortality; Green is true to the Kantian standpoint in seeking a metaphysical basis for his ethical theory. To achieve this it was necessary to go back to the point from which Kant had started, namely Hume. The introductions to Hume's Treatise of Human Nature (Works, i. 274) is a complete statement of Green's objections to English Empiricism. As these are at the same time aspects of his positive teaching, they may be summarized here.
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(l.) Locke's theory of knowledge is declared to be grounded in a false conception of consciousness: the 'ideas' is described by Locke as something given to, rather than produced by, the mind: hence the false idea is something given to the mind, and the true idea is something produced by the mind. The result of this false start was in Hume, whose work exhibited relentlessly the same principles as those, in the matter of the truth of ideas, the original error. The initial error was the assumption of ideas as objects of the mind when it thinks; this Green takes to be a false analysis of experience, involving the profound conclusion that an experience may be experience of an idea as of something given to the mind from without. On such a basis it is obvious that the self must be ultimately a complex aggregate of ideas, a product of experiences often repeated and (by association) knit together, a precipitate of time rather than a living reality. It must be admitted that Green's elaborate criticism is not always fair or relevant: there is much wearisome disputation about terminology where Locke was clearly making no effort to use technical terms; there is frequent distortion of the significance of passages due to concentration on detail in place of breadth of treatment; there is a striking lack of appreciation for the work which Locke actually achieved. Locke's achievement is that of objects independent of the mind. The famous Essay. On the other hand, Green has a cause to plead, and his main points are strong. The central assumption of his principles, consistently followed, led or might lead to that view of man which makes him a thinking machine, a merely animal organism, a creature without personality. The origin of these false views was to be found, Green thought, in the associationism of Locke and his followers. In denouncing this, Green was eminently in the right; but it has proved difficult to work out how a series of sensations could know itself as a series produced no answer: the doctrine, like its original supporters, was dead. With this point gained, the whole position is reversed: as the series does not sum itself, there must be a permanent self which does sum the series; this self must be active, not passive, and therefore the sensations, feelings, desires must all be phases of its activity rather than data over which it receives more or less passively. Again, if we look to the objective system, we find there are only things in the order of empirical sense of substances, but also relations; relations cannot be antecedents of the act of thinking, because they are things of 'impressions'; they are essentially the 'work of the mind.' Locke (from Green's point of view) was wrong in attaching so little importance to the work of the mind, for it now becomes obvious that not only relations but all that Locke would have called 'objects' are 'work of the mind'; they are not things, hopelessly external to our neuro-cerebral organism, but complexes of relations, nuclei in a network of experience. Thus, through a criticism of Empiricism, Green expounds a form of critical idealism based on Kant.

(ii.) The complement of this speculative theory is the practical theory: after treating the 'understanding,' it is necessary to discuss the principles of morals. The connection is obvious: if the analysis of the understanding leaves us with no 'self' capable of originating action, there can be no responsibility and no morality. Green was aware that Hume could not be answered by a dogmatic reassertion of Intuitionism. Hume's position was extremely subtle: if his doctrine involves real experience in the Leibnizian sense, it is the less provided for a working substitute in that product of habit and association which the average man might be satisfied to call his 'self'; if his position seemed to cut man off from all communication with God and deny all affinity between human nature and the Divine nature, it yet left the average layman a sphere of aspirations and scope for social labours. There could be no doubt that, if the only escape from Hume was by retreat to Cowper and the case was hopeless, it was necessary to escape at all. The answer to that seemed to be written in the history of Delium, in every instance of invidious or pious character, in the fact that the average man is never content to think of himself as a creature of circumstances (cf. Works, iii., xxii.), but either rises above that estimate of himself or sinks below it to moral degradation. Green saw that morality belongs only to persons as self-determining agents; his task was to prove the possibility of morality by removing the objections to the view that men are self-determining agents; and he achieved this in an argument that deserves more attention than it has received. The point is in strict conformity with the previous demonstration that an idea cannot come from without into the mind, but must be itself a product of the mind, an expression of mental or spiritual activity. From this it follows that we must reverse the use of such terms as 'pleasant,' 'tempting,' and the like. These can no longer be taken to indicate permanent states of objects independent of the mind. At the root of objects of pleasure is 'pleasant' only when a person regards it in that way; an opportunity is 'tempting' only when a self-determining agent perceives it as such (Pragmatics, 98). Through the pleasure of pleasures and pains as things that act on the self, mind was to regard themselves as victims of circumstances or propensities. Hume finally declared reason to be the slave of the passions; no other conclusion was possible while reason and the passions were external one to another; Green's answer is based on his proof that reason is the master of the passions. The new position had far-reaching consequences: if pleasures and pains can in this way be taken up into the life of the self, if the environment is no longer a sum of irresistible attractions and repulsions, Green can triumphantly vindicate the moral life as a life of self-determination and self-realization.

These two phases of the opposition to Hume so far exhibit Green's main position that it is unnecessary to examine with the same care his attacks on G. H. Lewes and Herbert Spencer. Between Green and those writers who laid emphasis on the physical substratum of the mind, the natural history of morals, and the mental and human nature, there was hardly sufficient sympathy to make the antagonism interesting. With J. S. Mill and Sidgwick the case is different. Green naturally found in Mill's system the most significant exposition of Hedonism. J. S. Mill appeared to him simply as the heir of those doctrines which Bentham originated and James Mill advanced; the allowances which should be made on account of Mill's own condemnation of Benthamism are made by Green in word only; there is no real surrender of the belief that Utilitarianism is wrong, and that Mill's doctrine is the old Utilitarianism in new armour. In this Green was decidedly at fault; if he had ever realized the extent to which Mill was under the influence of Butler and Kant, he would not have been the precursor of a whole generation of short-sighted attacks on Mill. As will be shown later, Green's conception of relations is religious; and on questions of religion Mill and Green were antagonistic by birth, breeding, and nature. Green divided with Mill the allegiance of the public, largely because of the apparent solidarity between Green's point of view and that of the advanced thinker in religious matters. Mill, on the other hand, appealed more directly to those who set social progress before the philosophy of
religion, including also those who were so far secular as to be anti-clerical, and so far opposed to orthodox beliefs as to welcome the 'irreligion of the future'. Here, again, the exegesis of differences was unfortunate: Mill's views on religion were not directed against such refined theology as that of Green, and Green on questions of social progress were far enough to satisfy any utilitarian. But of all philosophers since Socrates it has been true that by their followers ye shall know them. Green and Mill were not really in the same plane. Mill belonged to the world of affairs, and his ethical writings are the theoretical background of social and political prophecy. Green is primarily a philosopher: his sphere is the rarified air of dialectics, smokeless if not cloudless. It is only necessary to read Green's criticism of Mill's Logic (ii. 165) to realize the difference: in the analysis of thought-processes, Green may win an easy victory; but the investigator in the laboratory or the field, handling things, finds in Mill the more instructive guide; and even where modern science and method rebels against Mill, it does not reject him in order to accept Green. As compared with Mill, Sidgwick was more akin to him in his academic modes of thought; he could and did meet Green on his own ground; he attacked his metaphysics, criticized his demonstration of freedom, freely and merci-

lently analyzed in which Green expressed his aspirations and too often obscured his meaning. But this, again, was not of ultimate significance; the only really valuable criticism made by Sidgwick on Green was the publication of his own version of Utilitarianism.

(c) Speculative groundwork.—In the exposition of his thoughts, Green was hampered by his familiarity with German modes of expression. In place of the lucid English of Hume, Green employs a technical language which baffles the untrained reader. His philosophy is always clouded by a want of clearness in the thoughts; but, as this is not the place to discuss details, an attempt will be made to state his principal ideas in ordinary terms; and those ideas were ad
ed, for Green clear and distinct. It must be granted that some ideas are more easily expressed than others; also, the expression of convictions which are akin to religious experiences is notoriously difficult, easily ridiculed, and hardly ever intelligible to those who have no memory of similar experiences. Green's whole philosophy is founded on the profound conviction of the deep significance of personality. He saw in contemporary English philosophy an implicit reduction of personality to illusion, an analysis which ultimately explains it away. In Kant he saw the basis of a different philosophy, which could be employed to refute English Empiri-

cism and open the way for a different expression of moral values. Having shown that Locke and his followers were at fault in their psychological method and their idea of the objective world, Green proceeds to argue that experience properly treated (i.e. in Kant's way) proves that there is a 'spiritual principle' in Nature. The world is for commonmen a series of objects, a form of perception, and 'objects' are discriminated experiences, having differences which reflect the ultimate differences of 'things', i.e. of those stimuli to which we refer our distinct experiences. The word 'Nature' is thus interpreted to mean a complex of experiences which indicate a ground of experience beyond thought. The system of thought is objectively real, because it is real for all rational beings, but not objective in the sense of being set over against the thinker as alien to thought. Thus, the old distinction of subjective and objective, opposed as inner and outer, is removed; the thinker and that which is thought are not divided from one another; they are not divisions of the universe, but distinctions arising out of experience, in which they have first been given as a unity. Since 'Nature in this sense is always continuous (not an aggregate of empirical 'things'), distinctions are made enough to satisfy any utilitarian. But as these laws are not arbitrary dictates so much as the revelation of rationality in the universe, it is argued that experience, thus analyzed, leads to the conclusion that there is a spiritual principle in all things—the thinker as his capacity of thinking, and in the objective reality of the conditions of thought. From this can be deduced (1) the ultimate unity of subject and object as collateral manifestations of one principle (which is called the higher unity, taking precedence over the unification of separate experiences in one personality); and (2) the freedom of the individual conscious activity, because that 'Nature' which in Empiricism tends to be presented as an entity in which consciousness is not shown to be one of its manifestations. This position bristles with difficulties, but its main point is not without a certain appeal. Empiricism certainly inclined to the belief that man is a material organism, that thought is a function of the nerves, and that circumstances control action. Against this Green would say that it is spiritual, that the physical body is not the cause of thought but its instrument, and that circumstances are no more than occasions for the exercise of freedom in choice. These metaphysical discus-

sions thus prepare the way for the ethical doctrine.

(c) Ethical and religious views.—Green's proof of freedom, the basis of his ethical work, amounts to a demonstration that the physical aspect of man cannot be cited as the true cause of his actions. To make morality possible it is not necessary to bodily reflect at time of a want of clearness in the thoughts; but, as this is not the place to discuss details, an attempt will be made to state his principal ideas in ordinary terms; and those ideas were ad-
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when realized, is not other than a condition or state of itself. The moral development of a rational being is, therefore, to be regarded as the conscious realization of the capacities of the self to a ceaseless recognition of incompleteness accompanying the striving after greater completeness. Green's process of addressing his pupils at the day before the Sunday on which Communism was administered was one of the occasions on which he felt most acutely that his mode of thought was not that of the man who is religious without being philosophical. The truth was that Green desired to get away from outward forms and phrases and concentrate on spiritual significance. His faith was deep but not conventional, and required for its understanding a sympathy not often accorded by the average churchgoer or even the average clergyman. In St. Paul's writings, Green found a meeting point for the Christian tradition and his own idealism. The deepest life of man is the inner self-consciousness; the life of thought is a perpetual revelation of the self which indicates infinite possibilities; man has, therefore, in himself a witness to God, for God is thinkable only as the realization of all that man has in him to become. As God is thus, objectively, the sum of perfection, so is man subjectively rebutted in that perfection. Faith is not a belief in facts resting on historical evidence; it is rather the immediate consciousness of the will, an experience rather than an acceptance of proofs. The position is stated in essence in the Prolegomena (§ 187):

'He is a being in whom we exist, with whom we are in principle one; with whom the human spirit is identical, in the sense that He is all which the human spirit is capable of becoming.'

As at a period when religious men were inclined to rise up in arms against all re-interpretation of dogmas, whether due to philosophy or to science, Green's views were of a kind not to be rashly disseminated. This he knew; but he was not in any sense troubled by doubts; he rested securely in the personal conviction of truth, and feared not for religion, but for those who by narrowing of interpretation were imperilling the adequacy of religion for life.

(d) Political philosophy. — It is possible to write on Logic, Ethics, or Metaphysics without being truly philosophic, but it is not possible to be truly philosophic without coming to terms with the daily life of common people. The moral philosophy as most severely tested at the point where the individual and the common good come into consideration, for he has then to choose the way in which he will formulate their relation and maintain their agreement or their incompatibility. This fact was realized by Green. He saw the significance of political philosophy for his own outlook, and at the same time he had a natural tendency towards an active participation in schemes which might be thought wholly uncongenial to an academic tutor. In Green's political philosophy can be found the most concrete expression of his thought. His academic work in teaching Aristotle stimulated his appreciation of civic life and ideals; his religious emotions, always mildly anti-clerical, found an outlet in the theological and practical fostering of common life; his Anglo-German idealism was a further incentive to study the life of societies these being so clearly capable of interpretation as the realization of identity in difference, unity in plurality. Looked at from this angle, society or the life of communities appears as that higher universal with which the individual has most immediate contact. Whether the individual recognizes it or not, every set has significance for the whole community; the life of the individual is nothing apart from the community; and, conversely, the
GROTIUS

GREGORIAN ARMENIAN CHURCH.—See Armenia (Christian).

GRIFFIN.—See Symbols.

GROTIUS.—In this article attention will be directed mainly to the contributions made by Grotius to the development of religious and ethical thought. It will be unnecessary, therefore, to do more than indicate in outline the chief events of his life.

1. Life.—Hugo Grotius was born on 10th April 1583, and was from early years brought under the influence of those more liberal ideas in the theory of which his own views were to become a powerful champion. His tutor was Uttenhoven, subsequently a friend of Arminius and a leader of the party of the Remonstrants. At the University of Leyden, to which he went at the age of twelve, he entered the faculties of law and medicine, and very soon exhibited an extraordinary proficiency in scholarship. So much attention did his precocious talents attract, that, when no more than a youth, he was offered the chair of law and jurisprudence at the university. He was, however, not published during his lifetime. It was edited by his sons and issued in 1647. His professional advancement was rapid. He was appointed to the office of Advocate General of the Flats of the Provinces of Holland and Zealand, and in 1618 became pensioner of Rotterdam, then acquiring a seat in the States of Holland. In the same year he proceeded on a mission to England, connected with the dispute concerning the English church. Here he became much impressed by his appearance and intelligence (Casaubon, App. 2). He returned to the Low Countries in 1621, and was for a time the centre of a community of scholars bringing together in spite of the disparity of their ages. Both were true Christian scholars, earnestly devoted to the unity and differences in the church were composed, and hopeful of the results which would follow from an unbiased and well-informed appeal to antiquity and to the light of Scripture. Grotius on his return to Holland found the flood of religious rancour in full stream. The controversy about the consubstantiation of faith and other points of Calvinistic doctrine, which had begun between the two university professors, Gomar and Arminius, had, it is said, even spread to the military. In questions of ecclesiastical, confessional or of social legislation, he found his theory adequate; it was a reason for extending his knowledge among all classes, as it was a reason for supporting the abolition of slavery even at the cost of war. In brief, his own genius converted his idealism into the working faith of a social reformer; in practice he was heart and soul with the progressive tactics of the utilitarians, and in this part of his life's work nothing separated him from the better class of utilitarians except the significant assertion in which he persisted, that the ultimate end of society is not comfort but character.


2. As Christian apostle.—Of all the writings of Grotius, probably the most widely read has been the unpretentious little book entitled Religious Christianity, which deals with English Rationalism and its relation to the philosophy of religion.
in vernacular verse, in order that it might be committed to memory by Dutch sailors and traders, and by them employed, as occasion served, for the propagation of the faith. Subsequently he expanded and translated it into a small Latin treatise in six books (1627). In the first book he lays down the fundamental principles of natural religion—the being and attributes of God, and the immortality of the soul. Of the nature of the atonement he was devoted to an examination of the claims of Jesus Christ to be the teacher of the true religion; the third deals with the authority of the Bible; the remaining three books are concerned with destructive criticism of Paganism, Judaism, and Muhammadanism.

It may fairly be said that this small volume initiated a new kind of Christian Apology. Not that it introduced any new arguments. The author explicitly professes to base his work on that of earlier apologists, among whom he names, in particular, Raymond of Sabunde, Luis Vives, and Philip de Moray. In fact, the principles which underlie Grotius' treatment of his subject do not differ essentially from those of the classical scholastic Apology, the Summa contra Gentiles of Thomas Aquinas. There is the same confident appeal to the natural reason and natural conscience of man, the same ingenuity in placing of the impossibility of any radical opposition between reason and faith. But the difference in the method of presentation is obvious. Theology has issued from the study and the own of the nature of the truth of the Christian religion as made to rest on three supports—the height of the ideal which it sets before men for attainment, the excellence of its rules of duty towards God and man, the pre-eminence of its Founder as testified by the miracles which He was enabled to work.

The Bible, Grotius naturally defends positions from which modern criticism would dissent; but it is interesting to notice how soberly he instilled the natural and the testimony of Biblical authors, their opportunities for accurate observation, and their unmistakable good faith. At the time he was criticized for omitting to mention such fundamental doctrines of Christianity as the Trinity and the Atonement. But the criticism is beside the point. It was not his purpose to write a treatise, however elementary, on Christian Doctrines. Rather he set himself the practical task of proving to inquirers the reasonableness of submission to the teaching of Jesus Christ. What the teaching actually was they might learn from recognized sources, especially from Holy Scripture. Thus we have in the de Veritate an excellent example of the Christian Apology written by a layman for the use of the laity. It is brief, pointed, practical, effective. That it answered its purpose may be inferred from the number of editions that were called for, and from the fact that it was already translated into several European languages.

3. As dogmatic theologian.—During the lifetime of Grotius, Holland was a hotbed of theological controversy. In these discussions he took a share, influenced not by any partisan spirit, but by the desire to make a good use of his wide and intimate acquaintance with Christian writers of all ages, and to furnish such a statement of the truth as might help to reconcile discordant opinions. His methods may best be illustrated by his treatment of the two burning questions—the theory of the Atonement and that of satisfaction. (a) Grotius' views on the Atonement are to be found in the Defensio Fidei Catholicae de Satisfac- tione Christi, a treatise directed against the opinions of Socinus. Here he is strongly dissatisfied with the explanation given by Socinus of the connexion between Christ's death and our forgiveness. It is not enough to say that Christ preached forgiveness and gave His life to be a pledge of the truth of His preaching; that by His death He gained the right to distribute pardon; that He gave us a supreme example of patience; and that by the Cross He instils into us that faith which is the necessary condition of forgiveness. Above and beyond this, Christ's sufferings must be recognized as vicarious punishment, notwithstanding His innocence. For Grotius boldly maintains it to be not of the essence of punishment that it should fall upon the shoulders of the guilty party: 'Affirmo non esse simpliciter iniquum sit contra naturam poenas ut quis puniatur ob peccata aliena.' It cannot, therefore, be said a priori that Christ's punishment on this account was an injustice. The view that sin can be regarded as merely constituting a debt, and its punishment remedied without other consideration than the willingness of the creditor, is severely criticized. In opposition to this 'debt and credit' conception of the relation between sin and its punishment, he views the view of legal transaction, God filling the rôle of Rector or Governor, and man that of culprit. The Governor's function is explained to be the administration of laws, which have been devised for, and are enforced in the interest of, the common good of the governed. Yet this enforcement is not a matter of mechanical rigidity. Room is left for the exercise of discretion, and the theory is advanced that the punishment of the offender is subject to dispensation. Having made these preliminary explanations, Grotius proceeds to state his theory of the Divine forgiveness in terms of the law-court. A solutio involves the removal of an obligation. In some cases the solutio immediately cancels the obligation, as when a debt is fully paid or a penalty fully borne. Let it be remembered that the person who provides the solutio need not necessarily be the debtor or criminal, but may be some one else acting in his name. In these cases there is no remission because no part of the debt has been left unpaid, no part of the penalty omitted. But in other cases, where the settlement is not thus complete, there can be no discharge of obligation unless the governor officially intervenes and decides that some offered compensation shall be accounted sufficient for the purpose. In relation to the law, this act of the Governor is dispensation; in relation to the offender, remission. The compensation is, properly speaking, a satisfaction, an amounting to a solutio strictly so called. Thus Grotius dissents from Anselm's theory of the Atonement, according to which the price paid by Christ was the equivalent of the debt due from man, the infinite price of the death corresponding to the infinite amount of sin. Grotius holds that Christ, by submitting Himself to suffering and death, offered a true satisfactio, which, by the act of God, the Governor, was accepted as a sufficient reason for granting to guilty man a remission from the obligation to pay the penalty for his sins. When a debt is remitted without any solutio, the transaction is called accep- tatio. If the dischage follows upon the substitution of some new obligation in place of the old, the term is used is accetatio. With the help of these
technical terms Groton condenses his theory into the following sentence: "Non est acceptabile; non est soluto rei iuris debita; non est novum; sed est remissis ecclesiasticis satisfactionibus." There is no unconditional absolution; there is no payment of the exact debt; there is no substitution of a new obligation; but there is a remission in consequence of a precedent satisfaction."

Two further points remain for consideration. Why did the Almighty adopt this method of requiring satisfaction before forgiveness; and why was Christ the person to provide it? To the first question Groton replies that there was, indeed, no absolute necessity for the choice of this particular mode of Atonement, but that God selected it in order that He might thereby manifest at the same time the greatest number of His attributes, viz., His clemency, His severity or hatred of sin, and His concern for upholding the law. To the second question he answers that Christ was pre-eminently suited to provide the requisite satisfaction, because of His incomparable dignity, and because of His close connexion with ourselves as head of the body of which we are the members. His death ensured our forgiveness, while at the same time it was a conspicuous demonstration of the Divine justice. This theory of the Atonement has not escaped severest criticism. H. M. Oudemans writes of it as follows:

"Of all the strange notions that at various times have darkened the realm of theology it would be hard perhaps to find any more strange than this, which eliminates from the greatest facts of history any reference to God, while it dares to interpose between man and God the fiction of an indelirious vengeance (Catholicae Doctrinae de Atonamento, London, 1881, p. 595)."

But in passing judgment upon Groton it would be unfair to forget that his theory was framed to meet a particular difficulty. Socinians had forcibly urged the incompatibility of free forgiveness with the demand for satisfaction. Let men choose, he had said in effect, between the view that God is ready to forgive sins freely and the view that He requires the satisfaction of the Atonement. Groton set himself to show how contradiction does not exist, and that it is possible to combine belief in the freedom of Divine forgiveness with belief in the necessity of the Atonement. To this particular end his argument was well adapted. It disposed once for all of the unsound dilemma which Socinians had set up. At the same time it was impossible to close one's eyes to the very serious defects of this so-called 'Governmental Theory' of the Atonement. The attempt to express the sacred and tender relation between God and the erring soul in terms of human law could not be otherwise than unsuccessful. That the analogy between sin and crime enabled Groton to bring out his thesis clearly is true. He showed convincingly the weakness of the conception of sin as mere debt. But the hard and rigid ideas of sovereignty and administration are wholly inadequate for the purpose which they are made to serve. The royalty of God is allowed to obscure His fatherhood. Moreover, the theory of Anselm, with all its shortcomings, had at least suggested a reason why the sufferer should be God Incarnate, viz., in order that there might be an equivalence between injury and compensation. This reason disappears in Groton's statement of the case, and there is nothing to put in its stead. Groton throughout appears strangely unconscious that he is speaking of a mysterious truth in merely analogical terms and principles. Realization of the rigid theory of verbal inspiration which had practically rendered impossible any rational treatment of the Sacred Text, he recognized and allowed for the presence of the human element in the work of the Canonical authors. In an age when it required some courage to make the avowal, he declared himself unable to hold that all the doctrine contained in the Hebrew Canon had been dis-
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tated by the Holy Ghost. What need was there that the Histories should have been so produced? It was enough that the writer's memory should be strengthened and his accuracy in consulting authorities ensured (v. 12). The words of Scripture were to be interpreted according to the recognized rules of grammar and philology, on lines independent of dogmatic conclusion. It is credit to Grotius had laid to heart the lessons which he had learned from Scaliger. In applying his principles he displayed a rare soundness of judgment, an uncommonly attractive the admiration of that pioneer of Biblical criticism, Richard Simon. Fully accepting the reality of prediction in Jewish prophecy, he held that the passages in question generally referred to the fortunes of the Jewish people, and only in a secondary and allegorical sense found fulfillment in Jesus Christ. With regard to the use in the NT of quotations from the prophets, he maintained that for the most part they were introduced for the purpose of enforcing a faith already existing, and that, in controversy with the Jews, the Apostles had preferred to base the proof of their Master's Messianic dignity on His miracles and His resurrection (cf. note to Mt 1:1). That credit was still only feeling its way forward without fixed principles to guide it. In this department of study, as in so many others, Grotius showed a tendency to improve his views as he accumulated knowledge of his suggestions with regard to various readings is printed as one of the Appendices attached to Walton's London Polyglot (vol. vi. App. xvi). The higher criticism was even further removed from the horizon of that age. Yet it is interesting to notice how Grotius had come to the conclusion that Eusebius was a person of outstanding ability and profound learning, and how he attempted to detect Christian interpolations in Sirach and the Book of Wisdom. Examples of his independence in matters of exegesis, and of his freedom from the shackles of mere tradition, will be found in his comments on the following passages: 1 Thess. 2:15; 1 Cor. 12:11 (cf. W. W. Farrar, Hist. of Interpretation, London, 1886, p. 389 n.).

5. As moralist.—In referring to the events of Grotius' life, we have already noticed the favour with which his writing was received. From the point of view of the jurist, the publication of this book may be said to mark the initiation of the science of international law. For although Francis a Victoria, Balthasar Ayalza, and Albericus Gentilis had already written on the subject, no previous work had commanded any large measure of assent. A general agreement as to first principles was still lacking. The treatise of Grotius provided what was wanted. Within thirty or forty years of its publication it was generally accepted as authoritative by the professors of Continental Universities. The students of ethics, however, will take more interest in the moral principles upon which Grotius builds up his structure of jurisprudence. Writing at a time when no such thing as a concert of Europe was imagined, he was precluded by the nature of his subject from appealing to any positive enactments. He was, therefore, compelled to find a sanction for his proposed rules of war in that which is antecedent to all institutions. With a fine discernment he made his appeal to Nature, teaching that the essence of rights is to be found not in any bare calculation of expediency, but in the moral constitution of man. Moreover, it is of the essence of his system to consider men not in isolation but as a member of a community. Human nature, even apart from any specific want, constrains men to form a society which, in order to satisfy their instinct, must be peaceable and reasonably constitute. Utility, indeed, affords the occasion for the introduction of civil law, but is not in itself a criterion. Grotius emphasizes that previous writers had mingled together in confusion all the laws of nature and the law of nations, and the law of particular States. In making his appeal to the law of Nature, he maintains its validity even upon the impossible supposition that there is no God, or that He takes no account of human affairs (Art. 11). He holds that its pronouncements can be deduced from notions that are self-evident and impossible of denial except by those who deny the existence of their own reason (Art. 80). Thus, although Grotius was not specifically concerned with questions of right and wrong in relation to the conscience of the individual, he clearly insisted on the possibility of moral sanctions independent of religion and revelation. In so doing he prepared the way for the modern development of ethics as a separate science.

6. General estimate of Grotius' character and influence.—Grotius possessed a strong industry, a highly trained and penetrating intellect, and a vast erudition, together with an absolute sincerity of purpose and unquestionable honesty. These qualities attracted, as they most thoroughly deserved, the profound respect and admiration of his contemporaries. But he was never a great leader. The elements of force were lacking. In religion he was earnest, thoughtful, and devout. But he hardly gives us the impression of being irresistibly compelled to deliver his testimony by the power of conviction. His was not the mystic's direct and overwhelming vision of Truth. His was the faith that had its roots in his experience, and in a well-considered deference to authority. Though he wrote much on disputed religious topics, it was not his natural bent. In answer to a letter from de Thou strongly denouncing him for any part in theological controversy, he replied that he had himself obliged to do so by the love of his country, his wish to serve his Church, and the request of those to whom he owed obedience (Ep. 85). It is an accurate statement of the considerations by which, against his inclination, he was impelled into controversy. He was emphatically a lover of peace. Above all things he desired to promote the cause of Christian reunion. In pursuit of this great end he was willing to concede much to Roman Catholicism; and, when writing on this subject, he so expressed himself as to lead many to suppose that he would eventually join that communion. That he was not only disfavour and apprehension the dogmatic instability and fissiparous tendencies of Protestantism is undoubtedly true; but no direct evidence is forthcoming to show that he ever intended to make his submission to Rome. It is, therefore, idle to speculate on what he might have done, had his days been prolonged. When it came, his death was the close of a conscientious and laborious life, in which, according to his plan, he does not cease to be of service to succeeding generations.


GROVE.—See TREES AND PLANTS.

GROWTH (Biological).—A distinctively vital process, characteristic of all living creatures. It is closely associated with development (q. v.) and with
reproduction, which is often a more or less discontinuous growth. For practical purposes it is usually enough to say that growth is increase in the size or volume of an organism, and usually implies increase in mass or weight. But this definition is too wide, since there is plainly considerable difference between an increase of size due to a deposit of fat and the slow, continuous growth of a lean fish like a haddock; or between an enlargement due to the accumulation of water in the system and the fine growth of an embryo's brain. When a dried turnip is surrounded with water, or when a frog leaving its winter-quarters in the mud passes into the pond, we see increase in size, but no one would call this growth. The fact is that more than one word is required to cover the phenomena which may be in a general way referred to as growth. Organic growth is essentially a regulated increase in the amount of the protoplasm and intimately associated substances. It is more than mere accretion, it is an active process of self-increase. Unlike a crystal's growth, it comes about at the expense of materials different from the growing substance—often very different, as in the case of plants which feed on air, water, and salts. Unlike the expansion of an excluded gaseous substance, in relation to the organism, or organ, or cell that is growing.

Conditions of growth.—(a) Nutrition.—It is a fundamental condition of growth that income should be greater than expenditure. Growth primarily depends on the assimilation of food—on there being a surplus in the continual process of self-renewal. It is not inconsistent with this to say that an organism may grow larger for a time without taking in any food, for what happens in such a case is that the increase of the cell substances goes more into dilute and bulkier form. The shoots of a potato sprouting in a dark cellar show true growth, though the organism as a whole is actually losing water in transpiration, and, as its respiration shows, breaking down carbon compounds. Nor is it inconsistent with our previous statement to recognize the fact that, during the period of most rapid growth in tadpoles, the inhibition of water is more important than the assimilation. But during this period the weight of dry substance in the tadpole does not increase at all.

(b) External agencies.—Growth, like development, has its optimum environment, but it differs greatly for different kinds of organisms, and it is difficult to make general statements in regard to the agencies that favour or hinder growing. As light is essential for the assimilatory process (photo-synthesis) of ordinary green plants, we may say that light is a condition of their growth; but as a matter of fact light is directly retardative. The strongly refractive, so-called chemical rays, which have little or no effect on assimilation, have an inhibiting effect on growth. Other things being equal, plants grow more rapidly during the night than during the day. The growth of plants is also dependent on humidity, the amount of oxygen, electrical conditions, temperature, etc. The optimum temperature usually lies between 25° and 37° C, and there is a complete cessation of growth in plants at a temperature less than 0° or higher than 40°–50° C. For animals the general statement is that very low or very high, or a temperature slows growth; it does so in part by retarding the process of cell-division, and this, in part, by retarding the formation of nuclear compounds in the cells. For a developing chick the temperature above which death occurs is 43° C; the minimum at which growth stops is about 28°, the normal limits are between 35° and 39° C.

(c) Internal stimuli.—Growth is a regulated phenomenon, occurring in a certain sequence and within certain limits. The regulation has reference to the specific constitution of the organism (its structural organization on the one hand, its characteristic metabolism on the other), and that means that it has reference to the past history or evolution of the organism. This is one of the criteria of organic growth; it differentiates it from the mere multiplication of chemical substances, or from the continued action of a ferment. As a result, in growth of crystals there is also some degree of regulation in relation to the already existing architecture.

One of the ways in which the regulation of growth is brought about within the organism is by means of internal secretions or hormones. The internal secretions of the thyroid gland of the pituitary body have a specific regulatory effect on the growth of the brain, the subcutaneous tissue, and the bones. The internal secretions of the reproductive organs have a definite effect on the growth of parts of the body, both of important organs like mammary glands and of trivial decorative structures, like some of the secondary sexual characters. In response to the stimulus of the salivary secretion of the larval gall-insect, we have very striking examples of specific secretions including specific kinds of growth. It is said that, in the growth of the roots of some plants, specific chemical substances are formed which inhibit further growth. In short, fact is accumulating which shows that particular parts of an organism have their growth regulated by specific internal secretions. It has been proved that some, if not all, human giants are the result of exalted secretion of growth hormone, and it is possible that some kinds of dwarfs are due to a deficiency of this stimulus. The correlation of the growth of different parts of the body must be recognized as a fact even though there is no available physiological interpretation, e.g. in terms of the formation of specific secretions. There is great inequality in the rate of growth of different parts. In cases of underfeeding there is great diversity in the way in which the growth of different parts is affected. More familiar and perhaps simpler are cases where an organ, such as the heart, responds by increased growth to increased demands upon it.

In his elaborate discussion of growth, Herbert Spencer sought to show that it varies (other things equal) (1) directly as nutrition, (2) directly as the surplus of nutrition over expenditure, (3) directly as the rate at which this surplus increases or decreases, (4) directly (in organisms of large expenditure) as the initial bulk, and (5) directly as the degree of organization. This kind of analysis is valuable, but what is most needed at present is an extensive series of measurements of growth under diverse conditions.

Periods and rates of growth.—In a segmenting ovum we see development but no growth. Soon, however, development and growth proceed hand in hand, both very rapidly. Later on, when development is proceeding slowly—all of the chief steps having been taken—growth may go on very vigorously. Thus in the prenatal life of man great strides in development are taken in the first three months, and then growth proceeds. Thereafter, when the developmental steps are less striking, the growth is for a time very rapid. From the third to the fourth month the increase in growth is 600 per cent. After this it drops quickly and is barely 25 per cent, in the last month of pregnancy. In some organisms the growing period is very sharply punctuated; thus in insects with complete metamorphosis all the growing is done in
the larval period. In other cases growth may go on as long as the organism lives and feeds. Thus we may distinguish the definite or determinate growth of birds and mammals from the indefinite or indeterminate growth of reptiles and fishes. In other words, some organisms have a definite limit of growth—the physiological optimum—while others have not.

It is partly, no doubt, because of dependence on nutrition and on external agencies that growth is so often 'punctuated,' in some detail, rather than continuous. Even in the case of a fish familiar with the rings of growth seen in the cross-section of a tree and with the lines of growth on the outside of shells. Similarly the coming and going of the seasons is for many fishes accurately registered by the concentric zones of growth seen on the scales and even in some of the bones. But besides the periodicities of growth which can be reasonably correlated with external periodicities, such as those of the seasons, there are others of a more recondite nature, such as the phases of quick growth and slow growth that alternate in the development of some animals, as Fischel has shown, for instance, in the embryo of the duck.

Active growth in multicellular organisms implies the growth of the individual cells and ensuing cell-division. The cells may grow by taking in water, and by accumulating products of metabolism, but even more by the renewal of the living matter. Spencer, Leskam, and Alexander James have thrown light on the limit of growth in cells and the division which usually occurs when that limit is reached. When a spherical cell has quadrupled its original volume, it has by no means quadrupled its surface, the one increasing as the cube, the other as the square, of the others. It is in the surface of the cell that is fed, aerated, and purified, functional difficulties set in when the growth of surface begins to lag behind the growth of the cell-substance. The maximum safe size is the limit of growth, and it is then that the cell so often divides, halving its volume and gaining new surface. As a general rule, if a cell reaches the stage of exceeding the functional requirements of the organism, it is no longer as capable of further growth. The rate at which growth-promoting processes are performed in a cell, the ratio of the amount of nuclear material in the cell to the amount of cytoplasmic material involved in the growth-promoting processes, the rate of growth, and the degree of differentiation are factors in determining the size at which growth is arrested.

In man, according to Robertson's researches, there are three maxima of rate of growth. The first is before birth, but its precise occurrence is uncertain. As we have mentioned, the increment from the 3rd to the 4th month is large and then falls slowly to the 6th month, when it is smallest. It then falls with great rapidity between the 4th and 6th months, and thereafter more slowly till birth. The second maximum is in early infancy or childhood. Minot puts it in the first year, when the increase of weight is about 200 per cent. Robertson puts it in the fifth year. The third maximum is near the time of puberty—about the age of 13 for girls, of 15 for boys. It has been suggested by Robertson that the first period is predominantly characterized by the synthesis of nuclear compounds, that the third is one of cytoplasmic increase, while the second is intermediate and represents the resultant occurrence of both synthesis processes. It is important to notice that the growth of women is very different from that of men. It is not only 7 per cent less, but it is on a different scheme, with the parts in different proportions.

The law that the rate of growth varies inversely with the degree of differentiation has been noted in a few cases in regard to individual parts. 'Thus human stature exhibits the same loss of growth-power as is shown by the weight of the whole body, with this difference, however, that the rate is not so high in early stages, the descent in later stages less abrupt' (Jenkinson, op. cit. p. 68).

When we say that growth is a regulated increase in the amount of living matter, we refer to such facts as its periodicity, its varied rate in different species, and its general correlation. Kellott has emphasized the same idea by calling attention to the diversity in the rate of growth of different parts of the body. In the smooth dogfish (Mustelus canis) the organs, or perhaps tissues, seem to grow as more or less separate units. 'Each organ grows in its own characteristic way—each has an individual form of growth curve' (Kellott, op. cit. infra, p. 596). The rates of growth of the brain, heart, pancreas, spleen, and so on, are different from the rate of increase in total weight. In animals of indeterminate growth, like fishes, the brain, heart, digestive glands, and fins do not keep pace with the general increase of trunk musculature and connective tissue; and a loss of physiological equilibrium results. The determinate and more perfect growth of birds and mammals, for instance, is an obvious improvement on the more primitive unlimited growth.

When we consider growth in its entirety as a regulated self-increase of the whole organism and of its parts, we see how far it lies beyond the present limits of physico-chemical interpretation. The analogical phenomena of chemical polymerization and of the increase of crystals in a solution are interesting, but they do not at present bring us nearer understanding of the growth of organic tissues.


J. ARTHUR THOMSON.

GROWTH (Moral and Religious).—I. DEFINITION AND SCOPE.—This article has for its scope the sum-total of the moral and religious change through which a child passes in the attainment of moral and religious maturity, these changes being considered as natural processes. Two distinctions are to be made at the outset. (1) 'Growth' here used is a more specific term than 'increase.' In addition to the effects of mere increase in knowledge and power, we have to consider changes in children's interests, points of view, and feelings and attitudes. (2) There are two factors in the changes from moral infancy to moral maturity—the congenital or constitutional factor, and the individual's own experiences. The former may be illustrated by the mental phenomena of puberty. Here a

1 The art. Adolescence and Childhood contain data and analyses that are presupposed in the present discussion.
change occurs that does not depend for its general character upon the individual's experience. On the other hand, many features of the individual's moral personality are a reflection of his previous experiences. Stout and others propose that the term 'development' should be used for congenitally determined character and 'growth' for the others. The present article will adopt this nomenclature.

Development and growth do not, however, denote two independent series, but one series of changes each of which has the two discriminable factors. Thus, a hungry baby is bound to make some kind of demonstration, but what kind depends upon the experiences that have previously been associated with feeding. Just so, the ripening sexual instinct is bound to manifest itself morally, but the conduct of each pubescent boy or girl depends partly upon habits of thought, speech, and conduct already acquired.

Development is the manifestation of instincts and impulses, of which the food-instinct and the sex-instinct are in a peculiar sense basal, but which include many other learned tendencies, such as curiosity, play, mere gregariousness, emulation, and sympathy. Such tendencies are always co-efficient in character, but of themselves they do not defend parents in what's.

Man's original equipment dates far back and adapts him, directly, only for such a life as might be led by a family group of wild men among brute forces of land, water, storm and sun, fruits and berries, animals and other family groups of wild men. But he must be a new man, in which his original nature is often at a loss, and against which it often rebels (Thoreau, 91).

Each item that is ascribed to development (as distinguished from growth) is a generic tendency rather than a specific attainment. What is specific is the particular direction given to the tendency by the individual's own experience in a particular environment, and this is what we mean by growth. While the general direction of both racial and individual progress is in some sense pre-determined by original nature, the character of each individual depends also upon accumulation of the effects of particular reactions to particular stimuli. Because this cumulative process is itself spontaneous and constitutional, we are justified in calling growth a natural process. Further, we are justified in designating as natural any common method whereby the species as a whole, or a race or men, expresses a fundamental tendency of human nature. Thus, the monogamous family is a natural, though not the exclusive, instrument of the reproductive instinct. In a parallel way, society at large is natural; and, consequently, the cumulative effect of society upon the individual is natural also. An unnatural reaction is one that either defeats an instinct or fundamental tendency, or (though it satisfies an individual) is incapable of social approval and adoption.

II. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DIFFERENT STAGES OF GROWTH.—Efforts have been made in recent years to construct out of congenital factors a picture of the normal progress of the child's personality. The suggestion of such a possibility appears to come from the fact that the human embryo assumes a succession of definite forms that correspond in part to an ascending series of embryonic forms of inferior species. Here, to some extent, the individual body recapitulates the physical evolution of the species. May not the mental life of the immature individual similarly recapitulate the mental history of the race? This hypothesis was adopted in such a rigorous fashion as to give an impression that the three essential stages of the life history of character is that a child should run through a series of congenitally fixed periods in each of which one's social attitudes are pre-determined (see Literature on the development and growth of the child).

1. First Year.—The pre-individual stage.—The infant reacts to things and to persons in much the same way that a child would react to the same things and persons. This stage is characterized by the child's inability to differentiate between self and other. The infant is unable to distinguish between the self and the external world, and responds to stimuli in the same way as if they were coming from within the body.}

same way. There is little realization either of one's individual selfhood or of other persons as objects that have thoughts and feelings. Nevertheless, a basis for genuinely social habits can be laid now, since the present association with parents is a familiar experience of persons. Such association with persons is the surest quickener of intelligence, and the surest building of spiritual and moral interpretation of one's world.

2. Ages 1 and 2.—The period of preliminary socialization by imitation.—Even yet the child does not steadily distinguish himself from others. But his ability to walk and to talk, and his increasing control of hands and arms, make possible greatly increased interaction with other persons, and increased participation in the common consciousness of the family.

He acquires many antipathies and likes that he feels, but cannot explain, in later life. . . . If the parents around him show fear of worms, insects, snakes, darkness, lightning, etc., he shares their feelings and may in later life be unable to overcome his timidity and repugnance, although he knows that there is absolutely no basis in reason or fact for such feelings (Kirkpatrick, 87).

In the same way attitudes towards persons, and even towards one's own pleasures and pains, can be elicited and formed into habits even at this early age. This is especially evident in the threemen and in the twomen.

3. Ages 3, 4, and 5.—The period of preliminary individualization.—The child now discovers himself as an individual and experiments with his own selfhood as contrasted with both things and other persons. A boy in his fourth year requested of his mother something that was entirely beyond her power. When she attempted to explain, he cried out, 'You can, too! You're a bad mamma! I haven't any mamma any more!' Here is no longer the complete absorption in woes that is characteristic of the preceding years, but a self-conscious woe and an effort to find one's place among persons. Towards the end of this period there is likely to appear cheer contrariness, or apparently unmotivated refusal to conform to social expectation. Such refusal is often, no doubt, a genuine experiment which brings the pleasure of self-assertion in new fields. This individualization offers new opportunities for moral and religious growth. Individualization is a necessary foundation of character. Therefore the process should be encouraged, not hindered. This preliminary self-assertion expresses no moral fault, and it should not be treated as a violation of a moral code or of social standards.

On the other hand, conformity without experiment should not be prized. This implies that the best moral results are to be expected of a child who is not encouraged to find out for himself that certain kinds of conduct bring mutual pleasure, and other kinds mutual pain. That is, his experimentation, while free, should be within a social group, so that success shall mean a shared pleasure, and his earliest self-consciousness be a social self-consciousness. If, now, the family is a religious one, with habitual outward expression of its faith in speech and in family devotions, in church attendance, in religiously motivated conduct, the child, even at this age, can begin the conscious assimilation of religion. Christian family life is naturally and normally the introduction of the child to the duties and privileges of the family of God (see CHILDHOOD, § 4).

4. Ages 6 to 11 inclusive.—A period of socialization by means of regulation and competition.—(1) The child now begins school life, with its new social environment. (2) In the home also rules are now imposed with increased assumption of the child's responsibility. (3) Association with other children in games and plays extends greatly, and the necessity of playing according to rules increases throughout the six years. This necessity is due partly to the possession of growing strength, initiative, resourcefulness, which would be destructive if the child's exuberance were left unchecked. It is due also to the increasing remoteness of the ends sought. Finally, it is a consequence, in part, of the development of instinctive tendencies which Thorndike calls 'mastery and submission', 'approving and scornful behaviour', and 'emulation or rivalry.' Games during these years work out these tendencies on a larger and larger scale. But another factor also enters. Competition changes its character as the years go by. At first each individual plays for his own advantage or honour, as in the game of 'tag.' Then come games in which each child plays on a 'side.' But still the individual seeks individual success, with little or no team work, as in the game of 'gum.' But towards the end of the period there is an approximation to true team games, that is, games in which functions are specialized and the player seeks the success of the team rather than personal glory. But the approximation is ordinarily only a distant one. Individualistic and social impulses still struggle against each other in a most interesting manner, as can be seen in the boys of twelve to play football. Clearly we are witnessing the approach of the bloom-time of one of the socializing instincts. (4) Towards the end of this period there is another manifestation of the same thing in the combination of leadership and chumming. Girls form 'sets' and boys form 'gangs,' with a spontaneity and impulsiveness that points toward an instinctive origin (see CHILDHOOD, § 3). (5) In this period children usually experience important contacts with society in a larger sense, as in the Church, in social customs, in the ordinances of a city, or the laws of the State. The grown-up world is likely to appear to children in their impetuousness as chiefly a hindrance to freedom, as negative regulation. Probably this cannot be altogether prevented. Yet it is important that children should discover that the regulations of society are not arbitrary, and that freedom comes through obedience to the conditions of socialized existence. Here the family organization is likely to be the determining factor. Arbitrariness, or what seems like it, on the part of parents may easily intensify the already strong tendencies to individualistic self-assertion on the part of children; and this experience, if it is cumulative throughout the whole period, may permanently stunt the personality on its social side. In the family, and in the Church, a child should be conscious not so much of regulation as of fellowship. In this way he will have a means of interpreting the values of his own little competitive organizations, and he will have reinforcement for the developing social instinct. (6) Yet the special mark of this period cannot be any profound socialization of motives. The growth of character takes the form, rather, of a heightened sense of laws, of rights, of penalties, of the necessity of co-operation, and of the force of social opinion. That is, the will is being socialized on the plane of 'the law' as distinguished from 'grace.' (7) But it is a mischievous exaggeration to say, as is often done, that this period is naturally one of unrelieved egotism. The narrowness of the child's experience, the lack of foresight, the seeking of proximate rather than remote ends, the impulsiveness—these do, indeed, render impossible the broad sociality that adults demand of themselves. But against all this we must set not only the fact that children spontaneity, apart from all instruction, organize themselves so.
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traces of the parental instinct. This should not be confused with the sexual instinct, which ripens later. The parental instinct is manifested toward his own babies and smaller children, domestic pets, dolls, toys, and parents. Girls display it in certain directions more than boys, but it is actively present in both; and it should be developed as a softening and socializing force. Second, children respond to parental affection with real devotion. Adoration amounting in many cases to worship, family loyalty, and pride, a genuine glow of affection—these are the rewards which parents may reap who really share their life with their children.

(8) The religious significance of this period can easily be gathered from what has already been said. If the social environment of a child is a religious one, he naturally conforms to it under the same conditions that favour conformity in other respects. The fundamental condition is that he should realize himself as a part of an actual religious fellowship, as his father's family, a Sunday-school class, or the Church. Religion will then be to him an extension, through imagination, of social experience on the level of his present life. Laws of conduct, with the consequences of right and wrong acts; admiration and condemnation; the inclusion of God in one's family life, and loyalty to Jesus as one's Saviour—these will sufficiently indicate the nature of the religious impulses that arise at this age. Neither intellectual nor moral depth is to be looked for as yet.

Ages 12 to 14 inclusive. Early adolescence.

—No single phrase can adequately characterize the method of socialization that now sets in. For, on the one hand, there appears a tendency to take a self-assertive or at least independent attitude towards social authority (as in the family), and, on the other hand, to deepen one's social attachments ('gangs' and 'sets,' personal friendships, loyalty to 'the team,' parent-church activities. The whole expresses the approach of puberty, or the attainment of it. Here the peripheral facts are the ripening of an instinct. For the sake of simplicity, the age characteristics of boys are taken as our starting-point. Beginning with this period, deduction should be made, therefore, for the earlier development of girls; and the deduction should increase as the years go on—from about one year at the beginning of adolescence to about three or four years at its close. Both the apparently contradictory marks of the period above named have a positive moral significance. The new attitude towards social authority is not a mere revolt, as the complementary fact of the deepening of social attachments shows. Rather, the profound socialization that is being prepared for—requiring, as it will, the steady devotion of personal conviction and seasoned loyalty—preemptes the detachment of the individual consciousness from chance groupings and from control by mere rules passively submitted to. Thus, increasing individualization and increasing socialization are merely complementary phases of a single process. Rather, they may be; but the possibility also arises for a deeper selfishness than any that childhood knows. Self-assertion often becomes revolt, open or clandestine, against the social order. There is a sudden acclamation of juvenile crime at precisely these years. Yet even in this very revolt involves the socializing process that is going on, in the fact that his criminal acts are usually done in 'gangs,' or at least prompted and supported by gang enterprises and sentiment. The moral opportunity of parents and teachers is clearly indicated. It is to release the youth progressively from childhood's restraints, and, by extending, free devotion to worthy socially-organized activities. There is now a rather general recognition that the youth's interest in heroic men and women furnishes an important clue to some of the best material for moral impression. The youth organization can be morally utilized by promoting clubs for outdoor sports and other appropriate activities. These things are now widely utilized also in religious work and training. The Young Men's Christian Associations in particular have seized upon the organizing impulse, and used it effectively. There is now hencé a literature of religious and moral work with boys, and most of it makes some sort of boys' organization a central consideration. Further, on the part of Sunday schools, along with the greater use of literature, for there is wide experimentation in methods of social-religious group life. Confirmation or Church membership now makes a vital appeal to the grouping impulse in many youths.

6. Ages 15 to 17 inclusive. Middle adolescence.

—For the general moral significance of the attainment of reproductive capacity, see ADOLESCENCE. The main difference between this period and the one just described are fittingly indexed by the fact that, whereas in early adolescence the sexes have a sort of regulation for each other, in middle adolescence sex attraction becomes clear and conscious. Here, again, we find a period of moral growth fundamentally determined by instinctive development. The moral possibilities expand the moral dangers radiate from the same centre. The misuse of sexual power is unquestionably the chief moral failing of humanity. But around the larger centres of life preparations for family life gather some of the greatest moral forces. If we put together the two facts of increased capacity for sentiment, and the necessity of reproductive preparation, the reason that the conditions become so much more diverse. For example, we must now deal with the moral growth of persons the large majority of whom are engaged in industries, either within or without the home. Some of the effects of shop and factory labour upon adolescents we can already discern. From the monotony and fatigue of their daily work, for instance, they react towards flashy, exciting, and often perilous pleasures. On the other hand, religious conversion occurs more frequently during these years than at any other period of life. Indeed, the ages of sixteen and seventeen mark the climax in the age curve for conversions in so many different and widely scattered groups that we cannot doubt that we are dealing here with a natural law. But misunderstanding of the significance of such facts is easy. What is proved is that, in populations subjected to certain emotional incitements, the largest response comes from young persons of sixteen and seventeen. This by no means proves that capacity for religion suddenly awakes at this age. It proves only that responsiveness to certain kinds of appeal is at a maximum. A complementary indication of a natural law may be seen in the fact that religious Confirmation almost the world over has tended to seek its centre of gravity in point of age in the earlier period, not far from the age of fourteen. At fourteen the religious response is social in his majority, and not spiritual. What we must recognize as the peculiarly important fact about middle adolescence is that the new capacity for sentiment carries with it a certain plasticity that is of exceeding importance for education. This plasticity does not exist before; and, once gone, it is likely never to return. As has been indicated, the ages with itself is a certain non-

2 See Jane Addams, The Spirit of Youth on Our City Streets, New York, 1908.
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structive tendencies. The moral interests of the race, therefore, demand that these years should be devoted to education—possibly in connexion with industries, but certainly with opportunity for freedom, play, idealization, or the development of the changing social relationships and functions of the young. The youth is now fully his own master, the maiden (in her different way) her own mistress, and upon each now comes the full authority and responsibility of a citizen. Marriage is to be contracted; an occupation is to be entered upon; legal majority with all its responsibilities is attained; at last one is a full member of society and of the State. The general effect is to check the emotional ferment of the preceding period, and to give greater place to rational reflection and deliberate decisions. Bearing in mind that mental and moral growth is checked for multitudes at various stages, especially of adolescence, and that many youths squander their powers by frivolous living, we may say that the normal line of moral and religious growth at this period has as its main characteristics independent reflection and the solidifying of the bearers of responsibility. A frequent result of the deepening realization of responsibility for one's own thinking is doubt concerning religious and social questions, whether in religion or in politics. Indeed, dissent from the socially accepted is a frequent phenomenon of adolescence at all its stages. But the quality of the dissent is likely to change from arbitrary impulses at the beginning to emotional unrest (as doubt of one's status before God), and, finally, to the steadier questioning of a mind that is interested passionately. One's acquisitions go on increasing, and subdivision and differentiation occur within one's thinking and one's purposes, but the fundamental motivation of the whole is generally determined before the end of adolescence.

III. GENERAL PRINCIPLES. It remains now to indicate certain general principles that apply to this whole series of growth periods.

1. A normal mental life processes as complex as those with which we are here dealing has inevitable limitations. Growth periods and transitions have, for instance, no such sharpness as any numerical division must have. Such divisions, too, can indicate only a central tendency from which there is much variation. Further, the qualitative description can never adequately represent the temperamental and other variant shades that a given mental tendency may take. Nevertheless, the fact that, to use common parlance, 'no two children are alike' is misused and becomes misleading whenever it seems to justify the abandonment of definite methods and expectations.

2. A single central principle of moral and religious growth can be discerned. Thenceforward these periods, namely, the reciprocal individuation and socialization of consciousness by participation in the social order. Intercourse with persons is the primary condition of the development of self-consciousness. The individual's acquisition of language is, for example, a crucial point for his whole development. Further, the social inhibitions and the social pleasures to which the individual is gradually introduced both awaken and socialize self-consciousness. Hence the incompa-

3. This principle gives us likewise a clue to arrests and perversions in moral and religious growth. An arrest consists in the persistence of the personality social consciousness and mode of functioning beyond the chronological period to which it naturally belongs. One's growth in the disproportionate growth of any natural factor in any period. Now and then congenital conditions or unfavourable physical environment give a certain insidious and pernicious influence to this basis a monstrous moral growth supervenes. But in other cases some unfortunate social emphasis or social neglect turns the forces of growth into side channels. The permanency of the generally one whose natural and even useful egoistic impulses have been socially over-indulged in early life until a habit has been fixed. Thus it is, too, too, that society itself produces not only such relatively mild perversions as egoistical self-consciousness on the one hand, and social callousness on the other, but also much of the criminality and the vice that affect us. Undoubtedly degeneracy of certain stocks is at the root of such crime and vice; there is often relative incapacity for response in one direction, and disproportionate strength of impulse in another. It would unquestionably contribute enormously to the moral health of society if these stocks should cease to breed. But it remains true, on the one hand, that the outcome of growth, even for one with unfortunate heredity, depends in great measure upon the social habits and pleasures that he meets during his plastic years; and, on the other hand, that a great proportion of vice and crime is simply perverted growth on the part of fairly well endowed individuals. Such perverted growth must be charged to the inadequate provisions that society has made for a normal moral life on the part of the young. Sexual vice, for example, though it is the utterance of an instinct, is enormously promoted by the refusal of adult society to face the facts of sex, and to incorporate into our dealings with the young a socially constructive sex-consciousness. Most of the heart-rending wrongs of society, in fact, thrive by virtue of specific social experiences of the young. The natural correlate of our analysis of growth and its laws, therefore, would be that society should regulate all its intercourse with the young on the principles of education.

1 See the 8th Year-Book of the National Society for the Scientific Study of Education, Chicago, 1898.
and religious growth, together with a few studies of practical missionary work promoting such growth. The reader should consider the literature appended to art. Child Life as a part of the process.

I. GENERAL WORKS ON THE GROWTH OF MORAL CHARACTER:


II. WORKS CONCERNING THE FAMILY AND RELIGIOUS LIFE:


III. GENERAL WORKS ON METHODS FOR PROMOTING MORAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE:


IV. WORKS OF REFERENCE PARTICULARLY USED IN WELFARE WORK:

W. B. Forbush, The Boy Problem, Boston, 1897; also Church Work with Boys, Boston, 1897; R. C. Foster, The Boy and the Church, Philadelphia, 1892; W. J. Locke, Life Questions of High School Boys, New York, 1892; E. Richmond, Boyhood, London, 1892; Poems of Action, A Collection of Verse for Youth, chosen and edited by D. R. Foster, New York, 1892; W. F. Foster, Youthful, Berlin, 1894.


GEORGE A. COE.

GUARANI.—See Brazil.

GUARDIAN ANGELS.—See TUTELARY Gods.

GUARANA.—See Brazil.

GUARDIAN ANGELS.—See TUTELARY Gods.

GUEST, GUEST-RIGHT.—See HOSPITALITY.

GUIANA.—1. Name, geography, and physical characteristics.—The origin and history of the place-name 'Guiana' or 'Guyana' are obscure, despite the very full and pregnant note by G. E. Church prefixed to the article under this name in EBr, 1874, vol. xii. p. 674. The name is almost certainly compound of the two local Red men's root-words ess or es and oca, which respectively indicate 'water' (or rather 'river'), and 'the place of.'

There seems little doubt that the name Guiana was unintentionally coined by some of the earlier explorers of the 'Wild Coast' of the north-east of the southern continent of America. In sailing past the long series of river mouths and deltas which occupy the coast between the Amazon and the Orinoco, they very probably inquired of the few natives of the locality with whom they came into contact as to the name of the new land, and, being answered that it was a 'place of many rivers,' misunderstood or misheard this to mean that Guiana or something that sounded like it was the proper and accepted name of the country which they saw from their ships.

Naturally enough, the extent of this imaginary land of Guiana was undefined in the minds of these earlier explorers. Probably it was too at first merely an alternative for what they had before spoken of as the 'Wild Coast.' Then it was thought of as extending quite indefinitely back from the coast, even perhaps as far as the then unknown Amazon. When this was ascertained, it was all at a very distant place, though some—and those the more dominant tribes—were further advanced than others. As it happened that the chief and most enduring European influence brought to bear on the Red men of Guiana was that of the Dutch—the English, though a long way behind, perhaps second in this respect—and as it is close together, also that behind these sources there was some sort of water communication between the two great
rivers Orinoco and Amazon, and that the whole of the land watered by the rivers of Guiana was thus a great island, the so-called 'Island of Guiana,' a huge delta-island, as it were, of the single great river-system which the Amazon and the Orinoco was then supposed to form.

About the mouths of the rivers of the Guiana coast representatives of various European nations—Dutch, English, and French—at an early period established a few widely scattered settlements, and thus acquired some sort of claim to possession. Meanwhile other colonial nations—Portuguese as regards the whole of the southern part of the continent and the Spaniards as to the northern part—professed to have acquired between them, by gift from the Pope, exclusive rights over the whole continent, before that country of Guiana, which even then was more or less de facto possession of the Dutch and others. For several centuries Dutch, English, and French struggled, each against the others, for possession of Guiana, and were often much to their indignation—regarded and dealt with as interlopers by the Spaniards and Portuguese. Only within quite recent years has the last of the Guiana boundary disputes between Dutch, English, and French and the Brazilians and Venezuelans—the two last-named respectively representing the old Portuguese and Spanish claims—been settled.

Nowadays Guiana—the old island area of Guiana between the Orinoco and the Amazon—is divided, from north to south, into Venezuelan Guiana (i.e. that part of Venezuela which lies south of the Orinoco), British, Dutch, and French Guiana, and Brazilian Guiana (i.e. that part of Brazil which lies north of the Amazon).

The island of Guiana, of course, never existed, in the strict geographical sense of the term; but, as it has proved, the term did cover something real, in that it applied to an area distinct in physical features, and, perhaps consequently, in the kind and condition of the natives who occupied the land first and still longer there. Towards the back of the so-called 'island' there is a group of mountains, mostly flat-topped and hardly anywhere exceeding 1000 ft. in height, between which and the main rivers of Guiana, some of these flowing towards the west to join the upper waters of the Orinoco and the Amazon, while others—the longer and more important ones—run eastward into the sea on the Guiana coast. Except for the mountain watershed, to which reference has just been made, and a few minor and isolated elevations, the whole of Guiana is comparatively low and of recent origin; indeed, a very large proportion of it consists of actually recent alluvial deposit from the many rivers. The long slope from the coast to the main watershed is for the most part densely covered with trees; and the slope from the watershed downward towards the main alluvia of the Orinoco and the Amazon is chiefly open country, locally called savannah, with few trees except in the gullies.

2. Ethnography.—At the time when Europeans first entered and penetrated the region in question, it was inhabited by red-skinned natives obviously belonging to a considerable number of tribes, more or less distinct from and hostile to each other, and all at a very early stage of culture. Though some—and those the more dominant tribes—were more advanced than others. As it happened that the chief and most enduring European influence brought to bear on the Red men of Guiana was that of the Dutch—English, though a long way behind, perhaps second in this respect—and as it is close together, also that behind these sources there was some sort of water communication between the two great
litter change in the condition of the so-called 'Red
Indians,' from the first entry of Europeans till
comparatively recent times. It is true that the
early European settlers introduced into Guiana
large numbers of African negroes for manual
work on the tropical plantations; and that, though
these plantations were very seldom far from the
coast, the negroes, especially, from the nature of the
work, were more brutalized of them—did from
time to time, and often in large numbers, escape
into the forests of the interior and make their
homes not far from those of the Red men. But,
as it was also part of the established Dutch policy
to use their red-skinned allies against the escaped
black slaves, there was hardly any intermingling
between these American and African colored folk;
and it was only much later—quite recently, indeed,
when the gold which had long been sought there
had at last been discovered, and the White colonists
themselves had thereby been attracted in large
numbers into the interior—that any very consider-
able change occurred in the habits and condition of
the Guiana Red men. What the latter were
up to a very few years ago they almost certainly
were when the Dutch established their first colony,
In 1621, on the Ressequito River.
From time to time many different names have been
more or less vaguely applied to the various
groups, or so-called tribes, of Guiana Red men; and
it is difficult to assign them in any
and scientific way. But in the main they
belong to four not very widely separated branches
of the American race. In the swampy forests
nearest to the sea, are the Warraus, the least ad-
vanced of all the local tribes, and probably repre-
senting the earliest of the known inhabitants of
the country. In the forest, a little way inland
from this, are the Areewaks, who must have come into Guiana, from
the north, at a later date than the Warraus, but
sufficiently long before the arrival of White men
to have established themselves firmly and almost
as aborigines. Inland from the Areawak country
the greater part of Guiana is, and has been through-
out historic times, occupied by several branches of
the great Carib stock, all the members of which
may conveniently be distinguished as 'true Caribs.'
Still further from the sea, i.e., entirely in the snows,
exists the last of these stock, whose
or were, the so-called Waparos, who may or may
not have been originally of Carib stock. The true
Caribs and the Waparis, almost certainly reached
Guiana after the Areawaks, and not very long
before the discovery of the country by White men.
Indeed, some of these true Carib tribes entered
Guiana from the south, by the waterways con-
necting the Amazon with the Guiana river-system,
when comparatively following the settlement of
the Dutch on the coast.

3. Stage of culture—All these Red men were in
a very primitive stage of that culture which was
developed—sometimes, as in Mexico, to a very
high degree—in America. And though, as might
be expected from their history as briefly indicated
above, the Warraus are at a somewhat lower stage
than the other Red men of Guiana, the difference
is not very considerable.
The Red men of Guiana, so far as their habits
have not been altered by European influences, are
in the stage at which they live by hunting and
fishing, in much the same way as that of a primitive
stage too simple to merit the name of agriculture.
Four-footed game and birds are plentiful every-
where. Fish are extraordinarily abundant in the
rivers, large and small, as also in the sea. Fresh-
water turtles are so numerous in the rivers that
their flesh and eggs provide the Red man with a
considerable addition to his animal food; and near
the sea, crabs and shell-fish are at least equally
plentiful. Nor is there any lack of wild fruits
and other vegetable food. As to cultivation, the
cassava plant is the chief object; and the roots of
this made into 'bread'—much of which is further
manufactured into the slightly fermented and
highly nutritive drink called paosoro—supply a
very large part of the food of all the tribes except
perhaps the Warraus, who have a poorer régime
than the others, and are said to exist on swamps
where cultivation is difficult if not im-
possible, use the fruit and pith and sap of a palm
(Mauritia flexuosa [Linn.] growing wild round
their homes in place of cassava.
None of these Red men had occasion—and, in propor-
tion as they are out of contact with Europeans,
still have little occasion—for much in the way of
clothing. A small apron is quite sufficient except
at festivities or in courting; and on such occasions
a greater or less amount of ornamental clothing is
easily added by working up the feathers, seeds,
shells, and beads which Nature has abundantly
provided.
As for shelter, on the open savannas, where the
wind is often cold, fairly large and substantial
houses, with thickly thatched roofs and thick mud
walls, are built; throughout the greater part of
the forest region much less substantial houses of
leaves and posts suffice; and in their low-lying,
palm-tangled swamps the Warraus construct for
themselves yet simpler shelters, and, indeed, do not;
but, owing to the nature of the ground, they have
to place these houses on somewhat substantial
platforms of felled palm-trunks. In none of these
cases is the house in any way much elaborated;
and nor is much labour involved in getting the material
together.
Fire was always easily made by rubbing two
sticks together, in a swift and easily learned way
(cf. art. FIRE), and fuel lies everywhere around.
Most of the tribes are good potters, after a simple
fashion. Bow and arrows, blow-pipes—the latter
used only on the savannas—and fishing-gear they
are singularly expert at constructing. The only
other prime necessity of their simple and easy lives
is the hammock, or hanging bed, the invention
of which is one of the great triumphs of ingenuity which
they have achieved. The material of which the
hammock is made is either the cotton which grows
almost wild about their houses or the strong strings
like fibre which they know how to extract from
palms and similar plants.
In short, these Red men, when first discovered
by Europeans, had attained to nothing more than
that stage of culture in which each individual, or
at any rate each family group, knows how, from
the material ready to hand, to supply easily all the
immediate needs of life, but is unable, owing to
ignorance of the necessary arts, to produce treasure
of wealth for the use and enjoyment of succeeding
generations.

—It is more difficult to describe what would appear
to be the mental attitude of this people, at this
stage of culture, towards their fellows and towards
the world in general. The individual Red man of
Guiana knows only himself, and knows neither of
any beginning nor of any end to that self. He
sees children born into the world, and—if and when
he thinks on that subject—he probably assumes
that he himself was once 'born,' but not that he
came into existence as a kind of passive
being. He assumes that at the crisis of birth he—i.e., the
'being' whom he recognizes in himself—merely
passed into a new body. Similarly, when he sleeps
he dreams perhaps that he is a jaguar or a tree
or some other man or thing than himself; and when
he is awake, if he remembers his dream at all, he
assumes that he (his being) was really at the
moment that jaguar, tree, or man, and that he has now passed back into the body which he happened to occupy at the moment when he went to sleep. Once more, he sees the men die, and proclaims that he himself will one day die; but he does not for a moment suppose that this will be the end of him, but rather that it will be merely the passing of his mind into another body—much as if during his dreams he has already been in other bodies.

Another thing which it is necessary to understand is that a typical Guiana Red man is—and, so far as he retains the innate habit of thought of his race, could not but be—the purest of egoists. He claims no rights, and instinctively claims for himself certain rights, for instance the right to get for himself all that he is strong and clever enough to get. At the same time he can hardly fail to recognize the existence of innumerable other beings, which are more or less ‘good’ or ‘bad’ to him, but are all more or less elusive as to bodily form. These beings with which he comes in contact may be in what we should call human bodies, which may be those of Red men of tribes other than his own, or, again, not of his own family or not of his own household, but may be in bodies which we should call those of brute beasts; or they may be embodied in trees, or stones, or any other outward shape. Moreover, all these beings may be, as the Red man thinks, in existence in kind if they are not at times together the necessities of life is to guard himself against the attacks of the kemaisa. Against the open attack of the kemaisa he can to a certain extent guard himself, but against the insidious attacks which the kemaisa is able to make—in virtue of that being’s unlimited power of changing its form—the Red man naturally feels himself insufficiently equipped; and he therefore appeals for help against the kemaisa to the professional wise man of his tribe, the pesis, or medicine-man.

It may at first sight appear that this conception of the relations of good and evil is not very different from that which among more civilized folk takes the form of a great contest between good and evil, between God and the devil. But there is this difference, however, that to the Red man there does not appear to be any God to fight for him; it is a question of fighting only for his own welfare, without the help of anyone else, and the other side is as good or bad as he may. The question may be asked as to what is the nature of the material with which the kemaisa, when he does not use an arrow or other material weapon, works harm, and, again, as to the material with which the pesis counters it. In both cases the material is called by the Red man bessm; it is thought of as an essence extracted from some substance, and it may be used, now by the kemaisa and now by the pesis, much as, under the conditions of western culture, poison might be administered by an enemy, or medicine by a doctor.

The kemaisa and the pesis are both more clever, i.e. more artful, than their patient, and both possess one faculty which is of great importance to them; they know how to extract the real being of the red-skinned patient from the body in which it happens to be enveloped. For instance, the kemaisa, if he gets possession even of a fragment of the body of the patient on whom he intends to inflict ill—say even a few hairs or a nail-cutting—may be able to get possession of the whole being which was within the body from which the fragment was cut; or, again, that a knowledge of what we should be inclined to call intimation, can, for convenience of treatment, draw out the spirit (the real being) of his patient, just as one of our own medicine men may take possession of the body of his patient stripped of its ordinary clothes.

5. Morals.—The innate ideas of the Guiana Red man most nearly approaching to what, if he had ever for himself attained to any higher stage of
culture, would have been his religion have been briefly indicated above, and it now remains to note what, under the restraints of this very primitive type of life, is his line of conduct towards all outside himself. As a matter of fact, his morality, like his religion, is purely egotistic. Whatever he does he does for himself. His self is the centre of all; he is ultimately a polygamist—and no part of himself; and, so far as he takes trouble for them (and he habitually does much in this way), more because they are good—i.e., useful—to him. On the other hand, his children—one of the chief uses of his wives is to bear children to him—are (the boys at least) part of himself, and are cherished, lovingly. This difference in his personal relation towards his wives and his children is clearly indicated in his practice of the remarkable custom of cow-cotec, in accordance with which, as soon as the child is born, the mother, as a matter of course, at once resumes her ordinary daily tasks; but the father not only refrains from hunting and all similar hard tasks, but lies in his hammock, and is even nursed. The explanation of this strange custom seems to be that a part of the father's being is supposed to have been separated from him, having died in childbed; and is the recently separated father and child who require nursing—much as, in the process of plant propagation by cuttings, the first necessity is to provide for the healing of the wounded surface and on offshoot. Moreover, it is the egoism of the Red man which regulates the more or less kindly bearing—in proportion to the omen. The use of these is useful—towards his relations other than his descendants, and towards Red men of groups other than that to which he belongs. Again, it is his egoism, carried to extremes, which regulates his greater or less hostility towards strangers—whatever the colour of their skin—so long as he suspects them of possible evil intention towards himself.

It makes it quite plain that, in attributing to the Guiana Red men an extreme form of egoism as the leading motive of life, he has no intention of disparaging them. It is only that the Guiana Indian is a survivor from a very primitive stage in the development of mankind, from a stage before the first glimpse of religion, and the idea of the universe in the light so different from that in which the Guiana Red men—and a good many other equally primitive folk—exist.

The most practical lesson to be derived from all this seems to be that the difficulty of suddenly imposing our very much and differently elaborated system of thought, religion, and morality, on such folk as the Red men of Guiana is enormous, that the task should not be undertaken except after as full an understanding as possible of the conditions, and that it can be accomplished only, if at all, by civilized teachers who have agreed among themselves as to what exactly to teach.

GUILH.—See Gill.

GUILLIM.—See Sis.

GUBU (Africa).—See Negroes and West Africa.

GUJAR (Skr. Gjajara, the country now known as N. Gujarat and Rajputana which took its title from a tribe of the same name).—The Cymrae were adopted into Hindustan in the train of the Huna [V. A. Smith, J.R.S., Jan.-Apr. 1900; D. R. Bhandarkar, J.A.S., 1900, p. 167 ff.].—A tribe of cultivators, herdsmen, and cattle thieves, which at the census of 1901 numbered 2,103,023, found in the largest numbers in the Panjab, Rajputana, United Provinces, and Kashmir.

The theory of Cunningham (Districts of India, i. 64), that they are connected with the Yush-chi tribe of Central Asia, afterwards known as the Tokhari, is rejected by Halsey (J.C.R., 1901, l. 319 f.), on the ground that the latter are almost certainly of the brachycephalic type, while the Gujar is dolichocephalic. He therefore includes them in what he calls the 'Indo-Aryan race.' It is, however, certain that during the first five centuries A.D. hosts of the Scythian and Hun invaders of N. India became absorbed in the indigenous population, and were adopted into Hindustan (Smith, Early Hist. of India, 1906, p. 375 ff.).

In their purest form they seem to be found in Kashmir, where Drow (Journals of the Kasha Territoires, 1875, p. 194 f.), though he does not regard them as 'high Aryan,' found some with eyes lighter in colour than are common among other tribes of the country. In the Panjab they have much in the physique and customs of the Gujars which renders it probable that they are connected with Central Asian tribes.

In religion, the Gujjars of the Panjab have been largely converted to Islam, and not far from half their total number now follow that faith. In the United Provinces and Rajputana they are still largely Hindu. In the United Provinces they are usually worshipers of Siva and of the Sakti, or Mother-goddesses, and in particular of Sital Bhavani, who controls smallpox. They also worship the local village-gods, such as Chataram, and two tribal deities, Pyareji and Bada Sahib Ram. The latter are deified heroes of the tribe. Pyareji, whose shrine is in the Saharanpur District, flourished early in the 17th cent. A.D. He was one of the marvellous children of the folk-tales, and, when he grew up, the tribe was severely afflicted by the god of certain Brahman whom they had slain by treachery. Pyareji, who had by that time acquired saintly powers, exorcized the evil spirit, and the reputation which he thus acquired earned him Divine honours. The management of his shrine still remains in the hands of his descendants, who have now joined the Vaishnavite sect. Bada Sahib Ram was another worthy of the same class, who is worshipped at a shrine on the banks of the Jumna in the Ambala District. The Pyareji and Gurus are specially devoted to the cult of the saint Sarwar, whose shrine is at Sakhi Sarwar (q.v.). (Macalayan, Panjab Census Report, 1891, l. 136.)

The Muslim branch of the tribe, in spite of their conversion, continue to follow many of the animistic practices of their Hindu forefathers, such as the ceremony of waving lights over a bride to scare evil spirits. They consult Brahman astrologers to fix lucky times for domestic rites; and they worship not so much Allah as a host of deified heroes and saints, such as Gauri, the saints of Bahruch in Oudh, Madar Sahib, and other shrines of the faith. In some parts of the Panjab, members of the tribe claim the hereditary power of wonder-working and curing diseases. The head of one sept in the Jullian District pretends to cure
a skin disease which causes baldness, by pulling out a single hair from the head of the patient. He practices only on one Sunday in the month, and must accept no fee, because that condition was imposed by the fastir who conferred the power upon his ancestor many generations ago (Rosen, 1, 162). A branch of the tribe in the Hasara District shows that his correctness to Islam is recent and incomplete, by the retention of Hindu rules of eating, keeping strictly for personal use the vessels employed in cooking, puncturing purification before prayer, and praying with the hands downwards instead of upwards, as is the usual custom with Muhammadans (P.N.Q. ii. 45). The Gتچیار in the Bhavnagar State of Rajputana have a curious custom of making a cow of cow-dung, covering it with cotton, and then going through a rite of symbolical slaughter of the image. This seems to imply some form of totemic communion, or a commemoration of the actual killing of the sacred animal. The latter explanation is accepted by the neighbouring tribes, who consider that the Gتچیار are degraded by the rite (Rajputana Gazetter, i. 1899) 162. In W. India many of the tribes have joined the Jain community, while others for the Vaisnavas and Gt آی.1.

The system explains the evolution of primitive matter (prātās) or prātās) and the infinite variety of the universe by the hypothesis that primitive matter, in spite of its unity and indivisibility, is composed of three different substances, termed gusana (quality). Each of these signifies 'quality.' In addition to its earlier meaning 'constituent,' the later signification was formally adopted for the technical Sākhya term, and primitive matter was said to be composed of the three qualities. This rendering, however, is incorrect. The three gusanas in the Sākhya philosophy are nothing but the constituents of primitive matter (or of the material universe, developed from primitive matter), as proved by the express declarations of the Sākhya texts and by the connexion of the three gusana. The view that they were derived from Jacob's does not practically differ from this, when he contends (GGA, 1890, p. 203 f.) that, although the three gusana are regarded by the experts as the Sākhya authorities as constituents of primitive matter, the term originally denoted 'quality,' since the Sākhya system, as he maintains, goes back to a period at which to the Indian consciousness the categories of quality and substance were not clearly distinguished.

The three gusanas bear the names of sativa, rajā, and tamas. To assign to these, however, their etymological meanings of 'goodness,' 'passion,' and 'darkness' would be misleading; and, indeed, the terms do not admit of exact translation. The founder of the Sākhya philosophy regarded as most important for men those qualities in objects which excite either pleasure or pain or indifference (asaktya, inapātitya). Pleasantness was associated with the ideas of brightness and lightness, pain with those of incitation and movement (activity), apathy with those of heaviness and restraints. The world contains a number of things that were composed of three elements, each of which is manifested especially in one of the three above-mentioned dispositions. The author of the Sākhya system further explains the position of material products and the variety of impressions by the unequal and varying combination of the three constituents, which everywhere contend with one another, and give more or less complete expression to their own essential nature, according to the measure of success attained by one or two, in suppressing both the others or the third at some particular place. Thus allowed to develop freely, sativa is manifested in the object as light and buoyancy, in the subject as virtue, benevolence, happiness, cheerfulness, etc.; rajā in the realm of objects as force and movement, in the subject as every kind of suffering, anxiety, passion, wickedness, etc., but also as ambition, effort, and activity; tamas in the realm of objects as heaviness, rigidity, and darkness, in the subject as cowardice, fear, stupidity, sloth, etc. According to this theory, sativa predominates in the world of the gods, rajās in that of men, tamas in that of animals, plants, and minerals.

The most remarkable feature of this whole theory is clearly that it traces the characteristic of matter back to physical causes. The relation of the three gusanas to human belief and sentiment, modes of life and action, is described in the 17th and 18th chapters of the Bhagavad Gītā. It is a remarkable doctrine also that pleasure, pain, and apathy not only exist as subjective and individual experiences, but have their objectively real corollaries in the external world.

Every process in the material universe depends, according to the doctrine of the Sākhya, upon the action of one or more of the gusanas. The use of the infinite variety of the modifications to which they are subjected, every phenomenon, every development, and every change is explained by the qualities of these three elements. If, however, sativa and rajās and tamas have a place in all products, it is a necessary inference, from the principle that the product is simply the material cause in a determinate form, that they must have already existed in that cause, i.e. in primitive matter. As sativa, rajās, and tamas in the form of the product (priyās) fashion the universe as it exists, so in the form of the causes (kāraṇa-rāpa) they fashion the primitive matter before evolution begins. Is it possible, however, for the infinite indivisible primitive matter to be fashioned by three finite elements? Can it consist altogether of parts? The answer given to the second question is in the affirmative, just as a single stream of water is composed of many streams. And in reply to the first the explanation is offered that the three gusanas are finite only in the sense that they are present in their entirety everywhere, but that, on the other hand, there is no point in the universe where at least a minimum of these three elements is not to be found. As long as primitive matter remains quiescent, the three gusanas, according to the doctrine of the Sākhya, continue in a state of equilibrium. While this condition lasts, during which the constituents remain unrelated to one another, all the forces and qualities which display themselves in the developed universe are latent and inactive as germs in primitive matter. It must not, however, be inferred that during this period the three gusanas are completely at rest; that would be contrary to the nature of these elements, which are the product of evolution. It is rather that in primitive matter, before evolution begins, an isolated movement takes place within each separate gusana in such a way that each of the gusanas becomes for a time equivalent to itself, i.e., sativa becomes only sativa, etc.

When the state of equilibrium of the three gusanas

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is disturbed, and they begin to contend with one another, the universe is evolved in the way described in the philosophy of the three guphas, i.e., the close of the inert and undifferentiated matter, and the mechanical influence exerted by the souls on the primitive matter which stands to them in a relation of perpetual dependence. Those actions of living beings which in the previous age of the universe have not yet received their remuneration, reward or punishment in a new age. Forthwith merit and demerit, which had slumbered during the period of the dissolution of the universe, awake to life, and proceed to call into existence a new creation. When the process of evolution of primitive matter begins, and the state of equilibrium of the three guphas is again established. This alternation of the rise and dissolution of the universe is repeated in the same cycle that began or ended.

It is obvious that this whole theory of the three guphas as taught by the Sankhya is a pure hypothesis, which shares the fate of very many other hypotheses of philosophical conceptions in India, as controlled by the theory of the three guphas.


GUNTHERIANISM.—Guntnerianism is the name given to a rather vague defined body of teaching, mainly philosophical in scope, but with important bearings upon certain theological dogmas, which originated in the writings of Anthon Günther (born 17th Nov. 1785 at Lindenau in Bohemia; died at Vienna, 24th Feb. 1883).

1. Life of Günther.—He was the son of devout Roman Catholic parents, and from his youth to the study of Kant, Pufendorf, Schelling, etc., seems he was a while to have been mentally hastened by religious convictions. When, however, in 1801 he moved to Vienna with the household of Prince Reissenheim, in which he acted as tutor, he fell under the influence of Clement Mary Hofbauer, afterwards canonized, with the result that his faith in Christianity revived, and he set himself to write a new theology. Two years after his ordination (1829) he entered the Jesuit novitiate, but found that he had no vocation, and then for the remainder of his days (1824-60) he settled down quietly at Vienna as Priest and Preacher, giving some part of his time to pastoral work, but occupied mainly with philosophical and theological speculations. For more than twenty years he acted as official censor to a Government, and was a member of the theological revision. He refused tempting offers of a professorship at Munich, Bonn, Breslau, and Tübingen, probably in the hope of ultimately securing a similar distincion at Vienna itself; but, before the opportunity appeared, he deserted the Church, and devoted himself to scholarly researches, and the study of the philosophy of God, as a whole, and the doctrine of the Trinity. While in Vienna, he included there, in 1861, his Theory of Philosophy, which he placed on the Index of Bome, though this recognition was given to his personal integrity and good intentions. Günther submitted to the condemnation, and his work is still in print.

2. System.—It was the purpose of Günther to build up a philosophical system in opposition to the prevalent Hegelian pantheism, which he considered the philosophy of the schoolmen was inadequate to meet. In his writings a certain fundamental dualism (which attains its climax in the antithesis between God and the created universe, and all his revelations). Nor can the student of his works, casual and unsystematic though they be, resist the suspicion that the development of his ideas has been guided by an exaggerated desire to discover analogies and symmetrical features in every field of thought, and that the anticipations of being able to provide some sort of natural explanation of the great Christian dogmas of faith has moulded, consciously or unconsciously, the whole of his psychological theory. It was a conspicuous element, if not a fundamental unit, of Günther's teaching that there is no real distinction between the truths demonstrable by human reason and the mysteries of faith. The latter are not to be regarded as beyond the range of human intelligence unaided by revelation. On the contrary, he maintained that pure reason is capable of demonstrating the 'why,' though not the 'how,' of such revealed dogmas as the Trinity and the Incarnation. Revelation held to be only hypothetically necessary; that is to say, in so far as man's intelligence had been improved by original sin. From this position it resulted that reason is the supreme arbiter, and ought not to be regarded as the handmaid of faith—a view, as the Papal condemnation points out, which laid open to the objection that knowledge and faith are not distinct things, and, further, that the dogmas of faith may change as knowledge is perfected. These theological conceptions rested on Günther's ground from the modern scientific point of view. It is nevertheless an interesting essay in explanation, which to the Indian mind has appeared possessed of such convincing force that the idea has become the absolutely common property of all philosophical Sanskrit literature. Even at the present day the treatise on 'the primitive principles' in India is controlled by the theory of the three guphas.

Similarly, in his psychological analysis of man's constitution and mental processes, Günther finds an aid to the comprehension of the mystery of the Incarnation. In man, there are three elements—body, psychic principle (Geist), and spirit (Geist). The psychic principle is the product of
GURKHA, GORKHA.

The dominant tribe in Nepal, which takes its name from the District of Gorkha in the N.E. portion of the valley of the river Gandak, between the rivers Trишalṅгά and Svet Gajāk, the chief town being Gorkha, 56 miles W. of Kālmānpūr (q.v.), the present capital of the country. The name Gorkha is popularly interpreted to mean 'cow-protector' (Skr. gokṣapa); by others it is connected with that of the national saint, Gorkhāmath (q.v.), a mysterious figure of whom the recorded history is little more than legend (Wright, Hist. of Nepal, Camb. 1877, p. 140; E. H. Wilson, Essays, i. 213); but it is more probably a local name which has acquired its present form and interpretation under Brāhmān influence. The present dynasty claims Rājpūt origin, tracing its descent to the son of Rāja Samāri of Chitābor in Rājpūtāna in the 12th cent. A.D. But the recorded genealogies begin with Maharāja Deva Sūkh (a.d. 1506, a date confirmed by the MsS collection in the Durbar Library, p. 206, JAS 89 XIII. 17). A member of this dynasty, Prithvi Nārāyaṇ, in 1769 expelled the ruling house and has been constituted hereditary king on the 10th of the light half of the month Jej (May–June), at which the weapons of war are worshipped and animal-sacrifices are offered, is the most popular because it is comemorial of the animistic beliefs which form the real basis of their religion. Though nominally Hindu, the bonds of caste sit lightly upon them. The fowl are not killed for food, the pulse and rice, which must be cooked by each man for himself, and with due regard to the laws of ceremonial purity. Anything else all Gurkha...
will eat in common; and the only prohibited meats are beef, the flesh of the nilgai, or blue bull (Boselaphus tragocamelus), and that of female goats, which none eat but the cowherds. Game and fish are also allowed, and Gurung use buffalo meat in their own country—a practice which they deny when serving with the more Hinduized Damaras and Khamars (Vit. 1. 20. 13). Caste restrictions make the Gurkhās specially valuable on field service, and tends towards greater cohesiveness, particularly in Highland regiments, than is possible in the case of Indian sepoys, who are more scrupulous in matters of food and drink.

The Gurkhā religious tradition is thus a mixed character. The present ruling dynasty, like all new converts, follows the tenets of Hinduism with more anxious care than many of their co-religionists in the Indian plains. They have a great reverence for Brahmans, and the slaughter of the sacred cow is rigorously prohibited. The result is a very decided observance of orthodox Hinduism. Thus, though as present in the Indian plains there is little actual worship of Indra, the Vedic god of the firmament, except in a vague way for the purpose of securing timely falls of rain, in Nepal there is a regular feast in his honour, the Indrajatra. But it is significant that this is combined with a folk festival, the Bhadra, in honor of Devi Kumari, the female goddess—one of the many forms of her cult which has probably been derived from the indigenous Animism. The usual festival of Indra, however, may have been, in a great measure, derived from Buddhism. Indra or Sakra being a favorite object of worship among the later Buddhists (Oldfield, ii. 312 f. ; Wright, p. 385; "A Visit to a Buddhist Temple between him and Lond., 1896, p. 205"). Siva is worshipped under the forms of Sambhamātā, the "Lord, giver of prosperity," and Pasupatiṇātha, "lord of cattle," the latter cult probably absorbing some of the earlier forms of worship. Siva as the Sivaratri feast, the "night of Siva," is very popular, the principal object of worship being the four-faced linga which stands in the temple of Mahādevā at Pasupati. To this prayers and offerings are made; fees are given to the presiding Brahman, who pours water on the linga, wash it, and cover it with flowers. When this is over, the officiating priest, after repeating sacred verses, reads out of the holy books the many names and epithets of Siva, while the worshippers fling leaves of the banana or cypress (both sacred) over the top of the linga (Oldfield, ii. 321). Equally popular is the worship of his consort in one or other of her many forms. The chronicle, writing of the king Sivadeva-varma of the ancient Śrīnarātha dynasty, says that, recognizing that Bāhiś Devi was the principal deity of Nepal, he ordered that after the worship of Siva as Pasupatiṇātha a cloth should be tied by one end to his temple and the other to the palace, the object being to bring him into mystic contact with the goddess (Wright, p. 120). In her form of Devi Bhrārī she is the guardian deity of a considerable district; and in another shape she is honored at the Duryod-pajā or Dasabhā festival, with annual sacrifices. Here, however, as is the case in Bengal, a clay image of the goddess is not made; but on the first day of the festival the Brahmans bow lowly on the spot where they worship, and the sacred vahana is shown. On the tenth day of the feast they pull it up and present small bunches of it to their followers, in return for presents which they receive from them—"as a charity for the gods." Oldfield has collected many instances (Wright, p. 38; Fraser, "Domestic, Attic, Oriental", London, 1867, p. 184 f.).

The topics above and partly constitute the compe-
building was originally dedicated to his worship, the name _Padmanabhā_ being not of Jain origin, but derived from the Vedic _padh_ in the sense of 'lord of the lotus.' This temple is now in ruins, the cruciform porch alone remaining, though in a dilapidated condition. The second great temple is the loftiest building on the hill. It forms an important object in the view from every side of the fortress. Its original name is now lost, and it is known as _Teti Mandir_, the 'ol'imat's temple,' from the person at whose expense it is said to have been built. The design of the temple resembles that of several of the S. Indian shrines. It seems to have been originally dedicated to Vīṣṇu; but over a later doorway is a figure of Ganeśa, which shows that the followers of Siva subsequently adapted it to their worship. They also introduced the _jāta_ and the image of the bull Nandi. The earliest inscriptions referring to the worship of Vīṣṇu belong to the 9th and 10th centuries A.D.; and the temple seems to have been adapted to Śaivite worship as early as the middle of the 15th century. There is also a true Jain temple, discovered by Cunningham, and one of the Mother-goddess, Maā Dēvī, besides other less important shrines. The rock-sculptures are unique in N. India for their number as well as for their gigantic size. They fall into several groups. That known as Ursālālā contains twenty-two principal figures, all of which are entirely naked. Inscriptions fix their date at 1440–53, under the Tomara Rāja. One figure is that of Adināthā or Reahbādā, the first Jain pontif. The largest figure, not only of this group, but of all the Gwalior rock-sculptures, is a standing colossal, 57 ft. in height, near which is seated, another colossal, 30 ft. in height, of Nomināthā, the twenty-second Jain hierarch. In the B.W. group the most remarkable figure is that of a sleeping female, 8 ft. in length, lying on a rock with her head to the south and her face to the west. Both thighs are straight, but the left leg is bent backward beneath the right. Next this is a seated group of a male and female with a child, whom Cunningham identifies with Siddhārtha and his wife Tīrīsala, the reputed father and mother of Vardhamāna or Mahāvīra, the last of the twenty-four Jain pontifs (Bihler, _Indices Sect. of the Jainas_, Eng. tr., Lond. 1903, p. 29). The remarkable fact about these sculptures is that they were executed during a single generation of 33 years (A.D. 1441–1474).

**GWLOR STATE.—See CENTRAL INDIA.**

**GYPSIES.**—A race of people inhabiting various countries of Europe, but distinguished from the surrounding populations by their special language, customs, and physical characteristics.

1. Name.—The name 'Gypsy,' or 'Gipsey,' is used only by English-speaking people, and is a corruption of 'Egyptian,' by which name the race in the West Indies is still known in English literature. In the sense of 'lord of the lotus,' the name _Pānābī_ was originally applied to the descendants of the Egyptians, in the sense of the ancient Egyptians, and in Spain as 'Gitanos' (from 'Egiptianos'). It was used in a Latin form in Hungary in 1490, as may be seen from the will of a Hungarian noble, László Hermann, now preserved in the archives of Prince Battyány. The passage deserves quotation. In allocating four of his 'smaller horses,' the testator directs as follows, the language employed being Latin: 'The third, which I bought from the Egyptians of Osogany (i.e., Egypt near Cynophions), I leave to my younger black. This horse is a grey one, and used to be a carriage horse.'

Here an alternative name, very wide-spread in Europe, is introduced. It takes the following shapes: _Zingari_ or _Zingano_ (Corsica), _Tchinkhanet_ (Turkey), _Zingariol_ (Syria), _Cingani_ (Hungary), _Zgane_ (Russia), _Cingani_ (Poland), _Zingares_ (Portugal), _Ziganes_ (France), _Zigamam_ (Germany), _Zingari_ (Italy), and _Zingardi_ (Spain). The etymology of this name has given rise to much discussion, but without definite result. Many other names, more local in character, have been given to the Gypsies. In Spain they have been known as 'Greeks,' as 'Bohemians,' as 'Hungarians,' as 'Plemings,' and as 'New Castilians.' In India they have been variously designated 'Bohemians,' 'Saracens,' 'Cecarrotas,' and 'Belcayanas.' In the Netherlands they were not only 'Zingars,' but also 'Greeks' and 'Heidens' (i.e., Heathens). They have been frequently styled 'Tarata,' notably in Scandinavia, where they are also called 'Fante-folk.' There are English instances of 'Bohemian Tartars' and 'High-German' applied to people who were probably Gypsies; while Scotland has references to Gypsies or Saracens, otherwise 'Moors or Saracens,' as present in that country in the 15th century. In Poland they have been called 'Salsales' and 'Philistines,' as well as 'Cyprians.' Early writers have variously designated them 'Nubians,' 'Ethiopians,' 'Asyrians,' 'Uxil,' and 'Cilices.' Many of these names seem to denote the name of the country or province whence the Gypsies had come, bestowed upon them by the people of the country in which they had arrived.

2. Physical characteristics, distribution, etc.—The physical characteristics of Gypsies of pure stock, or nearly so, are well marked. Their complexion is generally dark, ranging from olive to deep brown, or even black. A. Welsbach, who examined 22 Gypsy soldiers from a Hungarian regiment, found the colour of their skin to be as follows: brown, 18; inclined to brown, 9; light brown, 8; greyish brown, 9; and grey, 9. It will be seen, therefore, that the prevailing colour of skin, hair, and eyes was dark. Engene Pittard, of Geneva, records similar results from an examination of 1270 Gypsies, of whom 804 were men, 200 women, 94 per cent of the men, and 88 per cent of the women had black or brown hair.

The proportion of black-haired men was very remarkable, observes Pittard. 'In many cases the colour of their hair was

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2. **The Gypsies.**—Described by Herodotus (v. 9) as inhabiting Hungary have also been identified with the Egyptians (see D. G. Wiegand, _Clas. E. Gok._, 1890.)
3. **Die Zigeuner.**—Miss. d. ethnogr. Ges. in Wien, 1890.
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20. dark as a mulatto, and with a profusion of long, flexible hair, black as jet, hanging down to his eyes, and distending about his cheeks and neck.

3. Although the typical Gypsy is of swarthy complexion, black-haired, and dark-eyed, it must be noted that certain members of that caste have not all of these characteristics. This is not a singular case, as may be shown from other references, and the fact requires to be kept in view.

1. The Gypsies are of middling height, bulk, and weight. Their distinctly monochromatous head is small, and moderately constricted towards its base. Lebert states that the series of 1270 Gypsies examined by him having yielded 71.19 per cent. of dolichocephalic forms. Miyashita, a Japanese craniologist and also a keen student of the Gypsies, made a special investigation of this subject in his monograph "Über den Bau der Zigeunerköpfe," published in 1878. He adds that the Gypsies of the Balkan Peninsula have straight noses, inclined to aquiline. With regard to the stature of the Gypsies examined by him, he places that of the men at about 1 m. 649 (5 ft. 5 in.), and of the women at 1 m. 532, or a little over 5 feet.

4. Although there is a common belief that Gypsies are homeless wanderers, they are for the most part a sedentary people, only occasionally showing nomadic tendencies. In the official "Report on the Gypsy Problem," drawn up by Arthur Theobald in 1860, and published at Halsingborg in 1861, the following definite statements are made with regard to the Hungarian division of the race:

"The number of Gypsies in Hungary is estimated to be some 250,000 of whom about nine-tenths are settled, 73 per cent. belonging to the uncertain class who have sojourned for some considerable time in one place, and about 5000 are out-and-out wanderers. The smallest Gypsy population is to be found in Transylvania; there are in the county as large as 2000 Gypsies, and the language of the majority is Magyar. The usage for compulsory school-attendance, which has been attended by some of the most educated of the race, is in force for the latter, as a rule, better off. About 50 per cent. of the Gypsies consider themselves under the denomination of the race.

5. There are more numerous in S.E. Europe than elsewhere, and they have existed in that region for an unknown period of time. They are specially congregated in the territories bordering upon the western shore of the Black Sea. According to one writer, there are 600,000 Gypsies in the district of the Lower Danube and the Balkan Peninsula, the Gypsy population of Macedonia being remarkable for its density. For particulars as to the Macedonian group, this writer refers us to Vasil Knezievi ć's "Maliakas," a work written in Bulgarian (Sophia, 1900), which contains much information about the Gypsies there entire nation to literature. The population of the Gypsies is large, and the greater number of the many Gypsy villages are given, and there is a valuable account of their trade, characteristics, etc., in the "Gypsy Journal," which has evidently been prepared carefully.

6. In the original Swedish, which was made by the Gypsy Lore Society of Sweden, and by another member of that Society, with subsequent revision by Arthur Theobald. This work appears in the "JULS" (JULS), vol. v., 1811-12 (vol. v.)

7. My Schools and Schoolmasters, ch. xvi.
Owing to the fact that a certain proportion of the Gypsy population is migratory, and also because there are many people of mixed blood who may be regarded as Gypsies, but not by another, it is impossible to obtain wholly accurate statistics in connection with the race. Indeed, the figures vary to an astonishing degree. The official statement in 1874, which gives that the number of Gypsies in the countries belonging to the Crown of Hungary amounted to 28,2741; whereas the return of 1860, galloped above, raises the figure to 290,000. On the other hand, the Almanach de Gotha for 1888 states that there were only 79,893 Gypsies in Hungary on 31 Dec. 1887. The same authority gives the following figures: Rumania, 200,000 Gypsies in 1878; Servia, '29,020 as servent de la langue bohémienne', in 1884; Bulgaria, 57,000 in 1881; and Eastern Rumelia, 27,190 on 24 Jan. 1886. These statistics, notably in the case of Rumania, are remarkably at variance with those furnished by the Holingfors report of 1890, wherein it is stated that the number of Gypsies in Rumania amounts to 'nearly 300,000', while Servia possesses 46,212, and Bulgaria 52,182.2 It will be noticed, however, that the Almanach de Gotha, in stating to regard Hungary, the latter figures show an increase which might be explained by the assumption that the race has been more prolific during the last generation, possibly owing to an improvement in its surroundings. There is, however, a sufficient discrepancy between the reports to warrant the conclusion that these statistics can be accepted only as approximate.

The Gypsy populations of several other European countries are thus allocated in the Holingfors report of 1890: Russia, 50,000; Finland, 1871; Poland, 15,000; Lithuania, 10,000; Galicia, 16,000; Spain, 50,000; and the British Isles, 20,000. A Statistical Account of the Gypsies in the German Empire, published by Noise in 1884, shows that there were then 241 families, consisting of 1064 individuals, living permanently in Prussia. Although permanent residents, they were not sedentary all the year round, but moved about, attending the principal fairs in their occupation of horse-dealers, musicians, and puppet-show men. In most of the other German States there are no resident Gypsies, according to von Sova, although Gypsies from other States or countries occasionally pass through. Wurtzemberg, however, possessed about 87 resident Gypsies in 1888; while there were 53 in Alsace-Lorraine, 24 in Baden, and 17 in Brunswick.

Von Sova's statistics appear to minimize the number of Gypsies in Germany, if one may judge from his statement that, 'as far as is known, there are no Gypsy colonies in Bavaria.' He adds that 'the police authorities have the strictest orders not to permit Gypsy bands to enter Bavaria, or, if found, to send them away.' This certainly does not accord with Richard Andree's report of Die Signen in Bayern,3 based upon the official Zigeunerverbrem, Munich, 1905, wherein the number of Gypsies in Bavaria is estimated at 3350. It must, therefore, be assumed that von Sova's figures, as regards the German Empire, cannot be relied upon.

'The Gypsy race is found in every country of Europe, all over Asia, in Turkey, Persia, Turkistan, Afghanistan, Baluchistan, India, in Egypt, the neighbouring African and in the South. It is scattered throughout North and south of America. It is found in Japan, China, and in the South Seas. The same Gypsy race and the language is the same Romani sko (Gypsy tongue), in different stages of decay, and modified by various environments.'

1 Al. T. Sinclair, GJIS (O.S.), vol. ii, Jan. 1890, p. 158.
2 Id. (I.S.), vol. iv, pp. 121-122, on edit.
3 Th. D., vol. i, pp. 29-33 and 134 et.
4 Contributed to 'Rustit. antiquae. Gnosticae', 24 Nov. 1895.

The accuracy of these statements cannot be questioned, although the writer1 omits India and Australasia from his list. It is scarcely necessary to explain that the Gypsies found by one enumerator, but not by another, it is impossible to obtain wholly accurate statistics in connexion with the race. Indeed, the figures vary to an astonishing degree. The official statement in 1874, which gives that the number of Gypsies in the countries belonging to the Crown of Hungary amounted to 28,274, whereas the return of 1860, galloped above, raises the figure to 290,000. On the other hand, the Almanach de Gotha for 1888 states that there were only 79,893 Gypsies in Hungary on 31 Dec. 1887. The same authority gives the following figures: Rumania, 200,000 Gypsies in 1878; Servia, '29,020 as servent de la langue bohémienne', in 1884; Bulgaria, 57,000 in 1881; and Eastern Rumelia, 27,190 on 24 Jan. 1886. These statistics, notably in the case of Rumania, are remarkably at variance with those furnished by the Holingfors report of 1890, wherein it is stated that the number of Gypsies in Rumania amounts to 'nearly 300,000', while Servia possesses 46,212, and Bulgaria 52,182.2 It will be noticed, however, that the Almanach de Gotha, in stating to regard Hungary, the latter figures show an increase which might be explained by the assumption that the race has been more prolific during the last generation, possibly owing to an improvement in its surroundings. There is, however, a sufficient discrepancy between the reports to warrant the conclusion that these statistics can be accepted only as approximate.

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passage that remains obscure; but it seems clear from it that in the Middle Ages, when they appear prominently as travelling actors, showmen, mountebanks, jugglers, hypnotists, quacks, false coiners, pilferers, robbers, and mercenary soldiers. As itinerant actors and showmen they were apparently very numerous. P. Lacroix, in relation to such people in the 18th cent., observes: \(^1\) 'Many of them were Bohemians or Zingari [i.e. Gypsies]. They travelled in companies, sometimes on foot, sometimes on horseback, and sometimes in some sort of conveyance containing the accessories of their craft and a travelling theatre.' Richard Augustine Hay, a Scotch priest of the 18th cent., tells how a company of Gypsies used to be the guests of the Earl of Roelin every year, occupying two towers in Roelin Castle (Midlothian, Scotland) during May and June, when they acted several plays. As these towers became known as 'Robin Hood' and 'Little John,' it may be assumed that they were named after the most popular plays.\(^2\)

Perhaps the most important of all the occupations professed or followed by medieval Gypsies is that which has yet to be named. They figured conspicuously in the character and attire of religious pilgrims, and were everywhere accepted as such—a fact which will receive fuller consideration below. The performance of historic dances, for which Gypsies were noted, can hardly be ascribed to them, their displays as actors. In the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland there is an entry of the year 1550, which shows that the sum of forty shillings was then paid 'to the Egyptians that danced before the King [James V.] in Holyrood house.' There is no indication as to the nature of the dance on that occasion. But from Spanish and Provençal sources we learn that in the 15th century certain miracle-plays relating to the life of Christ, Gypsy dances are of frequent occurrence. For example, the last act of Lope de Vega's Nacimiento de Cristo ends with the appearance of the Three Kings preceded by dances of Gypsies and Negroes, and with the worship and offerings brought by all to the new-born Saviour.\(^3\)

One of the most popular plays sung by Spanish children on the Day of the Holy Kings (Epiphany or Twelfth Day) opens with the verse:

The Gypsy women, who are always
The joy of the town gate,
Seeing the Kings arrive,
Wish to give them a dance.
Get ready the castanets, Gypsies;
The Three Kings have come in at the gate,
To see the young boy;
Ooh, ooh, ooh.

In a certain Provençal play the Three Kings themselves are understood to be Gypsies, and they successively foretell the future of the infant Christ by the art of palmistry, in approved Gypsy fashion. They introduce themselves thus:

'We are three Bohemians
Who tell good fortune.
We are three Bohemians
Who rob wherever we may be;
Child, lovely and so sweet,
Place, place here, the cross;
And each (of us) will tell thee
Everything that happens to thee:
Begin, Janan, however;
Give him the hand to see.'

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\(^1\) Meyn, Costume, and Dress in the Middle Ages, London, 1776, p. 250.
\(^2\) See B. A. Hay, Genealogia of the Sinticultures of Rosslyn, reprinted from the original MS., and edited by T. A. W. St. Clair, Edinburgh, 1886 (see p. 133).

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\(^1\) A local Yorkshire dialect.
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They art, from what I see, Equal to God.
And then his Son all wonderful:
There's not a shilling in the land:
Love has made thee a child.
For all the human race:
A Virgin is thy mother,
Thou art born without any father;
This world was made by God.
Love has made thee a child,' etc.

After completing their forecast of the Child's destiny, they proceed to examine the hands of the Virgin and Joseph, the latter of whom is thus addressed:

And then, good old man,
What art at the corner of the manger,
And what art at the manger?
Will thou not see that we thy hand?
Say, thou fearst perhaps
That we should steal that thee
Which is tied up there?
We would rather steal the child:
Place (something) here upon, fair sir,
We have scarcely drunk (to-day)."

The Gypsy prodigities which emerge in this last stanza are still more unreservedly indicated in an Andalusián carol:

In the gate of Bethlehem
The little Gypsies entered,
And the new-born child
Have robbed of his swaddling clothes.
He has given to the Gypsies,
Faces of olive,
They have not left the child
One little rag!

How the Blessed Virgin with her Child Jesus and Saint Joseph fled into Egypt, and how they found food and lodging, is the title of an Italian tract of medieval origin, wherein a Gypsy woman encounters the Holy Family during their flight, and offers them hospitality:

I have here a little stable,
Good for the young she-ass
I will now place therein astray and hay:
Behold a shelter for ye all!"

After bidding Saint Joseph to be seated, she goes on to foretell the future of the Virgin and Child—"for we dear Gypsies can all divine the future."

These references are not the only ones which associate Gypsies with Jesus of Nazareth. One very persistent tradition is that the nails used at the Crucifixion were made by Gypsies, and that the race became assured in consequence. On the other hand, the Gypsies of Alsace and Lithuania assert that this was not so, and that a woman of their people endeavoured to steal the nails from the Jews, in order to prevent the Crucifixion. She succeeded in stealing one, with the result that only three nails remained available, two of which were used for the hands, and the remaining nail was driven through the feet, which were crossed one above the other. The Gypsy comments as follows upon this tradition:

This Gypsy counter-legend offers a possible explanation of the historic unexplained transition from four nails to three in crucifixes during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Dr. H. Morris discusses the change in his Introduction to Legenda of the Holy Road (London: T. Nuttall, 1871). There it appears that, while St. Gregory Nazianzen, Nizan, and the author of the Amen Epistola speak of three nails only, St. Gypian, Augustine, and Gregory of Tours, Pope Innocent III., Haliade, Theodoric, and Ambrose speak of four; and that the earliest known crucifix with three nails only is a copper one, of probably Byzantine workmanship, dating from the end of the twelfth century. Now, in the Byzantine Gypsies possessed at that date a metallurgical monopoly, this crucifix must, of course, have been fashioned by Gypsy hands, when the three nails would be an easily intelligible protest against the commonality that those nails were forged by the founder of the Gypsy race."


they were obtaining the benefits accorded to Christian pilgrims as early as the 6th cent., and that they are referred to in this character by Charlemagne, in an edict of the year 789. They undoubtedly appear as pilgrims at a much later period.

We know, for example, that in the year 1417 the noble Transylvanian family of Horvath presented forty sheep 'to the poor pilgrims out of Egypt, who were about to travel to the Holy Land'; that in 1418 the Saxon Count of Hermannstadt, in Transylvania, granted 'to the people from the Holy Land food and fodder for their horses; work eight deniers'; that in the same year the municipality of Frankfurt-on-the-Main gave bread and meat to 'the wandering people from Little Egypt'; and that in 1419, Andrew, a duke of Little Egypt, with a hundred and twenty followers, received money, wine, and bread from the town of Mâcon, in Burgundy. Further, a certain 'Lord Eusebio from Egypt and his two hundred and twenty comrades' were voted a sum of money, corn, and poultry by the municipality of Kronstadt, Tranzilvia, in the year 1416. Then, again, in 1426, on St. Andrew's Eve, the town of Arnheim, in Gelderland, paid six guilders 'to the count of Little Egypt, with his company, to the honour of God'; and, at the same time, gave 'to the same count and to the Hebran women, to the honour of God, a half mazer (a corn measure) of white bread, a barrel of beer, and a hundred harvestings.'

In all these cases, which are only a few selected out of many of the same kind, it is manifest that the pilgrims who received these various gifts belonged to the caste known as 'Egyptians' or Gypsies. That Gypsies actually professed to be pilgrims is seen from the statement made by Pencier in his Commentarius (1572), wherein he asserts that they wore the pilgrim dress. Aventinus, who wrote in the early part of the 16th cent., complained indignantly that their pilgrimage was but a pretence; that they placed a Liberty possessed by no other class. 'Robbing and stealing are prohibited to others, under pain of hanging or beheading; whereas these people have licence for them.' Aventinus was not using the language of exaggeration, for robbery and theft were among the many characteristics of the medieval Gypsies. Nevertheless, they sustained at the same time the role of genuine pilgrims; and as such they were supported by the citizens and country-folk among whom they travelled.

In order to understand the situation properly, it must be realized that the Gypsies enjoyed Papal protection. This is seen from a letter granted in 1408 by Charles, Count of Egmont, under the seal, to a certain 'Count Martin Gouyn, born of Little Egypt,' in which it is stated that the Pope, Alexander VI., had ordained Count Martin and his family and company, 'to go on pilgrimage to Rome, to St. James of Galicia, Compostella, and to other holy places.' To enable this count of Little Egypt and his followers to fulfill the Pilgrim injunctions, Count Charles of Egmont strictly ordered his representatives throughout his principality to succour and protect the Gypsies. The Count of Egmont and all orthodox people were bound by their religion to obey the wishes of the Pope in this respect. Obedience, moreover, brought them a spiritual reward. The citizens of Amiens were granted Papal indulgences and pardons because they gave alms to an earl of Little Egypt and his company of about forty persons who visited their town in September 1427. The same kind of reward is indicated also in an ordinance of the magistrates of Tournai in Hainault, who appealed to the devout members of the community to give alms to 'the great Earl of Little Egypt or his people,' who were expected to sojourn for four or five days in Tournai in the last week of March 1429.

At this period, if not at earlier dates, the leaders of these Gypsy bands were men of mark, who received their appointments from the Crown, or other supreme power, in the various European countries. They have borne many designations—"theven," "Giants," etc., and have been the subjects of scholarly study since that time. Furthermore, as an art, by Leo Wiener, in JUJS (G.B.), vol. iii. no. 4, April 1879, pp. 543-547.

The passage is quoted in JUJS (G.B.), vol. iii. p. 7.
GYPSIES

king, regent, governor, master, judge, duke, earl, count, baron, and captain. It is to be noted that these rulers were not of Gypsy blood, but belonged to the local nobility, and in which their particular section of the race was settled. The evidence obtained from Poland and Lithuania is clear and undeniable. Under certain conditions, Gypsies were recognized as having a distinctive and a reward. Their revenues were mainly derived from the authorised poll-tax that their subjects were bound to pay to them, although they had apparently other sources of profit. One thing clear is that, when they travelled from home, both the rulers and the ruled abstained upon the gifts which they looked for—and not in vain—from the people among whom they sojourned. This was because they bore the character of pilgrims, to whom it was a pious duty to give alms.

The medieval Gypsies constituted therefore a system, and not merely a race—an organisation which had its ramifications all over Europe, and which held a position that all the secular and religious authorities recognized. To analyze the component parts of that organisation, and to endeavour to solve the problem of the origin, outside the scope of this article. A close investigation of the causes and effects of the Crusades (p.5) forms the first step in such a study. No very great weight can be attached to the single ascription of a French Gypsy soldier in 1329, that he came into France under the French Kings at the time of the Crusades, notably under St. Louis (1229). Indeed, that assertion conflicts with the belief already referred to, that Gypsies figured as Christian pilgrims as early as the reign of Charlemagne. And it is evident that many of the Gypsies of the 18th century, availed themselves of the privileges of pilgrims and Crusaders, and particularly of those possessed by the Templars and Hospitallers. A concrete example of this is seen in the case of 'Lord Emmanu from Egypt and his two hundred and twenty comrades,' who were so hospitably received at Kronstadt, Transylvania, in 1416. Emmanu, or Emmaus, is in Judea, not in Egypt; and Emmanu was formerly a Commandery of the Hospitallers. The Lord Emmanu of the year 1386 was a certain Bartholomew, who, with his comrades, enjoyed precisely the same privileges as those accorded to the Lord Emmanu of 1416. That is to say, he and his company were entitled to travel about Europe, 'living on the countries through which they passed, all on the strength of their being pilgrims, or the defenders of pilgrims. As recently as 1229, the Grand Master appealed successfully to the Pope and the Emperor against the attempt made by the Duke of Savoy to exact money from the Grand Master and his company for their food and lodging when passing through Savoy. Thus, the position occupied by the people popularly called 'Egyptians' was identical with that of the Hospitallers. This identity can be seen in other respects, such as exemption from military duty to the country in which they lived, and freedom from its taxation. Perhaps the most notable link is the use of the sign of the Cross as a mark of union.

Even if the Gypsies had been quiet and peaceable people, their assumed right to exact food and money from others would have rendered them a burden to the general population of Europe. But, as they travelled in large companies, their men being armed to the teeth, and as their demands were enforced by acts of violence, when necessary, the situation became increasingly intolerable to the middle and lower classes. Consequently, in all the countries of Europe, edicts were for the suppression or the expulsion of the Egyptians. On the other hand, the leaders of those Egyptians were men of noble birth, legally appointed by the State to their position of regent, baron, or count, and that position gave them a good income and many privileges. It was therefore to their advantage that the laws against Egyptians

tians' should be nullified as far as possible. The result of these opposing interests was that, for several centuries, the European countries oscillated between the enactment of laws framed for the purpose of ending the Gypsy system, and the very perpetuation of that system by the continued filling-up of vacancies in the Gypsy baronies.

For an illustration of this conflicting state of things, in 1639 an edict was issued in the king's name forbidding any Gypsies to enter the country, and ordering those within it to leave without delay. Nevertheless, it appears that in 1645 there were no fewer than 500 Gypsy men in France capable of bearing arms. Further, in 1600, and again in 1602, the Gypsies received notice to quit France—with two months' grace in the former instance and one month's in the latter. In spite of all this, it was found necessary in 1628 to issue a royal declaration: 'Contra les Bohémians, leurs femmes et enfants, et ceux qui leur donnent retraites.' This last clause refers, of course, to the French nobility and court-judiciary, who are accused of giving shelter to the Gypsies in their castles and mansions, in defiance of Acts of Parliament expressly forbidding them to do so. They are now ordered once more to desist, under pain of losing their fees and offices, with threats of severer punishment if they continue to disobey.1

Eventually, but only after the lapse of centuries, the Gypsy system was completely suppressed. In the course of the struggle, thousands of Gypsies were executed, banished, or imprisoned; and their surviving representatives are, with few exceptions, inoffensive members of the community in which they live. The problem of the Gypsy system and the Gypsy race still awaits a completely satisfactory solution; but a careful study of the system cannot fail to throw light upon the origin of the race.

It may be added that the country known as 'Little Egypt' was probably the Holy Land, in the first instance, and, in later times, the territories retained by the Crusaders in Greece and the islands of the Levant.

5. Religion.—The question of the religion of the Gypsies is somewhat involved. Their over-lords during the Middle Ages were undoubtedly Christian. The Genoese family of the Albabali, their successors of the house of Goth, and, at a later date, Antonios Eparchos, the correspondent of Melaznthon, all of whom were in turn Barons of the Gypsy corps, could not have been anything else than Christian. The same can be said of the noble Hungarian family represented in 1423 by Count József, who held the office of eyalets of the Turks. Similar examples are Lord Balatci de Kiskend and Caspar Nagy, who belonged to the court of Queen Isabella of Hungary, by whom they were created eyalets of the Turks of Transylvania in 1627. All of these were non-Gypsies upon whom the office of eyalets was conferred. No room for doubt exists in the case of several of the nobles of the Gypsies who died in the 16th century. The monument of one of them was placed in a little monastery beside Schloss Fürstenau, a castle of the Count of Erbach, in the Odenwald. The epitaph was to this effect: '1443 years after the birth of Christ our Saviour, on St. Sebastian's evening, died the high-born lord, Lord Pannell, duke in Little Egypt, and Lord of Hierchborn in the same country.' Lord Pannell's arms were emblazoned on his tomb—a golden eagle crowned, with a nag-born for crest, above a crowned helmet. The Swedish chronicle recounts further how, in the year 1688, at Pfortzten, 'there died the well-born Lord John, Free Count out of Little Egypt, to whose soul God be gracious and merciful.' Both of these confessions testify clearly to noble birth and Christian faith. The case of Count Martin Gnoegy, 'born of Little Egypt,' who was commanded by Pope Alexander VI. to go on pilgrimage for those persons, see Joly (O.S.), vol. III., 1875-89, p. 228, and O. (N.S.), vol. v., 1912-13, pp. 312-313.

The Gypsies and the Annals Sacerdi of M. Crucis, Frankfort, 1600, II. 384, 510. age, about the year 1498, is perhaps not quite so definite. Nevertheless, it is inconceivable that a Pope would enjoin upon any but a Christian the duty of pilgrimage to various holy places in Europe. The religion of the Gypsy rulers, therefore, may be regarded as certainly Christian. That of the Gypsies themselves, in some instances, falls within the same catechism. Among them has been born the famous Symon Simeon, an Irish friar, who visited Candia in Crete in 1522, and who there saw 'a race outside the city, following the Greeks' rite.' He describes it in terms that clearly indicate Gypsies. Consequently, it is evident that those Cretan Gypsies belonged to the Eastern or Greek Church. The same friar also refers to numerous Danubian captives in Alexandria and Cairo, apparently Gypsies, who had been converted to Muhammadanism by their captors. What was their previous religion? The Danubian territories formed then a part of Christendom, and, if there is no evidence that those Danubian captives were previously Christians, there is, on the other hand, no evidence that they were not. The presumption is that they were Christians in name, if not in fact. The whole history of the Gypsies points to this conclusion. It was because they were accepted as Christian pilgrims that they received alms, to the honour of God, and free quarters in all the countries of Europe. They wore the pilgrim dress, and the cross was their chief symbol. When they had to retreat before superior numbers, they sought and obtained refuge in religious houses. No fewer than three hundred Gypsies found shelter in the Convent at Plainpalais, Geneva, in 1532, when they had to give way before the attacks of the populace and the town officials. Moreover, when twenty of their number were taken prisoner on the heights, they were speedily pardoned and released, propert Desm. Martin del Rio tells of a similar incident in Spain, apparently in the town of Santiago, on Corpus Christi Day, 1894, when the Gypsies were repulsed by force of arms; nevertheless, all of a sudden, and I know not how, everything was hushed up. Neither the Augustin friars nor the Knights of St. James would have so championed the Gypsies had they been strange and unknown pagans. Nor would either of these fraternities have exerted themselves to protect a crowd of the ordinary citizens of Geneva or Santiago against the consequences of their turbulent behaviour towards the city officials.

There is no better testimony to the Christianity, nominal or real, of the Gypsies than that afforded by the Church of Les Saintes Marines de la Mer, in the Ile de la Camargue, Bouches-du-Rhône. In this church the festival of the Holy Mary is annually celebrated on 25th May. On that occasion, the crypt of the church is reserved exclusively for the Gypsies, because here is the shrine of Saint Sara of Egypt, whom they regard as their patron saint.

The Gypsies, to the number of several hundreds, began to arrive as early as the 20th of May, and throughout the night of 24th-25th May they keep watch over the shrine of Saint Sara. On the 25th they take their departure. This custom, which is in full force at the present day, has continued for at least four or five centuries; for M. Lhéric, once at Les Saintes (1897) that the votive offerings of the Gypsies, still preserved in the crypt, date back to about the first year of that date, therefore, the Gypsies were worshipped in the crypt as Christians.

Many other statements might be adduced which show the Gypsies, past and present, in the light of orthodox Christians, punctilious in observing the rites and ceremonies associated with Christianity. On the other hand, evidence of anathema is not difficult to obtain. The crypt of Les Saintes
-tree-worship—among German Gypsies, might be held to indicate an absolutely pagan cult. The air, the birch, and the mulberry-tree are specified as the respective symbols of the Old Prussian, the New Prussian, and the Hanoverian Gypsies. Once more, however, it has to be noted that tree-worship was formerly practised in all the old countries of Europe, traces of it being still discernible among the peasants down to our own times. Indeed, not only among the peasantry and in past ages; as witness the old churches with holy and misletoe in the Christmas season, which is the ancient Yule.

Considerations such as these seem almost to point to the conclusion that the chief difference in religious matters between ordinary Europeans and the Gypsies of Europe is that the latter have come to give in a greater measure than the former the pagan practices once common to all Europeans.

In a communication made to the Orientalische Gesellschaft (Berlin) in 1888, Solf represents the 19th century Gypsies of Germany as combining a religious code of their own with Christian profession and practice.

1. "captain," presides over each tribe. He is elected for seven years. His powers are both regal and ecclesiastical. He marries, divorces, excommunicates, and reconciles those who have forfeited honour and privileges. Nearly all the marriages are celebrated on Whit Monday. Great care is taken to avoid marriages between the degrees prohibited by the German law, although they are otherwise allowable by Gypsy custom and tradition. Adultery is exceedingly rare, and is punished with severity. The children are baptised, and handsomely presents are always expected from the god-parents. If a child is born while they are lodging near a village, they usually take it to the parish church for baptism. They wear no crossing at a death. Solf describes the Gypsy as "full of piety."

The term Heidens, or "Heathen," so often applied to Gypsies in Western Europe during the last centuries, would seem to denote that they were not regarded as Christians. When, in 1429, the town of Arnhem, in Guelderland, gave six guilders to the count of Little Egypt, with his horsemen, to the honour of God, and, on the same day, a quantity of food and drink to the same count and to the Heathen women, to the honour of God, a difference in religion between the count and the Heathen women appears to be implied. Nevertheless, the name Heidens, or "Heathen," was used, on at least two occasions, as a racial or caste designation solely, when the people so designated were Christians by religion. One of these instances occurs in Justinger's Berner Chronik. Bataillard, who cites the passage, points out that, Justinger was recorder of the town of Bern, and that his chronicle runs from 1411 to 1421. In 1419 he makes the following entry:

1. Regarding the baptised Heathen. In this year there came to Basel, Zürich, Bern, and Solothurn more than two hundred baptised heathen (Heidens); they were black, miserable, with women and children; and they camped before the town (Bern) in the fields, until a prohibition was issued, because they had become intolerable to the inhabitants on account of their doings; for they stole all they could. They had dukes and earls among them, who wore good silver belts (Silber Gürteln), and who rode on horseback; the others were poor and wretched. They wandered from one country to another; and they had a safe-conduct from the King of the Romans.

Here, it will be seen, the term "Heathen" is applied to people who were admittedly Christian by religion. The other similar instances are that afforded by the Staats-Archiv of Basel, in which it is recorded that on 13th June 1423 a payment of one guilder was made to two heathens (Zweien Asytten) who had become Christians. There is practically no doubt that in all these instances—among German Gypsies, and in that of 1423, and at Arnhem—Gypsies were regarded as Gentiles.
HABIT

In its most general acception, habit denotes a persistent readiness in certain phenomena to recur, which has been acquired by repeated recurrence. Here readiness is to be understood as including the presence or facility, but also a tendency or impulse. Habitual readiness is thus distinguished, on the one hand, from a readiness that is transient, or, on the other hand, from a persistent readiness that is inborn. The former is merely the general tendency of all living things to act under any stimulus. The latter is what is termed distinctively as instinct (q.v.). The distinction between habit and instinct, however, is no longer thought to be so absolute as it was in former times generally supposed. Empiricism, indeed, has led to the abandonment of the former distinction. The older empiricists, of whom J. S. Mill may be taken as the last representative, generally held that most, if not all, instincts are habits formed by each individual, but at a period so early in life as to have left in memory no traces of their formation. But this older form of the empirical theory has completely given way before the ideas of evolutionism. At the present day, while many, if not all, instincts are in their ultimate analysis reduced to habits, they are still admitted to be inborn in the individual, and the process of their evolution is extended over an indefinite period in the life of preceding generations. Empiricism includes in its theory not only instinctive impulses to action, but also the ineradicable necessities of thought. The necessity of thinking that 2+3=4, or that two straight lines cannot enclose a space, is regarded merely as a habit which has become so firmly fixed that it can no longer be resisted. A much more questionable use of the term habit is one which extends it to facts in the inorganic world. For instance, W. James speaks of ‘the habits of an elementary particle of matter,’ and describes ‘the laws of Nature as immutable habits which the different species of elementary matter follow’ (Principles of Psychology, vol. i. p. 104; cf. Radstock’s Habit and its Importance in Education, p. 220). These theories carry us into the general problems of philosophy, and it is the ethical significance of habit with which we have specially to do. For our purposes there is no gain, but rather a loss of simplicity, in extending the idea of habit as is done by the theories in question. For, even if the unalterable necessities of thought and the unalterable properties of matter can be with any propriety described as habits, yet, in so far as they are unalterable within the range of all scientific experience, they lack the essential character of habits; they cannot even be identified with instincts, for these are by no means incapable of modification. The very essence of a habit is that it is an effect of alterations going on in living things; it is an aspect of life, consequently, as Aristotle pointed out long ago, habit cannot be engendered in inorganic things. ‘For instance, the stone, which by nature moves downwards, cannot acquire the habit of moving upwards, not even if one tried to give it the habit by throwing it up ten thousand times; nor could fire form a habit of moving downwards; nor could anything else with a nature of one sort be made to act on another from habit’ (Eth. Nic. ii. 1. 2). Analogies, indeed, are sometimes drawn from acquired facilities in the inorganic world. Folded, paper returns readily to its folds. A lock or an engine works more easily after being used for a while. The fittest analogy of all is probably to be found in the improvement of a violin that has been played by a master. In all these cases the acquired facility is associated not with elementary particles, but with complex combinations of matter; the material of the violin is even an organic compound. But the analogy of such facilities with habit is superficial at the best. It has no connexion with any process of organic growth. As an organic process, however, habit is found in the vegetable world. Thus the modifications which may be developed in a plant by artificial culture or by natural adaptation to a new environment are of the nature of a real habit. More nearly akin to the habits of human life are the numerous aptitudes which animals can be trained to form. In man also the most spiritual habits have their basis in his organic life. The nutrition of the organs called into play must be affected by the uniformity of their action during the formation of a habit. Layers of untint effect will run into peculiar positions determined by the habitual movement of the organs they supply, and thus the growing organs will, under a new environment, be adapted to the actions repeatedly performed. The fact is that often after prolonged effort we continue to feel the beat of the blood in the arteries in the throbbing movement of which the effort called forth, long after the effort itself has ceased. This effect is experienced not only in the sensations of active effort, but also in...
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the so-called passive sensations. A din thrills in the ears of many persons after a long railway journey, and this is one of the most unmistakable operations in vision. It thus appears that, though the elementary properties of inorganic, and perhaps also of organic, material are indispensable, the organic beings a natural adaptability to the alterations of organic structure involved in the formation of a habit.

This is the physiological interpretation of the fact that habitual actions are done with a certain unconsciousness; that is to say, though we may remain conscious of the series of habitual actions as a whole, we fail to note consciously the separate actions in the series. When we begin to form a habit, the actions required are in general performed slowly, deliberately, and with an amount of effort that is often painful. Gradually with repetition the slow and deliberate effort disappears, and the actions are performed with an easy rapidity that carries them beyond the ken of consciousness.

For, to attain distinct consciousness, one mental activity must endure for a certain length of time before being supplanted by another. Consequently, if one activity is in experience uniformly followed by another, it comes after a while to suggest that other so instantaneously that it fails to be noticed in consciousness, and the activity suggested alone seems to have passed all through the intellectual life, and is especially familiar in the perception of the external world. The fact perceived is always suggested by some sensation, and in principle it is instantaneous that the sensation escapes attention, and the fact perceived appears like an object of immediate intuition. The same result is of great service in practical life also. For fear, joy, and the like, which are often paralyzing in a person, may be associated with some such exertion. They will then serve merely to suggest and stimulate the activity with which they are associated, just as the feeling of being in the presence of the person will itself suggest the object. An intense excitement finds its worth mainly in the fact that its intensity makes it readily suggestible. It haunts us so that we cannot escape from it, and thus it determines the current of our life; that is to say, it gives life a new habit. But without this continued recurrence of an intense impression its original intensity would not prevent it from being gradually, in some cases even rapidly, effaced. It is a familiar rule, therefore, of all life that habitual attainments must be kept in continued practice, else they are apt to be supplanted by a return of the untrained awkwardness with which they began. Even instincts, as will presently appear, die away if they are not kept in life by practice; and any peculiar variety of plants tends to lose the distinctive habitus developed by culture, and to revert to its wild type if it is left uncultivated. This fact becomes of importance on the training of the moral and religious life. The young convert in the glow of his fresh enthusiasm is apt to imagine that the habits of the new life are already acquired, and that he has only been born anew, and that there is a long process of growth before him still, ere he can reach the stature of spirituality. It is not therefore surprising that statistics seem to point to a startling proportion of relapses after

Even the higher nerve-centres in the brain exhibit the same result at times. Complicated mental operations come to be so habitual that they too fall below the verge of consciousness. From the physiological point of view this sort of activity is described as unconscious cerebration (see Carpenter's Mental Physiology, ch. xii.).

In its psychological as distinguished from its physiological aspect, habit is connected with the mental process of suggestion and association. A habit is an acquired readiness in the suggestion of phenomena that have been frequently associated. Now, among other facts connected with this process, it is a familiar law that phenomena are most readily suggested in proportion to their original intensity and to the frequency with which they have been repeated. These two conditions of ready suggestibility are the influences mainly called into play in the formation of habits. Sometimes a new habit seems to spring into full development all at once, under the impulse of a particularly intense impression. A violent shock in conscious experiences may suddenly produce such organic changes as in ordinary circumstances are the result of very gradual and extended adaptation. This may be that, however, sudden and violent shocks appear at times, their suddenness is more apparent than real. Possibly it has been prepared by subconscious processes that have been going on for some time before and only made manifest over the threshold of consciousness (E. D. Starbuck, The Psychology of Religion, London, 1899, pp. 108–113; W. James, Varieties of Religious Experience, New York, 1902, p. 286 ff.).

Habit, in any case the fact that changes of similar violence are seen in other regions of mind shows that sudden conversions are not out of harmony with the laws of mental life (Starbuck, op. cit. ch. xi.). But, however valuable a sudden and violent shock may be as an initial impulse to the formation of a new habit, its value apart from this is apt to be dangerous and destructive. An intense excitement finds its worth mainly in the fact that its intensity makes it readily suggestible. It haunts us so that we cannot escape from it, and thus it determines the current of our life; that is to say, it gives life a new habit. But without this continued recurrence of an intense impression its original intensity would not prevent it from being gradually, in some cases even rapidly, effaced. It is a familiar rule, therefore, of all life that habitual attainments must be kept in continued practice, else they are apt to be supplanted by a return of the untrained awkwardness with which they began. Even instincts, as will presently appear, die away if they are not kept in life by practice; and any peculiar variety of plants tends to lose the distinctive habitus developed by culture, and to revert to its wild type if it is left uncultivated. This fact becomes of importance on the training of the moral and religious life. The young convert in the glow of his fresh enthusiasm is apt to imagine that the habits of the new life are already acquired, and that he has only been born anew, and that there is a long process of growth before him still, ere he can reach the stature of spirituality. It is not therefore surprising that statistics seem to point to a startling proportion of relapses after

An interesting illustration of this phenomenon is given by Max Miller in his Autobiography (p. 210 f.). The printer is
spiritual changes produced by the violent excitement of revivalism, when compared with the proportionate decrease of cases of insanity during that period, a fact which is due to the ordinary unexciting religious culture of home and church and Sunday school (Starbuck, op. cit. p. 170). For this reason, all religious habits must be trained by the same organic process by which all life is evolved; and it is an interesting fact that the Great Teacher draws his favourite parables and metaphors for illustrating the development of the kingdom of God from the processes of organic growth in Nature. It is the organised structure developed by a process of growth that distinguishes habitual goodness from a goodness that is due to any transitory impulse. 'One swallow does not make a spring,' as Aristotle puts it, in illustrating the necessity of trained habit to genuine virtue (Eth. Nic. i. 7. 15); and Hosea (6. 20) had long before denounced the futility of a goodness that is transient as a morning cloud or early dew. On the other side, also, of the moral life:

"The sun that practice burns into the blood, And not the one dark hour which brings renown, Shall brand us after, as those fold we use" (Tennyson, Merlin and Vivien).

While habit is thus not to be confused with any fleeting impulse, it is also, as we have seen, distinguished from those impulses that are inherent. But we have seen, further, that this distinction is not so sharp as was at one time supposed. Possibly instinct may itself be but a habit earlier formed, and thus embedded in the primitive structure of our living things. But, whatever its origin, we now see that the processes which constitute life in, by a prolonged uniformity of action, produce a new organism or system giving a habitual readiness of the same kind as the instinctive. For this reason habit is commonly spoken of, in a phrase which has long been proverbial, as a second nature. It is, moreover, a familiar experience in common life, confirmed by scientific observation, that the second nature, thus created by a man's own habitual action, may overshadow the instincts of his original nature. For instincts are by no means beyond reach of the changes going on in life. On the contrary, not only do they require the stimulus of a proper environment to be called into activity in the first instance, but, even if roused in this way, they may afterwards be completely supplanted by counteractive habits. Numerous illustrations of this will be found in Spalding's celebrated article on 'Instinct' in Macmillan's Magazine for February 1873, and in the chapters (xi. to xvi. inclusive) on 'Instinct' in G. J. Romanes' Mental Evolution in Animals, London, 1883; see also C. Lloyd Morgan's Animal Life and Intelligence, do. 1890-91, ch. xi. on 'Habit and Instinct.' It thus appears, if the value of an instinct, like that of any intense impression, were to be found in the original start which it gives to the process of forming a habit.

But, if the mere animal can thus modify its native instincts in adaptation to the changing exigencies of life, it would be preposterous to deny man a similar adaptability. The truth is that man's superiority to the mere animal is to be found mainly in his superior adaptability. This is not indeed to be interpreted as meaning, what is too commonly assumed, that Nature guides the lower animals by the instincts with which she endows them, while she leaves man to the direction of his own intelligence. Both statements are wide of the truth. For, on the one hand, many of those modifications of instinct which have been referred to above are intelligent adaptations by an animal to a new situation. On the other hand, it is a mistake to suppose that habit in man is distinguished from the lower animals by the comparative poverty of his instincts. So far from this being the case, his
rather to break off habits that have become in- 
vested. The second or habitual nature, as we 
have seen, is to a large extent the nature of men 
and then it becomes for the edu- 
cator a more intractable factor than congenital 
habits. Furthermore, it imposes a limit on 
the plasticity of human nature as rigid as any 
that are fixed by original constitution. This is 
the ground of the familiar educational rule, to 
begin all training on a right method from the first, 
in order to avoid the formation of habits which 
must be unlearned before further progress can be 
made. The observation of old habits is also one 
of the causes which make the acquisition of new 
habits increasingly difficult with advancing years. 
For, as the years go on, every man is gradually 
forming an aggregate of habits which constitute his 
distinctive character. That character becomes 
every day more intricately woven into the inner- 
most tissues of physical and psychological life, and 
the drift of this process points to the conclusion that 
the character thus formed may become at last 
practically unalterable. Whether the moral doom 
of men does actually in the end become fixed 
immutably for evil as well as for good is a problem 
which would carry discussion beyond the limits of 
our theme. But in the phenomena of habit there 
is revealed a moral government of life, which is 
characterized by the most rigorous justice. The 
growth of habit furnishes an unfalling reward for 
every virtuous act, and brings to every vicious act 
its corresponding penalty. In the making of every 
appropriate figure, every act we perform is likened 
to seed sown in a fit soil, destined to produce a 
fruit of its own kind. Whosoever, therefore, a 
man aways that precludes that, certainly, 
shall he reap in the habits that he creates. Thus 
virtue is literally its own reward, vice its own 
punishment.

The best studies on habit are those in the great 
works on Psychology. Most of these treat the special kinds of 
habit separately, though the separate treatments can usually 
be found in an index. Fortunately, however, one of the 
greatest of these works on the science, W. James's Principles of 
Psychology (London, 1890), devotes a chapter (the fourth) to 
the general nature of Habit. The chapter on Habit (the 
eighth) in W. B. Carpenter's Mental Physiology (London, 1873) 
also deserves mention as being still of value. On the educational 
aspect of the subject there is a little monograph by Paul 
Radeostock, Die Geschicht und ihre Wirklichkeit fur die 
BRITISCHEN (Eng. title, Habit and its Importance on Education, 
Boston, 1890). For young children and their teachers there 
is another monograph by Walter L. Sheddick, Learning in the 
School (New York, 1898). The historical development of the 
subject is admirably traced in the tenth chapter of A 
History of Psychology by Paul Ince; and in Psychology, an 
article in the Encyclopædia britannica.

J. CLARK MURRAY.

HADES.—See ESchatology, STATE OF THE 
DEAD.

HADES, DESCENT TO.—See DESCENT TO 
HADES.

HAGGADA.—See RABINISM.

HAGIOLOGY.—See SAINTS.

HAIDA.—1. Geographical and ethnological— 
The Haida, or, as they term themselves, Xidak 
(i.e. people'), are an American Indian people 
whose territory includes the Queen Charlotte 
Islands and the adjacent waters of the Prince of 
Wales Island, Alaska. Between 180 and 200 years ago 
the so-called Kaagani left the N.W. end of the Queen 
Charlotte Islands, and, landing on Prince of Wales 
Island, appeared north of the southern 
end of which they took possession. The 
Haids are not now a numerous people; of the main 
body, according to Swanton, in 1907 there remained 
several thousand, and the numbers of 
the eastern branch were a 300, making less than 1000 in all. In 1836-41 their 
numbers were estimated at more than 8000; and 
in 1888 at 2600, which must have been quite an 
exaggeration, in the light of the figures reported 
since then. Linguistically, the Haids form an 
independent family, termed, in Powell's classification 
(V. E. W. B., I, 347), Skidegate, a corruption by the Whites 
of a name of a chief of the north shore, Sp'edaga. 
Authorities like Boas and Swanton, however, 
consider possible an ultimate relationship of the Haids 
with Tingit (phonetic and lexical coincidences, 
grammatical peculiarities), and more remotely 
with Athapaskan; but this is still doubtful, 
although certain elements of social organization 
also point in the direction of closer affinity between 
Haids and Tingit (Kolahshan). Physically, the 
Haids belong to that group of Indians of the 
North Pacific Coast which includes also the Tingit 
and the Tsimshian, as has been shown by the 
anthropometric researches of Boas and other 
investigators.

2. Contact with Whites.—Swanton considers it 
not impossible that the Queen Charlotte Islands 
may have been visited by Spaniards during the 
17th cent. (H.A.I., 1897-98), but 'the first certain 
account of their discovery is that by Ensign Juan 
Perez, in the corvette Santiago, in 1774.' Bodega 
and Maurelis came the next year; in 1786, La 
Perouse, and, in 1787, Capt. Dixon, who 
was there more than a month around them, and the islands 
are named from his vessel, the Queen Charlotte.' 
From that time on, visits of vessels of 
England and New England resorted to the coast, 
principally to trade for furs, in which business the 
early voyagers reapied golden harvests.' The 
result of this intercourse is thus indicated by 
Swanton (p. 521):

'The advent of whites was, as usual, disastrous to the natives. 
They were soon stripped of their valuable furs, and, through 
smallpox and general immorality, they have been reduced in the 
last 60 years to one-tenth of their original number. A 
station of the Hudson's Bay Company was long established at 
Haida, but is now no longer remunerative. At Skidegate there 
are works for the extraction of Douglas fir, with which they 
are employed to the people during most of the year; but in summer 
all the Indians from this place and Masset go to the mainland 
to work in salmon canneries.' These canneries also furnish the 
Salishan with work in summer.

Most of the Haids are Christians, at least nominally; mission-stations exist at Skidegate 
(Methodist), Masset (Anglican), and Howkan (Presbyterian). Of the general attitude of the 
Haids, Swanton says (loc. cit.):

'The Haids, Tingit, and Tsimshian seem to show greater 
adequacy to civilization and Christianity than the Indians 
than many of the tribes farther south. They are generally 
regarded as superior to them by the white settlers, and they 
certainly showed themselves such in war and in dept of the arts. 

In the 'Story of the shaman, Gánokok's-father,' 
recorded by Swanton ('Haids Texta,' in Bull. 39 
F.E., 1906, pp. 311-315), some items of White 
influence are referred to, and it seems that the 'new 
religion' of Bini, the Carrier Indian (Athapaskan), 
reached the Haids of Skidegate.

3. Tribal and social organization.—The Haids 
belong to those American Indian peoples who had 
a set social system, with caste divisions. The 
whole Haids people, according to Swanton (H.A.I. 
1, 522), is divided into two 'sides' or clans— 
Raven (Boya) and Eagle (Got)—each of which is 
subdivided and redistributed into numerous smaller 
local groups. Each clan is divided from one woman.' Besides the principal and more 
important towns of the Haids, 'there was for 
merly an immense number of small towns hardly 
distinguishable from camps, places that had been 
occupied as towns at some former time, and mythic 
or semi-mythical towns' (ib. 523). Society consisted of 
chiefs and nobles, and common people and 
slaves; and the lines of descent were determined 
by the various classes. The slaves (see below) per-
formed menial labour, and the difference between the common people and the nobility was accentuated by a dample, 'if people to a low family passed close in front of chiefs' houses in their canoes, they might be injured or enslaved.' High-born children did not cry like those of slaves or of common people's children, 'it was said that in the sky there was a sun of Tāxēt in the sky. Battle-songs were sung by women in the absence of their husbands at war, and there were songs used by all families, 'making peace.' It was believed that unfaithfulness on the part of a wife while her husband was away hunting or at war would cause him ill-luck or even death. This incident appears frequently in the myths and legends. A supernatural being named Tia 'presided over slaughter, and made his presence known at a time when it was about to take place' (Swanton, Bull. 33 BE, p. 374). When peace was made, one man from each side was generally taken up and borne around upon the shoulders of his opponents. He was called the "deer" (id. p. 380).

7. Totemism and heraldry.—As noted above, the Haida people are divided into two clans, 'Raven' and 'Bear,' both of which there are many minor groups and subdivisions. Each clan has a female progenitor (Djīlāgāns, the reputed ancestress of the Eagle clan, figures in a number of legends, and is connected with a famous scandal). Marriage between members of the same clan is forbidden. The fact that men and women are of different clans seems to be the Haida idea of sex or spiritual world. Most of the supernatural beings, however, seem to be assigned to the Raven people. Children followed the mother, and the mark of descent was to be of noble descent, sometimes married their captors and became free.' Swanton says further (HAI 205):

'Four prominent Haida clans and one clan among the "dwyers" of the North Pacific Coast with whom the institution of slavery attained considerable proportions; here a slave-class existed, the members of which were either war-captives or individuals purchased or obtained in other ways as slaves from neighbouring tribes. The strong caste-system probably made it difficult for male slaves as a rule to rise to positions of importance, although Swanton states that the greatest Skidegate chief of the time was a slave in his youth (cf. Bull. 29 BE, p. 306 f.). With female slaves the case was somewhat different for, these, especially if they were noble descent, sometimes married their captors and became free.' Swanton says further (HAI 205):

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8. Secret societies.—According to Swanton, the Haids have secret societies 'only during the last 100 or 160 years.' These are of the spirit-initiation type. 'The entire performance consisted in the supposed possession of the novice by some one of a number of spirits, who carried the youth away and made him act the spirit himself was supposed to act. Some of these ways of acting were very ribald, and others were in accordance with native conceptions. They were largely the property of certain chiefs, who would allow only their own families to use them' (Swanton, HAI 205).

9. Peace and war.—A considerable proportion of the Haida stories relate to war with their neighbours. These stories were accompanied by its own shaman. Taunting songs were sung in the language of the
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so constructed that it can be made to show up
either white or black. Of the hoop and pole game,
sort of a dancing, songs are sung to the Haida. It
is usually played with a disk or ring of hemlock
twigs and a long stick. Under this head Culin
also classifies the dance of gau ets' dij or a "woman's
dance," called Lea, which was commonly sung to by Swanton
(‘Ethnol. of Haida,’ p. 80) as follows:

This was a boy's game. Late in the spring, when a tall,
slim plant called Lea, the plant which was eaten, was at its
best, the boys would collect a great quantity of the stalks.
These two would each drive a couple of sticks into the ground
about 5 yards apart. After that each would take about 50 sticks
of the salmon-berry bush, and, using them as spears, alternately
try to drive one of them between the adversary's pole, or stick
into the ground beyond, so that it would rest on its top.
Each boy would then bid a certain number of Lea stalks, and
after they had used up all of their spears, he who scored the
most hits was the one who had been put up by his adversary. If
he were one point ahead, he got nothing more; but if he were
the best of two points ahead, he was as much as one; and if he
were three points ahead, as much as two, and so on.

Concerning the game of setigadiddaka, or
"knocking something over by shooting," which was
played by older people (sometimes by the whole
town turned out, and the resulting contests ex-
tended over a long period of time), Swanton informs
us that, "for some religious reason, the contest
playing with arrows as soon as winter began." Of
the "stick-game," Swanton, who describes it in
some detail in his account of Haida games, says
(‘Ethnol. of Haida,’ p. 185):

"The great gambling game of the Haida was the same as
that used on neighboring parts of the mainland. It was played
with a disk or hoop and a stick. The number of the sticks varied
in the sets that I have seen, one having as many as 50 sticks
of the set. The set was made of bone, but the most of yew or some similar kind of wood. Those were finely
polished, and, in many cases, finely carved or painted, but
usually were simply divided into sets of from two to four
by various individuals. One of the big sets included 20
sticks, was left blank, or nearly so, and was called djit, balt.
The djit was the piece hidden and guessed. The gambling-sticks had
several names, most of them bearing names of animals." The
more elaborate ones were ornamented with representations of the
animals they bear. A set of 60 sticks, collected by C. F. Newcombe
and now in the University of Pennsylvania,
was illustrated by the following:
shadow, 1; red fish, 2; black bear, 3; plane (of slate, weticed),
2; sea otter, 3; dance head-dress, 3; buffalo, 2; black bear,
deer, 2; seal, 2; guillème, 2; large house, 2; halibut, 2;
Humpback salmon, 5; dog salmon, 6; oonupedia, 2; chief who
has (i.e. rob noses), 2; supernatural beings of high rank
(90)."

A monotonous chanting accompanies the game,
here as elsewhere. Of the ethics of gambling
among the Haida, Swanton observes, "but it is
not so true to say that cheating was fair in Haida
games as it was in part of the game."
In a "ring and pin" game, described by Swanton
(‘Ethnol. of Haida,’ p. 60), when the V-shaped piece fell to the ground instead of being caught on
the stick, after the stick, the one
who threw must yield to the next player;
but, before doing so, he was at liberty to pull his opponent's hair violently or punch his knuckles as
many times as he had made a catch. Concerning
the game of jackstraws, which, he thinks, "would
seem a natural and logical development from the
game of stick-counting," Culin (p. 729) says:
"The only intimations the writer has had of it
in America are among the Eskimo and the Haida."

9. Songs.—The Haida have many brief songs
of various sorts, both in connection with feasts and
other public ceremonies and for other purposes.
Magic songs and "power songs," used by shamans
and others for the purposes of acquiring or in-
creasing influence and the incantations of
diverse kinds for luck in fishing or success in hunt-
ing, war, etc., are common. There are also war-
songs, love-songs, songs for calming and for raising
storms, "dancing-hat" songs, satirical and taunting
songs, songs belonging to the animals and other
creatures in stories, house-songs, canoe-songs,
songs of mourning, women's songs, cradle-
songs, and peace-songs. A large number of all

sorts are recorded in the various works of
Swanton (in 'Haida Songs,' texts and translations of 88
cradle, 11 mourning, and 6 miscellaneous songs
from the several Haida dialects are given). Totem-
pole raising and 'potlatches' were accompanied
by much dancing and singing. The joyful songs,
called Lea, were sung immediately after
'jdaj djat jagads,' or 'women's songs,' were used
when totem poles and house timbers were erected
in a potlatch (Bull. 89 BE, p. 147).

10. Feasts and festivals.—Like other tribes of
the North Pacific coast, the Haida had a number of
important feasts and festivals, some of which
were of foreign origin. The institution of the'
'potlatch,' a great feast in which the giver dis-
pensed with large amounts of property (commonly
blankets) in presents to all invited, being after-
wards 'potlatched' in return, was so esteemed
that in one of the cradle-songs, cited by Swanton
('Haida Songs,' p. 8), a child is told that he is a boy
and not a girl, in order that he may give great
potlatches—for that was he born. Swanton says
(HAI ii. 293):

"During the festival in which the gifts were made, houses
and carved poles were raised, chiefs' children were initiated
into the secret societies, their ears, noses, and lips were pierced
for ornaments, and suits of copper plates, which figured promi-
nently in the social and economic life of this people, were
the by-products of this event, took place. Among the Haida,
children were then tattooed. All was accompanied with dancing,
singing, and feasting."

People save money for years in order to hold a
great potlatch, and, distributing their wealth in this
manner, become really rich and attain high rank
as chiefs, etc. It is said, as Swanton reports
('Haida Songs,' p. 51): 'Once when there was a
great famine in Sitka Inlet, the chief of Drum
Town had enough property to hold a potlatch
and save every one from starvation.' In a cradle-song
the future potlatches of a child are likened to the
deluge in the time of the Raven. Another
families are warned to be ready for invitations
to the potlatch when the child is to be tattooed, etc.
At potlatches and feasts the chiefs were placed in
accordance with their wealth, the richer sitting
nearer the inside house-pole, in the back part of
the house."

Among the peoples of the North Pacific Coast
the salmon-ceremonials were of great importance.
11. Shamans, medicine-men, etc.—The shamans
of the Haida deserve special mention from a
religious point of view. According to Swanton
(HAI ii. 292):

"Among the Haida and Tlingit, shamans practiced practically
all religious functions, including, as usual, that of physician,
and occasionally a shaman united the civil with the religious
power by being a town or house shaman."

Shamans obtained their positions hereditarily, or
by natural fitness. The former was more common,
the shaman getting his position from his father,
and 'inheriting his spiritual helpers, just as he
might his material wealth.' He had a guardian
spirit in either case, and 'the first intimation
of his new power was given by the man falling sense-
less and remaining in that condition for a certain
period.' This was the sign of the presence of a
secret-society spirit or a guardian spirit.

12. Witchcraft.—Among the Haida, as with
other peoples of the North Pacific Coast, belief
in the power to influence or control the thought
and actions of others by supernatural means, occult
practices, and the like, prevailed. According to
Swanton (HAI ii. 996):

"Among the Haida witchcraft was supposed to be due to mice
which had got inside of a person's body, and if these could
be expelled he might be restored to his right mind. There
were said to be as many as ten of these mice sometimes, one
of which (the last to leave) was a white one. A means of detect-
ing witchcraft employed by the Haida shamans was to
write the name of all persons in the village in the presence of a
live mouse, and determine the guilty party by watching its
motions."
HAIDA

One of the Haida families of the Eagle clan was called 'witch-people.'

13. Calendar.—Of the Haida month-names two refer to mammals, three to birds, two to fish, three to plants, and three to the seasons and the weather. In the month 'Swanton,' in his account of the Haida calendar (Anz. Acad. 1903), says that they formerly intercalated between the two portions into which they divided the year what they called a 'between moon,' which may sometimes have been omitted to correct the calendar. The two periods of the year are 'summer' (April to September) and 'winter' (October to March), consisted of six months each.

14. Art.—The art of the Haida is, in some respects, the most interesting and remarkable north of the border of Mexico, and Central American influence. Indeed, as W. H. Holmes observes, the carving of the Haida, Tingit, Kwakuitel, and other tribes, in wood, bone, ivory, and slate are remarkable for their artistic qualities, and perfection of execution, displaying more than a mere suggestion of the aesthetic qualities of the prehistoric work of the tribes of Mexico and Central America. It says further: 'A carving in black slate by a member of the Haida tribe, representing the "bear mother," is not surpassed in spirit and expression by any known work north of Mexico. However, in the totem wood-stones, masks, rattles, dishes, boxes, and tobacco pipes which excite our admiration, it was executed with a great deal of imagination, and a time when the influence of the art of the white man had no doubt come to be somewhat decidedly felt,' (R.A.F. 640).

As materials whereupon to exercise their artistic sense the Haida had particularly the fine-grained black slate of the Queen Charlotte Islands, soft whale bone carvied, but growing harder with time, and taking a good polish; also the cedar-wood of this region, which enabled the tribes of the North Pacific Coast to attain a perfection not elsewhere reached by the aborigines north of Mexico. Haida carving and sculpture express themselves in special relations with religion, mythology, and history.

In wood-work we have the curiously carved and painted totem-poles (models of these for White consumption are now made in slate as well as in wood), and boxes for containing bones of the dead (graves). The images of animals and figures of persons, representations of human beings, animals, and mythological figures in horn, bone, bone, ivory, cups, ladles, spoons, and other utensils, implements, and ornaments were made, often in the form of or adorned with representations of human beings, animals, mythological beings, in whole or in part.

One of the Haida carved spoons described by Ridgway (Emsl. vi. 1890) 14), one has the neck of a woman clasping a frog or a toad to her breast and kissing it; another a woman and a bird; a third, a bear and a monkey clasping each other. A fine old pipe has a woman and a raven in such a union.

The Haida were also skilful in metal work: copper was used for ornaments and utensils (knives, rattle, daggers, the 'coppers' used as symbols of wealth); of silver (introduced by the Whites) they made bracelets, etc., with symmetrical figures engraved upon them. Other rather artistic developments appear in the chiefs' robes of frayed bark, and in the ceremonial head-dresses. Noteworthy also is the Haida basketry hat. Rock-painting does not occur in the Haida country; according to Newcombe, of two rock-carvings noted one is probably Tingit.

15. Painting and tattooing.—Besides the use made of painting on masks, totem-poles, and other wooden objects, and tattooing, the arms, hands, feet, face, hands, front, etc., the Haida practised painting and tattooing of face and body. A. C. Fletcher says:

"Among the Pacific Indians women were tattooed on the face and body, a custom that recently reached its most recent development among the Haida of Queen Charlotte Islands. The designs were of conventionalized "totemic" figures, and seem to have indicated personal or tribal distinction rather than any religious cult." (R.A.F. 760). Red and blue colours were employed.

16. Life and soul lore.—The souls of animals, according to the Haida, "have the human form, and act very much as men do on earth." According to Swanton (Pall. 29 B. E. p. 189), "every animal and every human being is supposed to be governed by a "thread of life"—i.e. a thread used also for thread made of mountain-sheep wool."

In one of the tales a woman lets out the "thread of life" of her husband, who goes hunting, knowing its action when he is coming back; in another tale a man is told to wear a new hat, when he is coming home: roosts on it, the "thread of life" occurs, she stretched her arms to the thread of life of him only who wore the new hat, and she saved him, because his wife left something for her.

Restoration to life is a common thing in Haida tales, but Swanton (Pall. 29 B. E. p. 348) met with but a single instance of restoration to youth, i.e. where Slaughter-lover 'spit medicine upon the old people they had killed, and they also became young.' Fire was the means of communication between this world and the world of spirits, the messenger being 'Old-woman-under-the-fire.'

Water is also occasionally mentioned as serving for such purposes (49. p. 14). Food for the slain in the land of souls was transmitted through fire.

Concerning 'Woman-under-the-fire,' Swanton remarks (ib. p. 209):

"Woman-under-the-fire repeated to the supernatural beings everything that was said near it. But, if charcoal were instantly robbed upon the lips of a person who had anything to say without the want of the supernatural beings to hear, Woman-under-the-fire knew that it was not intended.'

The souls of those dying at battle or by violence went to Täx-t's house in the sky. Concerning the souls of gamblers, we read in the tale of Sound-gambling-sticks (ib. p. 57):

"He was also said to live in a place within sight of the Land of Souls, and, when a gambler died, he came over to gambol with him, making dog salmon against some successful, there would be many deities; if the gambler won, there would be a great run of dog salmons."

The re-incarnation of salmon in human beings (particularly twins) is a common belief among several peoples of the North Pacific coast, with whom the Salmon Festival are of special significance.

17. Re-incarnation.—The belief in re-incarnation of the dead filled a very important role among the Haida, with whom the child was thought to be the returning father, mother, or other dead relative. The myths, legends, and songs treat often of this topic. In the cradle-songs the babies are reminded of what they used to do when formerly on earth; old tain-marks and other evidences of their identity with those passed away are pointed out; their childish actions are rebuked as being unbecoming, since, e.g., they are reborn chiefs, and 'too great to cry, etc.' In a cradle-song given by Swanton (Haida Songs, p. 5) a child is sung to as follows:

You need not think that the smoke of your house in the middle of Skedans will be as great as when you were a woman [in your previous life upon earth]. You need not think that they will make such a conical nebula about them. Other rather artistic developments appear in the chiefs' robes of frayed bark, and in the ceremonial head-dresses. Noteworthy also is the Haida basketry hat. Rock-painting does not occur in the Haida country; according to Newcombe, of two rock-carvings noted one is probably Tingit.
Many of the favorite stories of the Haidas tell of the re-incarnation of the Raven or Shining-Heavens, their highest deity—particularly the myth 'How Shining-Heavens caused himself to be born.'

18. Influence of sea-environment upon mythology and religion. The influence of their island home and environment upon the mythological and religious ideas of the Haidas has been very great, although not a few of the mythical figures, moti's, and incidents may have been borrowed rather recently from the Tsimshian, Tlingit, and others. Water-monsters and supernatural beings of the sea of various sorts figure largely in folklore, myth, and legend. The most prominent group of these supernatural beings are the Killer-whales. The killer-whale (Orcia sp.) appears in many stories of the type of 'The Man who married a Killer-whale Woman,' cited by Swanton ('Bull. 29 BE', p. 286 f.). The killer-whale is prominent in Haida art, being often represented conventionally by his fin instead of by his whole body. In tales borrowed from Tsimshian and elsewhere, the role of the killer-whale is disproportionately emphasized, as, e.g., in the story of Gunamafistl (ib. 386-340).

Supernatural beings.—The Haidas world teems with supernatural beings of land and sea, mountain and forest, river and lake, cliff and cave, air and sky. While the somnolent human beings is generally by way of fire, personified as 'Old-woman-under-the-fire' (see above), the messenger of the supernaturals. These supernatural beings are unable to hear the odor of urine, the blood of a menstruating woman, or anything associated with these (ib. 168). They are believed to land their canoes first, and to do the work of the human beings, for example, sew up the break in the canoe. Supernatural beings 'hunt during the night, and get home before ravens come calling;' if they are detained in any way so that they hear the raven, they will not call (ib. 168). When a supernatural being was born, he grew up quickly, and soon cried for a bow, but would only be satisfied and one of copper. Supernatural beings are made fire by rubbing hard white stones together. Those who have become animals can be recognized, when being skinning and cut open, by the ring of copper about their necks. Simply looking at the skin is said to be enough to make supernatural beings laugh (ib. 288). Supernatural beings do not want anything dirty, like human beings, for they have clean hands. Thus, a man often feels a real shake under him for this cause (ib. 297).

Among the most noted supernatural beings, or figures with names of such are the following: Killer-whale, Supernatural-woman-to-whom-is-thunder, the Waquo, Cave-supernatural-being (fishman of eating), Master-Carpenter or Master-canoe-builder (a favorite deity of the canoe-building Haidas), Mouse-woman, Supernatural-sparring, Dag-o-gega (being who tries the strength of heroes), Sacred-one-standing-and-moving-supernatural-being who-was-said, the one-in-the-silence, the greatest supernatural being in the ocean, Master-hopper (a one-legged supernatural being, or a being with one leg shorter than the other), Supernatural-being-at-whose-voice-the-ravens-sit-on-the-sea, Raven, Dijilqons, and Shining-Heavens.

The terms 'Master', 'Greatest of', 'Mother of', 'Owner of' are often applied to supernatural beings, e.g., 'Mother-of-halibut', 'Greatest of gulls', 'Owner of dog-salmon.' These supernatural beings seem often to have the power of assuming the form of a thing, and yet to be distinct from it. Thus, e.g., "Old-woman, 'Cill woman,' or 'Reef-woman,' may be a clif or a reef, and also live under it.

2a. Deities, demi-gods, and heroes. From the standpoint of the Haida mythology and folklore the following may be singled out as especially noteworthy: Shining-Heavens, Raven, Lagna, Dijilqons. Of these Lagna is a Tlingit spirit; Dijilqons is the ancestor of the Eagle clan; the other two are demi-gods, or demi-gods, of the Haidas. Shu, or Shining-Heavens, is 'the highest deity anciently recognized by them.' The story of his incarnation, 'How Shining-Heavens caused himself to be born,' is one of the greatest stories told by the Haidas (Swanton, Bull. 29 BE, pp. 29-31).

One of the first incidents in this tale might be considered with the finding of a moss by a young girl, who, digging on the beach, uncovers a cockle-shell, from which comes the cry of a baby. She looks into it and discovers a little child, which she takes home. The wonder-child soon grows up; it is Shining-Heavens, who above his supernatural power is the approved way. In one myth the Raven finds a cockle-shell full of children dressed over by the waves. By some this birth in a cockle-shell is interpreted to mean birth from a cockle. The birth of the wonder-child, the re-incarnation of some famous personage, or the incarnation of some supernatural being, is the typical hero-story of the Haidas.

Besides the tale of Shining-Heavens, we have the story of 'He-who-got-supernatural-power-from-his-little-finger,' 'He-who-was-born-from-his-mother's-side,' and others. Abandoned or put-away children often figure in hero-tales, e.g., 'The-old-abandoned-for-eating-the-flipper-of-the-hair-seal.' That the existence of a Raven clan among the Haidas, Tlingit, and Tsimshian has had something to do with the importance of Raven stories in their mythology is pointed out by Swanton (Bull. 29 BE, p. 146, and Ethnol. of Haida, p. 104), who gives (Bull. 29 BE, pp. 110-149) the tale of 'Raven Traveling.' The story of 'Raven Traveling' is the creation legend of the Haidas; but, as Swanton remarks, it rather explains how things were altered from one state or condition into that in which we now find them (ib. 149). Raven, indeed, is transformer rather than creator, although he is represented as having originated not a few things, and is the principal figure at the creation, for 'topographic features in various other national vocabularies ... the tastes, passions, habits, and customs of animals and human beings are mainly explained by referring to something that Raven did in ancient times. His story-name is Nakftlala, or 'He-who-voice-is-obeyed.' He has a buffalo-side, like some other American Indian gods and demi-gods, but some Haidas also express the opinion that 'Nakftlala was a great chief who put on the skin of a raven [the usual magic device] only when he wanted to act like a buffalo.' The travelling companion of Raven is Eagle or (among the Tsimshian) Butterfly. Other interesting deities are Taat (whose name is confused with that of a small bluish salmon), to whose house men in the darkness were said to be killed (ib. 169). A curious feature of Haida mythology, as Swanton notes, is the fact that all the 'river-spirites' seem to be women, only a single instance to the contrary having been met with. Among these water-creatures, who appear frequently in the tales and legends, are the following: Creek-woman (in various localities); Supernatural-woman-who-plays-up and-down with her-own-property (i.e., with the fish); Flood-tide-woman; and Tidal-woman. One of the winds, North-east, was named after Fair-wather-woman, who figures in several stories. Other female characters in Haida mythology and folklore are the Half-rock (stone from hips down) woman, or Woman-rooted-to-the-ground; Old-woman-under-the-fire (messenger from the supernatural beings); Porpoise-woman; Ice-woman; Property-woman; Mouse-woman; Panther-woman (this character has a Tlingit name); Woman-sitting-and-smelling. But the most famous female figure in Haida lore is Dijilqons. Dijilqons is the ancestor of the Eagle clan, and figures in a
HAIR AND NAILS

scandal with Swimming russet backed thrush another supernatural being.

21. Animals in legends.—In the legends of the Haida a large proportion of the birds, beasts, and fishes of their environment figure more or less prominently: whale, porpoise, seal, sea-lion, salmon, cod, halibut, devil-fish, eel, salmon, sculpin, berring; geese, snow goose, white, black, and gray, eagle, raven, crow, coromander, wood-pecker, owl, wren, hawk, puffed, loon, dipped (water-oos), goose, robin, Daurian, blue, black, blue, gray, land ood, creaster, tanager, grizzly, blackbird, sparrow; beaver, porcupine, marten (older brother of black bear), land-otter, dog, black bear, grizzly bear (a bugaba for children), mouse, mink, grouch, ground hog, wassel, etc. Some of the mainland animals, such as the wolf, also appear. The animals in the story have names different from their common everyday ones. The Haida name for black bear is Kus' u.; but in stories he is called Kus' u. winghtita. The Thunder-bird and the Sleep-bird are peculiar culls, as are the long-nosed animals the land-otter has a role sui generis. According to Swanton ('Ethnol. of Haida', p. 28 i., Bull. 59 BE, p. 225).

22. A man who saved himself from drowning was supposed to be deprived of his senses by land-otters and become transfigured into one of its kind. This being would land-otter fur 'all over his body, and as soon as he is covered with fish spines, it travelled all over the Haida country with the same effect.

If a land-otter looked at any one while drinking water, that person was seized with fits, soon died, and seemed to live amongst the land-otters (Bull. 59 BE, p. 270). The idea that loss of the senses or craziness is caused by the land-otter is common to several of the Indian peoples of the Pacific Northwest. Emerging the land-otter, we learn also (ibid.) that 'if a land-otter forgot to take along the mat used to cover the knees of a canoe-man while padding, he was sure to be killed by human beings.


HAIR AND NAILS.—In custom, ritual, and superstition, the same ideas underlie the majority of beliefs and ceremonies relating to human hair and nails; and the whole class of observations may be conveniently divided into a single section. Sometimes, indeed, customs may be due to the close connection of the hair with the head; and analogous to the case of the nails will naturally be wanting. For example, certain practices relating to the hair of the head appear to have originated from the wide-spread belief that the head (q.v.) itself is particularly sacred (see Frazer, *G.P.*, pt. ii., 'Tabor'), p. 202 f.); some plants are designated as being sacred to the head, and it is important not to disturb this spirit more than is necessary, or, as among the Greeks, the hair is itself regarded as the seat of *Myth. and Religion* (Gruppe, Munich, 1896, p. 167, 720) — a belief which is also found, in a modified form, among the Omaha (Fischer and La Flesche, *Field *BE, 1911), p. 124. Hence the Burmese shrink from frequent washing of the head; and, when the hair of their kings was cut, the operation was attended with much solemnity. Possibly the above, some superstitions concerning hair-washing or hair-cutting arise from a special fear of offending or injuring the spirit of the head. Samsen's strength was lost as soon as the hair of his head was cut off (Jg 16:14). But, in the main, these superstitions are the outcome of a primitive belief which affects the nails as much as the hair. The savage thinks that any portion of his body, though severed, still retains some sort of connexion with himself. Thus, injury to the hair or nails is liable to cause danger to the person who suffers from it, and the clippings of the hair belong to the principle of 'sympathetic magic' is well-known in folklore; and, if a man can work magic on an enemy by obtaining a portion of his clothing, it is even more readily comprehensible that he can do mischief by means of a part of his enemy's actual body. The simplest precaution is that of avoiding hair-cutting altogether. This course is sometimes taken to protect those whose lives are specially valuable, as in the case of the Frankish kings (G. P., pt. ii. p. 179). Cutting off the hair or nails is avoided on only certain occasions or at certain periods, when it would be more dangerous than usual. Young children are frequently thought to be too exposed to danger; hence, we often find that neither nails nor hair may be cut in infancy or during the early years of childhood.

This superstition is still (recently) common in England; e.g., a baby's nails must not be cut until it is a year old, otherwise it will be 'light-fingered', or ill-luck will result (see *County Folklore* L. (1890) 12 (Suffolk), v. (1898) 230 (Lincolnshire), etc.). Usually the danger is avoided by biting the nails (one of the superstitions which indicate a fear of iron). This practice is widespread in Europe and is also known in *County Folklore*, iv. (1904) 58; *Melanesia*, iv. 486, for examples from various parts. So, among the negroes of Jamaica, to cut the nails of infants with scissors will make them thieves (JL xvi. (1905) 68).

In the case of adults, the hair (or sometimes the nails) must not be cut during times of special danger. According to Diodorus (i. 18), Egyptian travellers did not cut their hair until the end of their journey. The inhabitants of Taif in Arabia shaved their heads at the sanctuary of their town, on returning home. Robertson Smith, who quotes this example (Rel. Sem., 381), suggests that the bond between the worshipper and his god has been loosened by absence during the journey, and the offering of hair has the effect of binding it again. This explanation is very possible in certain cases; but more probably the custom of leaving the neck uncut during a journey arises from the fear that a stranger may work magic by means of the locks. It is also possible that the idea of purification may underlie the practice, so that a spirit lives in defilement or infection among strangers, and he removes the uncleanness by cutting his hair on returning home. Van Gemmen (*Villes de paysage*, p. 285) lays stress on the pilgrimage or journey as
HAIR AND NAILS

intermediate between two stages (séparation et agrégation), each of which has its appropriate ritual.

In Greek myth, Achilles kept his hair uncult because his father Peleus had vowed it to the river Spercheus, if his son should come home from war in a foreign land (II. xxi. 144). This, however, does not prove that the early Greeks were among those who abstained from hair-cutting when on a dangerous expedition; Achilles had left home as a boy, and (as will be seen below) it was a practice for Greek youths to offer their hair to the local river on reaching manhood. But the passage is a good example of the common custom whereby the hair is left uncut during the period of a vow. A Nazirite was commanded to let his hair grow while under a vow; afterwards he shaved 'the head of his separation' at the door of the tabernacle, and burned the hair in the sacrificial fire (Nu 6:5; see also Ac 18:22-24). Here, and in many other cases, the hair-cutting seems to be a rite of purification for the person who, during the continuance of the vow, has been unclean.

Besides the period of a vow, there are other occasions on which the cutting of hair is avoided. According to a common English superstitious rule, it was better for women never born on the Sabbath to have their hair cut or combed.

(Footnote [For European parallels, see Mithraeum, ii. 457.] Here Christianity has no doubt adopted a pagan superstition, which is mentioned as early as Heliodorus (Works and Days, v. 79, 90, xii. 26). The reason given is that the hair is γυμνός (see also Würtem. L. ch. 4, ed. von Stade, i. 507, i.e. must not be cut as at a religious festival). The same warning is given in the Symbols of Pythagoras, where hair-cutting must be postponed for the person who, during the continuance of the vow, has been unclean.

The practice is due to a different cause. Those who believe in a resurrection of the body have a natural anxiety that no part of their personal uncleanliness may be left on the day of resurrection. In Leirin, while some peasants burn their hair and nails for fear of the fairies, others keep their hair cuttings, which may be required on the Day of Judgment to scale against the weight of sins (PL vii. 1898). This explanation has probably superseded an original fear lest the hair should attract evil spirits. Indeed, in Cavan this reason is avowed; it is unlucky to burn hair, which will be required on the Last Day in order that the body may appear as God created it (F9. xix. 219). The Magi is not confined to Christian races; Frazer (GBP, pt. ii. p. 578) quotes similar beliefs from the Incas of Peru, the Turks, and others.

In leech-craft, the use of hair and nails is widespread; only a few typical examples can here be given. Pliny (HN xxvii. 25) mentions, as a remedy for fever, that the Magi placed the hairings from a patient's fingers and toes at the door of another man, before sunrise. Some of the Magi, more innocently (as Pliny adds), order the parings to be thrown on an ant's nest to prevent the ants from attacking the patient's hand; or the child may carry off the nails to be caught and worn as an amulet. These prescriptions are generally explained, with Pliny himself, as cases of the transference of evil to another person, animal, or plant; and many cases of folk-medicine seem to be based on this principle. In the Hebrides, epilepsy is cured by burying a black cock with clippings of hair and nails from the patient. In Mesopotamia, a child may be cured of the same malady by burying some of his clothing with a lock of his hair. As the linen moils, the child recovers (F9. xii. 316). Here, and often, the object is to rid of the disease by mere transplantation. But, as Hartland notes (ib. 144.), many of the cases generally explained by transplantation are different. In a common type of leech-craft, the hair or nails of a sick person are stuffed into the hole of a tree, or hung up in its branches. Where this custom may often be to secure a healing union with a healthy tree; for in a similar rite, in which a sick child is passed through a tree, the good health or preservation of the tree is an important feature. It may be possible, therefore, that the idea of a healing union is the motive of some other practices in which the parings are transferred to an animal or man; and Hartland thinks that the idea of the hair or nails of a sick person has often obscured or supplanted an older
HAIR AND NAILS

belief in the virtue of union with a healthy object, whether human being, animal, or plant.

Apart from caring for sickness, the hair is very commonly found as a medium of connexion or union. This idea is probably at the root of the well-known custom of dedicating a lock of hair to a god. At a later stage of thought, the hair is no doubt considered as a mere symbol; but in earlier times the worshipper, by offering a part of himself, is put in actual communion with his god. In Greece, as we have already seen in the case of Achilles, youths and maidens offered their hair to deities on reaching maturity. Frequently the deity was the life-giving river of the country; Orestes presents a lock for nurture (ἕφασθαι) to the Inachus. (Eschyl. Ophel. 5.) (For other examples, see Pausana, i. 57. 3, viii. 30. 3, and 41. 3, with Frazer's note, giving parallels from other nations.) Both in Arabia and in Syria it seems to have been customary to sacrifice hair as an initiation into the state of adolescence (Ed. Sem. 327 f.) cf. Lucian, de Dea Syr. 55. The custom was regular at Rome, the hair being dedicated to some patron deity; e.g., Nero dedicated his first beard to Jupiter (see references in Mayor on Juvenal, iii. 186). Offerings of hair were also made on other occasions in Greece—as by girls before marriage (Diod. i. 46. 41). In these cases, the offering may have been 'propitiatory,' as it was made to virgin-deities, and seems designed to avert their wrath at the marriage of their worshippers. But the general idea is the same: the worshipper is put in communion with the deity. Pausania (ii. 11. 6) mentions a statue of Ægina, the goddess of health, which was in the possession of women's hair and garments, in no doubt dedicated before or after childbirth. Similarly, the cutting of hair is the means whereby the living are put in direct communion with the dead. Often the mourner's hair is plaited on the tomb, or in the grave, or on the corpse itself. Here the desire to maintain connexion with the dead is, no doubt, the original motive, though frequently forgotten. The custom is classical: in (Eschyl. Ophel. 6), Orestes offers hair at the tomb of his father, as well as a lock to the river-god (see Soph. Pho. 299, At. 1174; Eur. Iph. 580; Lycurgus, Epit. 60; Bion, i. 61; for parallels from other peoples, see Hartland, LP ii. 229 ff.). In many instances the hair is not brought into close contact with the dead, and appears to be cut simply as a token of mourning (as in Homer, Od. iv. 183; Eur. And. 101, Or. 458; and often in other races). But here it is probable that the original purpose has been forgotten, and the cutting of hair has degenerated into a mere expression of grief. Hence the Persians cut not only their own hair, but also that of their horses, after the death of a famous general (Herod. ix. 24). By a natural extension, death himself was said to cut off a lock from the head of a doomed person (Eur. Ajax. 74 f.; Verg. Aen. iv. 698 f.). In many of these cases it has been thought that the offering of hair is a substitution for the whole person, who is thus spared the necessity of being actually sacrificed to the dead (see Tylor, PC, 1891, i. 401). Accordingly a slightly different view, the hair is a pledge of the ultimate union of the mourner with the dead in the nether world. Both these explanations may hold in certain instances; but the general idea (as stated above) seems to be rather a wish to preserve connexion between the living and the dead (see LP ii. 325 f.).

The broad idea that union can be effected by means of the hair or nails may be illustrated by other practices, some of which are very well-known, savage lay great stress on the influence of diet, believing that to consume part of a man or animal will transmit their distinctive qualities. Thus, in Japan, the characteristic of another person was acquired by biting his hairs in sucking his drinking, the hair was very commonly found as a medium of connexion or union. This idea is probably at the root of the well-known custom of dedicating a lock of hair to a god. At a later stage of thought, the hair is no doubt considered as a mere symbol; but in earlier times the worshipper, by offering a part of himself, is put in actual communion with his god. In Greece, as we have already seen in the case of Achilles, youths and maidens offered their hair to deities on reaching maturity. Frequently the deity was the life-giving river of the country; Orestes presents a lock for nurture (ἕφασθαι) to the Inachus. (Eschyl. Ophel. 5.) (For other examples, see Pausana, i. 57. 3, viii. 30. 3, and 41. 3, with Frazer's note, giving parallels from other nations.) Both in Arabia and in Syria it seems to have been customary to sacrifice hair as an initiation into the state of adolescence (Ed. Sem. 327 f.; cf. Lucian, de Dea Syr. 55). The custom was regular at Rome, the hair being dedicated to some patron deity; e.g., Nero dedicated his first beard to Jupiter (see references in Mayor on Juvenal, iii. 186). Offerings of hair were also made on other occasions in Greece—as by girls before marriage (Diod. i. 46. 41). In these cases, the offering may have been 'propitiatory,' as it was made to virgin-deities, and seems designed to avert their wrath at the marriage of their worshippers. But the general idea is the same: the worshipper is put in communion with the deity. Pausania (ii. 11. 6) mentions a statue of Ægina, the goddess of health, which was in the possession of women's hair and garments, in no doubt dedicated before or after childbirth. Similarly, the cutting of hair is the means whereby the living are put in direct communion with the dead. Often the mourner's hair is plaited on the tomb, or in the grave, or on the corpse itself. Here the desire to maintain connexion with the dead is, no doubt, the original motive, though frequently forgotten. The custom is classical: in (Eschyl. Ophel. 6), Orestes offers hair at the tomb of his father, as well as a lock to the river-god (see Soph. Pho. 299, At. 1174; Eur. Iph. 580; Lycurgus, Epit. 60; Bion, i. 61; for parallels from other peoples, see Hartland, LP ii. 229 ff.). In many instances the hair is not brought into close contact with the dead, and appears to be cut simply as a token of mourning (as in Homer, Od. iv. 183; Eur. And. 101, Or. 458; and often in other races). But here it is probable that the original purpose has been forgotten, and the cutting of hair has degenerated into a mere expression of grief. Hence the Persians cut not only their own hair, but also that of their horses, after the death of a famous general (Herod. ix. 24). By a natural extension, death himself was said to cut off a lock from the head of a doomed person (Eur. Ajax. 74 f.; Verg. Aen. iv. 698 f.). In many of these cases it has been thought that the offering of hair is a substitution for the whole person, who is thus spared the necessity of being actually sacrificed to the dead (see Tylor, PC, 1891, i. 401). Accordingly a slightly different view, the hair is a pledge of the ultimate union of the mourner with the dead in the nether world. Both these explanations may hold in certain instances; but the general idea (as stated above) seems to be rather a wish to preserve connexion between the living and the dead (see LP ii. 325 f.).

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HALEBID

HALEBID (Kanarese hale-bid, 'old ruin').—A village in the Hassan District of Mysore; lat. 13° 13′ N.; long. 76° E.; the site of the great ancient city Doraasamudra, Dvārakasamudra, or Dvārakatimuras, the capital of the Dravidian Bahuva dynasty. It was founded in the early part of the 11th cent. A.D., and largely rebuilt by Rāja Vira Somesvara in the 13th. He is said to have been attacked by leprous, and was warned to erect temples in honor of Śiva as a means of curing his disease. This probably accounts for the splendid religious buildings which survive to the present day. The city was captured by the Muhammadan general Kāfūr, and plundered in 1310. Sixteen years later it was finally destroyed by another army of Musulmān invaders. One Siva temple is said to be dedicated to Śiva in his form Kāntābheva (Kāntābheva, the name of an Așura, and Kāntābheva a title of Durgā, the spouse of the god); but Rice shows that its proper name is Kērārāvarna, 'Lord of Kēdar' (so Kērārānītha), and that it was erected by Vira Ballīla and his queen Abhinavī Kērālā Devī, about 1219. Of this temple Ferguson says:

"If it were possible to illustrate this little temple in anything like completeness, there is probably no building which would convey a better idea of what its architects are capable of accomplishing. It is, however, imitated and mutilated by its neighbour, the great temple at Huliāb (known as Rājasvārana, 'Śiva, Lord of the Rāja dynasty'), which, had it been completed, is one of the buildings on which the advocate of Hindu architecture would desire to take his stand" (Ind. and Inst. Rev., ed. 1915, p. 445.)

This, the older of the two ornamental temples, was probably commenced by Vinaśāyitīya (A.D. 1047–1100). It is unfinished; but whether this was always the case, or whether it was completed and afterwards lost its towers, is uncertain (Rice, Mysore, p. 514). Ferguson has given an elaborate
and enthusiastic description of this magnificent building. Rice, however, corrects his proposal, assuming that the final ornament of the towers, resembling a lantern, was really a sacrificial vase (ezelalst), bound round with a cloth and fixed to the top, from which oil was filled with holy water and used at the consecration of a temple. Fergusson remarks:

"The mode in which the eastern face is broken up by the larger mass, as to give height and place a mass of towers and domes over the summit, is a better way of accomplishing what the Gothic architects accomplished in their transept and projections. This, however, is surpassed by the western front, where the variety of outline, and the arrangement and subdivision of the various faces in which it is disposed, must be regarded as a masterpiece of design in its class."

Rice, p. 615 ff., gives a full account of this splendid temple.


W. CROOKER.

HALEVII.—1. Life. —Jehudah ben Samuel Ha-Levi (Arab. Aby-l-Haazr Yehudah ibn Alfi), Jewish philosopher and poet, was born in Toledo about 1068 (the year in which that city, the meeting-place of East and West, fell before Alphonso VI), and died in Palestine about 1143. Ha-Levi was sent at an early age to the Rabbinical seminary of the famous Isaac Alfas at Lucena. In addition to the usual studies of theological study, he devoted himself to mathematics, the natural sciences, philosophy, and, since he was to be a poet, his Horatian. Arabic he learnt to write as skillfully as he did Hebrew. A born singer, he gave himself to poetry when he was a young man. On the completion of his musical studies, he began to promote, first in his native city, and later at Cordova. But, though successful, he does not appear to have been more than a leisure poet for his vocation. His chief interest was literature, religious literature more especially; and he sought to sympathise with his oppressed people and his love for Palestine, the cradle of their lost greatness and their future home, found expression in his Horatian poetry, but his ruling passion. Meanwhile theological study, the instruction of young men in Rabbinism, and literary pursuits relieved the monotony and disappointments of his professional life. He wrote various works, both secular and religious, mainly in Hebrew, and his great philosophical work, Kabbalat al-Kazari, usually known as the Kazari, in Arabic. His religious poems have enriched the library of the synagogue; his Kazzari is a classic. It was soon after the completion of the latter work—he was then about fifty-five—that he found opportunity for realising the great dream of his life. To see Jerusalem with his own eyes, and to worship at its fallen shrines, was his chief desire.

That I may fly away, and there, as rest from all my wanderings,

The ruise of my heart among thy ruins lie,

Thus he addressed his popular elegies (since included in the liturgy for the Fast on the Ninth of Ab); and now that yearning was to be satisfied. Travelling through Spain, where his journey was a triumph—such enthusiasm was he hailed by his many admirers—he took ship for Egypt, where a long and a tempestuous voyage caused him extreme discomfort; but it also fired his muse. The scene before his eyes conjured up the old, the desired haven, and the utterance of that thought in verse, stilled for him the tumult of the waves:

'As the sea rages, but my spirit is glad;

It draws nigh to the Temple of its God.'

The hospitality of his many friends kept him in Egypt longer than he wished; but as length he seems to have reached Palestine. He certainly got as far as Tyre and Damascus, and he may perhaps have seen Jerusalem, though only for a short time. It was at Damascus that he penned the elegy already cited. The closing passages of his life are unknown; but legend has filled up the gap. It is said that, while he was reciting his poem on Zion in the Holy City, an Arab horsemann rode over him and trampled him to death.

2. Philosophy. —Ha-Levi's great philosophical work is, as has been stated, the Kazzari. Written about 1140, it was rendered into Hebrew some thirty years afterwards by that famous rabbi Judah ibn Tibbon. A little later (about 1200) a second Hebrew version was undertaken by Isaac Corda. Of this, only a portion, the preface and a short fragment, have been preserved. History tells of one Balian, king of the Kazars, a tribe in the Crimea, who became a convert to Judaism in the 5th century. He is said to have met some of the descendants of the Kazars at Toledo, utilised this incident to give point and vividness to his book. His aim, as is indicated by its sub-title, "The Book of Argument and Doctrine of the Despised Faith," was designed to vindicate Judaism against the assaults of its various detractors—the Karaites within the gates, and the Moslems and infidels without. What had asked him what shape such a vindication ought to take, and his great book was his reply. The story of Balian provides the work with its starting-point and framework. The king, dissatisfied with paganism, invites a philosopher to expound his system. The God of philosophy, however, proves to be a constant being, indestructible and inaccessible to men. The king turns, therefore, first to a Christian, and then to a Muhammadan, but with equally unsatisfactory results. The truth of the religion in each case is devoid of convincing historical guarantees. On the other hand, both have appealed to Judaism as the fount and the witness of their creed. The king accordingly sends for a Rabbi, and the rest of the work gives the imaginary conversation which ensues. The arguments of the Rabbi, which are, of course, those of the author, convince the king, who thereupon declares his adherence to the Jewish faith.

In order to understand the genesis and significance of the Kazzari it is necessary to have a clear view of the state of religious thought in the 12th century. It was overthrown among the Jews in Halevi's time. Coloured by Greek philosophy, by the teachings, more particularly, of Plato and Aristotle, Arabic philosophy in its turn influenced Jewish thinkers living under Muslim rule in Africa and Spain. That influence had a twofold result. It gave rise, on the one hand, to unorthodoxy and to a demoralisation of the religious and philosophical ideas of the time; on the other hand, it furnished, on the other hand, the impulse to a synthesis intended to reconcile Jewish philosophy with the teachings of the great philosophes of the Christian world, and it furnished, on the other hand, the impulse to a synthesis intended to reconcile Jewish philosophy with the teachings of the great philosophes of the Christian world. This synthesis was led by the famous Sa'adya (8th-10th cent.). Sa'adya's great work, Emunoth Vedothoth ('Credoes and Beliefs'), was designed to defeat the sceptic with his own weapons. A too materialistic philosophy had been its undoing; a philosophy grounded on faith in the Unseen should be his salvation (see SA'ADYA). To Sa'adya succeeded Bahya ben Joseph ibn Bakudah (11th cent.), who, in his book Haleba-botot ('Duties of the Heart'), provided a philosophical antidote to the Aristotelian doctrine with which Ibn Sina (Avicenna) had familiarised his Muslim followers and their Jewish admirers. Theological turmoil in Islam was matched by a like ferment in Jewry. In the opinion of many among both communions, however, the attempt to reconcile religion with metaphysics was a failure. It fostered scepticism instead of curing it. Philosophy was the enemy, and war to the knife was the only means of averting its sinister effects. Thus orthodoxy asserted itself once more— in Islam in the person of al-Ghazali (11th cent.; see ENNOCH [Muslim]), in Jewry in the person of Halevi, whom al-Ghazali influenced, and whose deep distrust of 'Greek wisdom,' whose blossom is beautiful, but bears no fruit, disheartens even his poetry. Both writers aimed at displacing philosophy by unordi- natorial belief, and the Jewish Rabbi was probably moved to write his Kazzari by the polemical works of the Muslim theologians of the time. The common purpose animated them, the Rabbi set himself the additional aim of defending his religion from Islam itself, with its attacks upon Jewish Biblical exegesis.

In spite of this, Halevi's repudiation of philosophy is far from thoroughgoing; it may even be
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criticized as inconsistent. In regard to the fundamental principles of theology, such as the Divine Existence and the close relations of a personal God with the universe, he will have nothing to do with modern philosophy. The perspicacity of those principles is established for him by one kind of testimony, and one only—that furnished by the historic facts of the Bible. Holy Scripture is the imperfect witness upon which rests the truth of Judaism itself. But, when dealing with less vital matters—the genesis of the world, for example, the Divine attributes, human free will, and, the like—he has no scruples in resorting to philosophy, and even to metaphysics. Nor can it be said that he succeeded in his main polemical purpose. If Saad had failed to discourage philosophical scepticism by encouraging philosophical belief, Halevi equally failed to discourage it by banning it altogether. The next great name after his in the chronology of Jewish thought is Maimonides (end of 13th cent.), with his Mora'ah Neubah ('Guide of the Perplexed'), the most systematic attempt at interpreting Judaism in terms of the Aristotelian teaching which Saad had produced. Nor was conveyed in this epoch-making treatise, in which Saad failed to communicate his theses to the modern generation, the truth that both the philosophical and the anti-philosophical positions are at once useful and dangerous. Philosophy has its psychic roots, and the evidences to which it arrives, and hence is in accord with the individual. If the mystic finds his proofs of God in his own spiritual experience—makes them, as T. H. Green expresses it—the ordinary believer either looks to nature and history for corroboration of his creed or declines to corroborate it at all. On the other hand, there are persons desirous of believing, but so constituted as to require conviction as a condition precedent to religious faith. If philosophy may unsettle and alienate the ordinary believer, it may satisfy and win the most excelling disciple. Halevi practically recognised this truth when, setting out with the avowed purpose of excluding rationalism from the sphere of his inquiry, he restored to it in order to justify certain elements of his Judaism. Apart from his initial postulates, the Kuzari is thorough-going, and, therefore, a philosophical exposition of the Jewish religion. And it is in such a form that it retains its interest for us. It gives us a picture of the religion which appealed to the average Jew of the Middle Ages, of the religion, moreover, which still commands the allegiance of his successor to-day. That the book attained instant popularity, that it influenced so considerably a Jewish philosopher as Ibn Daud, who wrote his Sefer Kuzari in 1198, and that it has passed through a dozen editions, is not surprising. More remarkable is it that it should have been translated into many European languages, including English.

The following is a summary of the salient teachings of the work:

The aim of religion is the good life. Revealed religion is, therefore, superior to the natural religion of the philosopher, which defines the good life in diverse ways. The belief in God, in His existence and in His revelation, constitutes the essence of the Jewish creed. This belief is rooted in historical facts, e.g. in the Sinaitic revelation, which took place in the presence of a whole nation. Nothing in Scripture can ever be irreconcilable with reason. Thus the Biblical apophthegms of God, such as merciful, just, loving, justifying the Bible as a whole, and the like, do not imply any opposition to reason. The very existence of the universe points of view from which it is approached by the human mind. Like manner the Divine attributes merely correspond to the various relations of God to His creatures.

The Kuzari is essentially an essay on the idea of the election and mission of Israel rests upon an historical basis. The Bible is the absolute, successively prophetic and sapiences, completed by the Israelite people, who were chosen as the depositaries of the Divine truth. That truth reached its full expression in the Bible, with its three great classes of precepts—ethico-social, ritual, and spiritual; and its communication to Israel elevated that people into a kingdom of priests, charged with the performance of the prophetic task.

The adaptation of the Biblical precepts to the needs of the succeeding ages is the characteristic function of the Talmud, which defines the boundaries of permitted and forbidden actions in accordance with tradition. The theory of an Oral Law supplementing and substantiating the Written Law is essential to a due interpretation and fulfilment of the Biblical ordinances. Hence, unlike Karaitism, Judaism, which rejects tradition, Rabbinism gives satisfaction of spirit to its adherents by the assurance, that, in obeying the laws of their religion, they are performing the clearly ascertained will of God.

Moreover, Judaism, the religion of joy, imposes limits on asceticism: 'Thy self-satiation on a fast-day is not more acceptable to God than thy devout rejecting on a festival. The powers of soul and body are to be equally developed. The good man, as Judaism conceives of him, will not shun the world and its activities; nor will he long for death in order the more speedily to enter into eternal life. Man, moreover, is free (this in opposition to the Epicurean and fatalistic school of Neo-Platonists). God knows the consequences of human actions, but this is not sufficient to forswearing them.

Between the Divine foreknowledge and human action lie intermediate causes. The human will is one of them; it can direct the law of causes and effect as it desires. Nevertheless, the Divine omnipotence is not limited, inasmuch as these intermediate causes depend upon God, and are to be referred back to Him. As to the prophetic gift, it is a direct emanation from the Godhead; it is the numerous messiahs. There is no prophecy outside the Holy Land (probably a questionable reference to Mahommedanism). It is forbidden to those who are not of the Jewish race. In virtue of it's obedience to the Law and of its ancestry, Israel has a special aptitude for prophecy, while the heathen exiles in exile by obedience to the temporal precepts. That exile is no proof of its rejection by God: as the Jews were not driven from the land; it is 'the heart of the nations,' feeling every pain and disaster of the great body of mankind. But the dry bones will live. The Jews have always been in exile throughout the ages, have been dispersed among nations, have dispersed on earth for ever, preparing the way for the Messiah, who will make them one.

3. Poetical works. Halevi the poet is at least as great as Halevi the religious thinker. He has been called 'the most inspired writer of Hebrew after the Psalms.' The allusion is to his poems, which, unlike his great prose work, were written mainly in the sacred language, but in the Arab style, with its fettering artifices and conventions. Though essentially a religious poet, Halevi, in common with his predecessors of the Judæo-Spanish school, did not disdain to sing of secular themes. Indeed, the new Hebrew poetry which that school created was secular; but it was religious. Halevi—so facile is his gift—turns to poetry when others would use prose. If he has to write a letter or send a greeting to a friend or a great man—the Ibn Ezra, Samuel ha-Levi ben Migash, and many others—he sends it in verse. He invokes his muse on the smallest provocation. He has left epithalamia, elegies, satires, epigrams, riddles, and love-songs. His songs of youth and of old age, of feasting, and of the splendour of land, sky, and sea. He rallies a lad who has begun to grow a beard; he chronicles the discovery of his own first grey hair:

• I found my first white hair to-day,
And placed it out, scarce knowing what I'd done.

• An easy task, it is said, to vanquish one;
But how when all the rest are grey?

With the title, 'To a Friend who finds my Poetry as grievous as I do,' he indites the following lines:

• Ye'man with thee, explained my friend,
The day my money went;

• So well in Truth, What's my sin? I cried.

'Why poverty,' he asked me.

But the didactic note prevails. He warns the world that mundane things, 'a protecting shadow to-day,' 'may be a snare to-morrow'; the eagle prides itself on lifting the shaft that slays its mate. He has some lines entitled 'The Counsel of the Sage,' which contain the following advice:

• Keep a joyous face for thy friends, for they will be chasing you.

Win the hearts of the learned, and capture the wisdom of the wise. So will thy desire be fulfilled, and thy wealth multiply.' About to take
medicine, he writes some prayerful verses, in which he affirms his trust not in the potion, but in the healing power of God. Here is a characteristic stanza of the "Shemnu of God":

"I taste unto the true life's fount. Spurning the life that vain and base, My one desire to look upon my King? No other being has my reverence. Once in a while I see Him in a dream; Then would I sleep for eye; Could I but see His face within my heart I'd never wish to look abroad."

Another poem is entitled "The Shame of the Jew is Jesus, Christ". Its central thought is thus expressed: "Men revile me—they know not that shame, borne for Thy sake, is truest glory."

Halevi's chief strength, however, lay in his gift of hymn-writing. He was the poet of the Synagogue and par excellence. No liturgical writer has found so wide acceptance among the Jews, or lifted their devotional poetry to so high a level. He has left hymns—some 300 in number—for the whole of the Jewish year, and the Synagogue has made abundant use of them. They are a common bond uniting the sects of "the Kabbalists among them—with their many differences of thought and ritual. Simple, as a rule, in ideas and expression, they tower above the effusions of the more ancient liturgical poets. Halevi, with his love for dark sayings and difficult phraseology, Hallevi's religious poetry moves, moreover, on a far loftier plane. Its leading feature is a keen consciousness of God, the desire for communion with Him, an aesthetic sense, and a religious trust in His restitute. The joyousness issuing from this temper is modified, however, by the sad thought of Israel's lovelessness. The eminence of Edom and Ismael (Christianism and Islam) is a constantly recurrent themse, as though the iron of persecution had entered into the writer's own soul. One passage gives the Divine judgment upon the oppressor. This sombre tone persists even in some of the poems written for Feast-days. But their final note is one of hope and faith. Purified by tribulation, Israel will be redeemed at last, and the old national life restored. Sometimes the poem is the voice of the soul of collective Israel, "the King's son," sometimes the voice of the individual soul. Now the poet mourns his own sins, especially the sins of his youth; now he calls to youth to remember that life is fleeting, and that old age, with its disillusionments and regrets, and the day of death, "when there is neither love nor hate," will come at last. "Haste," he exclaims, "after thy King, with the souls that flow unto the goodness of the Lord!"

Apart, perhaps, from a quicker feeling for the beauty, as distinct from the solemnity, of the physical world, Halevi's poetry makes no appreciable addition to the content of Jewish thought. The Bible and the Rabbinical literature not only colour, but fashion, his theology and his outlook on life. His chief characteristics are intense spiritual feeling and lofty imagery. Traces of theosophy meet us here and there. This angel is very real to the poet; they hold up the throne of God, but God does not figure. He is the Omniscient, who fills, but transcends, Nature. "Thou containedst the universe; but the universe does not contain Thee." But God is immemorial as well as transcendent. "He came down at Sinai, and He dwelt in the bush." It is life, in very deed, among the Cherubim. Lo, the highest heavens contain Him not. He lives in His glory, even as He dwells among the angels. Yes, His assembled worshippers are very near to Him, invisible to the eye of flesh. He is manifest to the soul. His grace, too, is infinite; it triumphs over His strict justice, and ensures forgiveness for truly repentant sinners who "essay to give His robe." "These graces, as drink-offerings in His sight." The one supreme joy is communion with God. His grace, he says, is amply revealed. "Away from Thee, my life is death; near to Thee, my death is life. . . . Let me seek Thy grace, and let me die."

"My heart is one with my Beloved; my soul lives again. A poor prisoner, yet am I glorious. My heart holds my Beloved; what need to seek Him, then? Is He in the heavens or in the deep? My soul enthroneth Him; why, then, brother or friend? Or what can King or Prince do for me?"

Still more daring is his flight. Influenced by the Midrashic interpretation of Canticles, he thus apostrophizes God:

"Beloved, hast Thou forgotten how Thou didst lie between my breasts? Why, then, hast Thou sold me into lascivious slavery? Once Thou hast my love, and Thou gav'st Thy love to me; How, then, couldst Thou give my honour to another? Have I Redeemer but Thee? Or hast Thou a prisoner of hope but me?"

"Give me, I pray, Thy strength, for to Thee I give my love."

He retains, too, some of the Talmudic superstitions. The name of the Shecht (cornt) is written with the Greek letter chi, for example, on the New Year Festival will confound Satan, and give him impeded play to the Divine mercy and men's contrition. His spirit chides under his people's subjection to active persecution, they have to endure attempts to weaken them from religion. "They would turn me aside after false prophets"—so Israel made to complain; "they revile me when I seek to serve my God." But "Lo, Thy fame is in my ears; the Red Sea and Sinai witness to Thy greatness. How, then, shall I speak of Thee in these lines in which we may discern a poetic echo of the great theses of the "Kuzari"—the testimony of history to the eternal truth of Judaism.

Halevi's eminent position is attested by the frequency with which he has been translated. Heine, moreover, generally frugal in his praise, gives the Israeli singer of his race unstinted homage: he is

"A very wondrous mighty Fiery pillar of all song That preceded Israel's mournful Caxay; . . . was men, Through the desert of sad exile."

"When this spirit was created By Its Maker self-contented, Its face was set toward the east, And that kias's beautiful Echo Thrills through all the poet's numbers, Which are hailed by this grace."

Of the many attempts to summarize Halevi's significance in the sphere of religious literature, Graetz's appreciation is perhaps the happiest: "He was the transfigured image of self-conscious Israel seeking to express himself in thought and in Art."


MORRIS JOSEPH

HALLAJ.—In the history of Muhammadan pantheism there is no event more celebrated and remarkable in its consequences than the execution at Baghdad, on the 24th of Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.D. 309 (29th March, A.H. 121) of Abu Tâhâ ibn Mansur al-Hallaj.—often incorrectly called Mânsûr Hallaj,—on the charge of pretending to be an incarnation of the Divine. His claim was expressed in the most forcible and uncompromising terms that can be imagined: And I—haqq, I am the Real." The significance of this formula will be explained after some account has been given of its author's life and character. Hitherto it has not
been possible even to sketch the outlines of his career with any certainty, but the researches of Louis Massignon, which will shortly be published (see below), throw some light on the subject. 1

1. Life.—Hallaj, whose grandfather is said to have been a Zoroastrian, was born c. A.D. 868 at Bālāt, near Fars, in southern Persia, and passed his childhood and youth in the chief city of Trāj. At the age of sixteen he went to reside at Tus, where he became a disciple of 'Amr ibn Uthmān al-Makki, and married the daughter of another Shī‘a, Muyūf ibn Aqīl. On leaving Bālāt, he proceeded (in 877) to Baghdad and completed his training in Shī‘ism under Junayd, the greatest mystic of the time. Little is known concerning his movements and the events of his life during the next twenty years. About 896 he made the pilgrimage to Mecca, where he remained for a year in seclusion. The fact that soon afterwards his Shī‘a teachers broke off relations with him was probably due to their dislike of the extreme pantheism to which he had by this time devoted himself, according to his opponent, Shihhī al-Majī, 1 who said that they did not publish him because of any attack on religion and doctrine, but only on account of a breach of discipline. After two years in retirement at Tus, he travelled for a long while (c. 899-902) in Khurāsān and Fars, preaching and composing his first works on mysticism; at this date he received the title of Hallaj (the Carrier of the Word of Truth) which he was generally known. Having made the pilgrimage to Mecca a second time, he settled for a year at Baghdad, whence he travelled by sea to India and returned to the farthest boundaries of Turkestan, preaching and writing as before. He then returned as a pilgrim to Mecca, where he stayed two years, and on his return arrived at Bālāt, where he delivered a public discourse which raised an outcry against him and led to his being arrested; but he managed to escape from prison, and concealed himself at Sīa in Khurāsān (903). Three years later he was again arrested and brought to trial at Baghdad before I‘āq, visier of the Khalif Muqtadir. On this occasion he was charged with being a Carmatian (q.e.), and, although he had evidence to justify the allegation, he was detained in custody at Bālāt. His captivity, which lasted for eleven years, was not of a rigorous nature; he was moved from one prison to another, and was allowed to receive visitors and continue his preaching—a privilege which he used to such purpose that he gained many influential sympathizers. Finally, in 922, a second trial took place. It was conducted by the visiers I‘āq and Hāmid, and dealt with the principal charges against Hallaj: (a) his secret correspondence with the Carmatians; (b) the extravagant notions of his disciples, who believed him to be Divān; (c) his own belief in the question of essential union with the Godhead (‘ism al-jawwā‘). Hāmid wished to confine the inquiry to these points, but the qādis insisted on adding a fourth, viz. the doctrine (which was, indeed, held by Hallaj) that the pilgrimage to Mecca is not one of those religious obligations which are absolutely binding, but belongs to the class that admits of abrogation. On this skilfully chosen combination of theological, legal, and political grounds, the prisoner was condemned to death. During his execution, which was carried out in a barbarous manner, Hallaj displayed the utmost fortitude. His mutilated body was burned and the ashes thrown into the Tigris, while his head was sent to Khurāsān to be shown to his followers in that country. Many, however, both there and elsewhere, would believe that he was dead, and continued to expect his return. They maintained, quoting the statement in the Qur'an (vv. 186) concerning Christ, that Hallaj had been transported alive to heaven, and that the actual victim was one of his enemies, or, according to other versions, a horse or a mule.

Similar legends are told of ‘All (al-Farīr) and Abu al-Khayr (shahbāt) and several Shī‘a hereafter mentioned. As Massignon has pointed out, they express the popular feeling that a God-ordained saint suffers the indignity of being murdered, crucified, or disembowelled.

2. Teaching.—Although the later Muhammadan tradition attributes the condemnation of Hallaj to his outrageous impiety, it is certain that political motives played a large part in the affair. He is described, in the oldest historical books that mention him, as an agent attached to the Shī‘ite or Carmatian propaganda, 2 a reckless and unprincipled agitator who spread the doctrine of a new prophet, and by gross impositions on the people, engaged them to perform miracles which were only the tricks of a clever conjurer. Now, there seems to be no evidence that Hallaj was a Carmatian, but his own writings make it clear that he pretended to be that. The doctrine of incarnation (būdū‘ī) was held in common by some heretical Shī‘a sects and by various branches of the sufi school, and Hallaj and the others might plausibly be represented as a Carmatian, since he is said to have called himself ‘the Radiant Light,’ and to have been visited by an angel whom he received as a messenger of Allah, saying, ‘We bear witness that thou art He who puts on a different form in every age, and in the present age hast assumed the form of Ḥusain ibn Mānsūr; and we implore thy blessing and thy mercy, 0 knower of secrets!’ (al-Farīr bāsiha al-Farīr, 264, 19). Moreover, in the first quarter of the 10th cent. the Carmatians almost succeeded in establishing a reign of terror; and Massignon suggests, with reason, that Hāmid, who had incurred much odium by his measures for controlling the importation of arms, may have sought to run up his popularity and credit by pretending that Hallaj was one of their most dangerous missionaries, and making it appear that his conviction was a political triumph. Otherwise, it is at least doubtful whether the audacious dialectic with which he pursued his theological speculations, or the pantheism which he openly professed, would have cost him his life. Islam has always been tolerant to the excesses of mystical enthusiasm, and the plea of ecstasy has seldom been urgent in vain.

According to the theory of Shī‘a philosophy, al-baqī‘, the ‘Real,’ i.e. God regarded as pure being, is opposed to the phenomenal world, which exists only as a reflection of pure being upon the darkness of matter or ‘not-being.’ Even the more orthodox mystics hold that union with God is attainable. They say that in ‘passing away’ (fand) from his phenomenal self man necessarily becomes one with God, insomuch as the Divine element in his nature is then free to rejoin its source. The theory, stated in this way, is not Hallajian, but Hallaj presents the same ideas in a symbolic form peculiar to himself. 3 While the Shī‘a are generally careful

1 The present writer is indebted to M. Massignon for the greater part of the following biographical notices as well as for other information, and acknowledges the courtesy with which they have been communicated.

2 According to some authorities, the epithet refers to his power of restoring to life the bodies of the dead, a power which was regarded as of the highest importance, and the office of the ‘baqī‘ was bestowed on him because he once raised a large quantity of cotton in a miraculously short time.

3 The definite statement that he was one of the missionaries of All-Rid, the eighth Imam of the Shī‘a (rowned, Literary History of Persia, p. 439), seems not to be justified by the original text (Poirier, 150, last line), which says that he carried on a special propaganda in favour (right) of the ‘Aima and was a great preacher of the faith. It is, however, evident that Hallaj did not regard the deified man as being devoid of personality and indistinguishable from the
to disavow the heretical notion that the Divine substance or spirit can enter into man, this doctrine of human transsubstantiation (hulāl) was nevertheless adopted by some of them; and, since it was taken by Fāris, one of the chief disciples of Hallaj, we may conclude that it is implied in the famous formula, Ḍaḍa-ʿl-baqq, 'I am the Real.' The latter, published at Bombay in 1887 and again in 1904, is a particularly gross forgery.


**RAYMOND A. NICHOLSON.**

**HALLUCINATION.—I. Definition.**—A hallucination is generally defined as a false perception. It is generally that it is not the only species of false perception, and a clearer characterization is therefore necessary. Psychologists draw a distinction between states of consciousness in which there is contained or involved a reference to an object in the so-called external series here and now, and a state of consciousness which, though in content otherwise generally similar to the other, does not carry this objective reference. The first is termed a percept or a perception; the second is termed an image or representation. These psychological experiences form two series known as the presentational and ideational series respectively. This nomenclature indicates the dominant characteristics of each type of experience, though, of course, there are representational elements in the ideational series and ideational elements based on perceptual experiences. Normally there is no confusion between the two. A hallucination is said to occur when a member of the second series is ascribed to the first by the one who takes the conscious subject for a percept. The one, be it noted, is, qua psychical event, as real an experience as the other. The 'fallacy' lies in the function which the conscious state in this case is made to perform or in the significance which is attached to it. It is made to report falsely about external reality. In this it partakes of the character of illusion (q.v.), and yet it may be distinguished from that kind of experience. Whether the distinction is merely one of degree is a question on which there is no agreement among psychologists. Esquirol gave currency to the following distinction. In hallucination an experience which is, as a matter of fact, a perverted form of cerebral activity, is centrally initiated, is judged to have an objective correlarv or to be peripherally initiated, whereas in illusion the peripherally initiated and peripheral initiation—it is not, strictly speaking, a 'fallacy of the senses'—but the representational factors are wrongly apprehended or interpreted. Hallucination, in short, takes place when we perceive an object which by the accepted tests of external reality must be finally judged to be nonexistent; illusion takes place when we perceive the wrong object. This may be taken as a working hypothesis of differentiation, though further investigation has led to the conviction that the line of demarcation is not so bold and well-defined as it is thus made to appear. There are a number of borderland cases which present difficulty, and which are sometimes to be found in the literature of the subject under the head of 'hallucination' sometimes under the head of 'illusion.' It certainly seems well-established that in numerous (some would say in all) cases classed as hallucination there is a sensory or representational factor. In these cases, however, the sense element is so vague and unpecific that it would not normally form the
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2. Varieties.—It is said, not quite accurately, that we may have hallucination of more than one sense. What is meant is that the content of the hallucination may be of one or other of several of the modes of consciousness normally regarded as modes of sensation. In this sense the statement is correct. Thus we may see before us the figure of an absent friend or acquaintance or some grotesque and monstrous figure; the visual factor is predominant here, and it may be said at this point that "visual" hallucinations, like most largely in the records of the subject, whether they relate to the experiences of persons in a normal or abnormal condition. But we may also find hallucinations in which the auditory (the subject hears voices or definite sounds), touch, temperature, olfactory, kinesthetic, and other modes are respectively predominant. This is well marked in the experiences of persons in the hypnotic state. Tell such a person that he has taken a snuff and he sneezes; tell him he is standing on ice and he feels cold at once; he trembles, his teeth chatter, he wraps himself in his coat.1 If one sense only is involved, the hallucination is said to be simple; if several are involved, the hallucination is said to be compound.

There is a well-known experience particularly marked in the case of the person in the hypnotic state, or under the influence of post-hypnotic suggestion, known as negative hallucination. This is the case where the subject fails to perceive an object. He may only fail to see a person in the room, or he may be totally unaware of his presence, according to the character and scope of the given suggestion. The epithet 'negative,' though applicable enough from the point of view of the subject, is misleading as applied to the hallucinatory state itself. The hallucination is as positive as any other. The whole objective situation is apprehended by the subject as other than it is; or, if we limit the reference to that part of space in which the unperceived object or person is at any moment, then that part of space is falsely perceived; the background is continuous; there is not a gap in it; e.g., the back of the chair on which is seated the person whose absence is suggested will be seen, although, of course, it is not there.

Dreams (q.v.) are generally regarded as the most familiar type of hallucinatory experience. We speak of dreaming to be the subject of objects and of series of external events which are sometimes so vivid as to cause a distinct feeling of relief or disappointment when we wake and find that these events do not fit into the normal external series. So careful an observer as McDougall,2 however, finds a marked distinction between the features of a dream experience and the features of a hallucinatory experience. This is a direct challenge to more careful introspection. The present writer's observations go to confirm the view that when dreams are pure hallucinations, it is a direct challenge to more careful introspection. The present writer's observations go to confirm the view that dreams are pure hallucinations.

This kind of hallucination seems to be that in the dream state the hallucination is more complete than usual. The impressiveness of the object is as marked and the emotional co-efficient at least as intensive as in experiences which are unquestioningly recognized as hallucinations. It is to be remarked that among these are the hallucinations of the half-wake state or in the passage between sleep and wake. The line between these hypnagogic hallucinations and dreams is extremely difficult to draw.

The hallmark of a so-called waking hallucination are to be found in what are termed waking hallucinations.

This form occurs in the experience of persons who may otherwise be regarded as in a normal waking state. There are many such cases reported by historians:1 the anthropologist furnishes instances from his observations of primitive peoples;2 current report furnishes a sufficient number of cases of comparatively recent cases. We are fortunate here, however, in not having to depend merely on such evidence. In 1889 the English Society for Psychological Research issued a questionnaire containing the following query: 'Have you ever, when believing yourself to be completely awake, had a vivid impression of seeing or hearing or being by a living being or inanimate object, or of hearing a voice; which impression, so far as you could discover, was not due to any external physical cause?' To this 17,000 replies were received, of which over 2000 stated that under the conditions indicated figures had been seen, or, less frequently, voices had been heard. Similar inquiries have been made in America by W. James, in France by L. Martillier, and in Germany by the Munich section of the Gesellschaft für psychologische Forschung, with a similar result. An attempt has been made by Parish, in an analysis of the evidence, to show that, while the subjects of these hallucinations no doubt believed, in all good faith, that they were fully awake at the time of the experience, they were really in the transition state between sleeping and waking. The evidence, however, bears this construction, although there are enough instances of a kind to make a prima facie case for it. The question of whether these inquiries has not been to establish the existence of waking hallucinations, but to obtain evidence on the vexed question of the possibility of directly intimate distant events by this means to a person who would have been unaware of these events through the ordinary and understood modes of communication. This is the case in coincidental hallucinations. The hypothesis has been advanced that there is a causal relation between such apparitions and the distant events to which they refer. The problem is one which lies beyond the scope of the present article. It is treated at length in Phantasmagoria of the Living (E. Gurney, F. W. H. Myers, and F. Podmore, London, 1886). The available evidence shows a number of cases of coincidental hallucination markedly in excess of the number to be expected on the theory of probabilities; and this, so far, is favourable to the view that these occurrences are not merely fortuitous, but is not sufficient in extent or quality to warrant a definite conclusion.

In addition to the above so-called 'waking hallucinations,' which are regarded as taking place when the subject is in his normal condition, there are hallucinations which occur either (a) in a state which at the time of the occurrence cannot be called normal, or (b) in a state which is permanently abnormal, as in the case of mental disease. As an instance of the first type may be mentioned the familiar hallucinatory experiences, already referred to, connected with those moments of our mental life when we are passing from the waking to the sleeping state, or from the sleeping to the waking state. At these moments there is a sudden eruption of an apparently irrelevant image or procession of images which have a vividness and impressiveness much superior to those of the image in the normal waking experience, and which are readily mistaken for perceptual. Some of the experiences referred to as waking hallucinations, as well as many normal cases of apparent visual hallucinations, belong to this type. In extreme general fatigue or in fatigue of a particular sense organ, hallucinations readily occur. The consciousness of one's situation passes into the hallucinatory state; prolonged.

1 Cf. Parish, Hallucinations and Dissociation, p. 77f.
2 Cf. Lang, Making of Religion, p. 113 et.

2 Hallucinations in EMF, xil. 569.
fasting is a preparation for the state of hallucina-
tion. After protracted visual strain, 'visual'
hallucinations often occur.

En trance induces hallucination. The most
famous example is the hallucination accompan-
ying alcoholic poisoning in the state known as
delirium tremens. Intoxication by chloroform,
nitrous oxide, halothane, urethane, strophanthin,
etc., also induce hallucinations. Hallucinations
thus conditioned are mostly of an unpleasant
and even terrifying character, though in certain
cases, e.g. hashish intoxication, there is a pleasant
phase.

In other cases, conditions of a psychological
character are predominant, as, e.g., in hypnotic
trance and ecstasy. The results obtained by 'crystal-gazing'
(q.v.) may also be included here. The general
preliminary condition of these experiences is an
intense concentration of the attention upon one
point. Indeed, we may note the effect of concen-
tration of attention upon hallucination before it
reaches the stage indicated in any of the above-
named experiences. A person eagerly listening
for a knock or a footsteps may have the hallucination of
the sound he is awaiting. A 'ghost' may be seen
by one who is aware he is in a haunted room, and
who is consequently in a state of strained expecta-
tion. In the census of the Society for Psychical
Research there are thirteen cases of hallucination
which took the form of the appearance of a person
whose arrival was looked for. 'Collective hallucina-
tions,' i.e. hallucinations of a particular kind
experienced by more than one person at the same
time and place, are, no doubt, explained by this
factor. The hallucination first experienced by one
member of the group may spread to the others by
suggestion operating through the special direction
and concentration of attention induced by the
experience.

In hypnosis the process is carried further. The
subject is in a highly suggestive state, and hallu-
cination is easily produced either while he is actually
in the hypnotic trance or subsequently, when the
waking state supervenes, under the influence of
suggestion made during the trance, i.e. of 'post-
hypnotic' suggestion. The records of hypnotism
(q.v.) teem with instances of both types.

In the extreme forms of ecstasy (q.v.) the distinc-
tion between the self and the not-self disappears,
and with it the consciousness of the not-self,
which on the psychical side is represented by
percepts and images. There is one total, all-
embracing, oneness of the moment. There is, obviously
no room here for hallucination. But in the ecstatic
experience, which may find its consummation in
such a condition, there are moments in which
hallucination, in the strict sense of the term, may
be noted. The best-known cases of ecstasy are
those of religious ecstasy, where the object of
contemplation and desire is a religious one,
though this state is not exclusively connected with
objects of this type. Examples of hallucinatory
religious ecstasy are to be found in the sacred
books of many religions, in the records of lives of
saints and mystics, and in the accounts of primitive
peoples.

Gazing steadily at a shining surface—a metal
mirror, a silver utensil, a cloud of smoke, a crystal
induces hallucination. The 'sceer,' or seer,
perceives pictures of distant objects and events.
This has been known to mankind in various parts
of the world. For the patient, the imagery of the
practice as a method of divination is indicated by
the fact that Aeschylus attributes its discovery
to Thracian divination. The term 'crystal vision'
and 'crystal ball' to 'crystal vision' are the
practices of inducing auditory hallucinations
by holding a shell to the ear or by striking gently
the rim of a bell. This is also used as a method
of divination. The voices heard are ocular.

Hallucinations accompany somatic disorder or
bodily disease. The delirium of fever is a familiar
instance, and hallucination is associated with the
state of collapse preceding death. The halluci-
nations accompanying acute alcoholic poisoning,
already referred to, might also be brought into this
category. An interesting type of this class is the
'visceral' hallucination. Perceiving and hear-
nering states that patients suffering from visceral
diseases are liable to hallucinations of a peculiar
kind, either visual, auditory, or olfactory. The
visual hallucination is much more characteristic,
takes the form of a vague, shroud, white, black,
or grey human figure often incomplete. The
auditory hallucinations are of sounds, such as
tapping, scratching, and rumbling.

Coming between this type and the type connected
with mental disease are the hallucinations of the
nervous diseases, such as hysteria (q.v.) and epilepsy.
They are markedly present in the state known as
'the great hysteria,' at least in the third and
fourth of the four phases indicated by Charcot.4
In the aura preceding the epileptic attack and
in the post-epileptic condition, hallucinations are
frequent. They are very often of a distressing
character.

In many forms of mental disease or insanity (q.v.),
hallucination is a notable feature, more particularly
in those cases where the mind falls into a state of
invisibility or disappearance. 'Collective hallucina-
tions' and 'visualization of the intellect.' Hallucination, according to
Mendel, is often associated with amnesia, but
seldom with acute dementia. Parnassus, it is well
known, is strongly associated with certain voices
which are neither heard nor seen. Some of the
insulting voices and figures are seen by the victim
of this painful malady. The hallucinations of
insanity may be divided into those which are
episodic or independent, and those which are
relatively permanent. The first, as the term indicates,
are not in any known relation to the
general morbid condition; the second are obviously
related to, and are symptomatic of, this morbid
state. Of the two the latter are regarded by
psychiatrists as less serious, since they may be
covered up through the disease, and may diminish or
disappear with the amelioration of the general
state of the patient.

3. Causes.—The central question for the theory
of hallucination is this: What are the special
subjective conditions under which a state of con-
sciousness arises which bears the character of a
sense-perception, with all its normal features,
and is it absent? The answers to this question take
the shape of a general psycho-physiological formula.
All such answers are conditioned by assumptions
regarding the identity or non-identity of the iden-
tational and sensory centres in the brain; and the
theory of hallucination will not be in a wholly
satisfactory state until the strife of hypotheses on
this point is ended.

A prominent and obvious type of theory is that
which is termed 'excitement.' In the principal
form of this view, which has been supported by Fales,
Tamburini, Ferrier, Hoffmann, Griesinger, Krah-
Ebing, and many others, the hallucinatory state
begins in the ideational centres. In an abnormal
state of excitability of an ideational centre the
excitement overflows into a sensory centre. The
excitation of the sensory centre is 'economically'
projected, and a hallucination results. This
theory, according to the excitability of the ideational
and sensory centres are regarded as distinct and separate. Apart from this, which
is called in question, there are various objections
to the view as an explanatory hypothesis. It is
pointed out that it overbooks the fact that an image,1

1 Brain, xxiv. (1901) 850 ff.
2 La Proprie medico-legale, 1875, no. 9, p. 65.
HAMADRYADS (Teutonic).—The various stages of religious development among the Teutonic peoples are exhibited in their rites and myths connected with trees. The ancient belief in a power residing in trees—a power that might be transferred to other creatures and to the earth itself—may still be traced in a wide variety of popular customs. Thus, in early summer—on May-day or at Pentecost—the May-bough is carried from the forest to the village by the young people, in the hope that it will endow them with fresh vital energy; at the end of harvest, the harvest-tree is erected upon the last wagggon-load of corn, in order that the spirit of the tree may pass into next year’s crop; in spring, cattle, fields, young girls, and newly-wedded couples—the latter also on their marriage-day—are stroked with fresh twigs of sprouting trees, or with boughs of the so-called ‘rood of life.’ From the belief in the power dwelling in trees sprang also the worship of the moon—a huge tree-trunk standing in the open sky—among the Saxons (Mannhardt, Baumkultur, p. 308 f.), the worship of the evergreen trees that stood before the temple of the gods in Old Upsala (Adam of Bremen, Hist. Haedab. iv. 26, soc. 134), the Norse myth of Yggdrasil, the world-ashe, and the Eddie myth which tells us that Ask and Svinir, the sah and the ey (Yule, 11-15), were the first men.

Then at an early period imagination proceeded to associate trees, and to people forests with demoniac beings. These assume the form of a female, but sometimes a male, form. Popular fancy ran riot among them, enveloping them in myths of the most varied kinds, and even to-day they are met with in their primeval form among all the Teutonic peoples. In O.H.G. they appear as skroto, in A.S. as wildwulf, in M.H.G. as hohnscho, aholens, or evilhail. In the popular belief of the present day they are known as wood- or moos-maidens, forest-nymphas, wildfolk, Fangtern (Tyrol), blessed maidens, Norerg (Granbunden), Edgborg, Skogspadies (Dan. ‘fairy- maidens’, ‘wood - nymphas’), Skogard, Skogafurs (Swed. ‘forest - woman’), and by many other names; when they assume a male form, they are known

1 For the beliefs of other peoples on the same subject, see

THEM AND PLANTS.
as 'wild men,' 'wood-mannikins,' or Skogsmen (Swed. 'forest-men'). They live in the woods—either underground or in trees, especially hollow ones—and are often encountered there by human beings. In outward appearance they usually resemble old women; their bodies are hairy, and covered with moss. The male has, in common with their field-spirits, the characteristic feature of long pendulous breasts. Their faces are hagish and wrinkled; and sometimes their backs are concave, like the hollowed-out trunk of a tree. Here and there, however, and especially in the Tyrol, they are found as graceful figures with beautiful flowing hair. At times, their form ups and falls rather to that of the giant; they are abnormally large and strong; they have bristly hair, and are armed with tree-trunks. Occasionally they are endowed with the prose nature, and may avail themselves thereof to appear as animals.

Their attitude towards human beings is sometimes friendly, sometimes hostile. Their appearance presages a fruitful year. They put the hunter on the track of his quarry, and accordingly he seeks to win their favour. But they often fascinate the traveller with their thrilling songs and their laughter, urging him from the right way, and leading him astray. They occasionally unite in marriage with human beings, or engage to serve them, and in such cases bring good luck to the house so long as they stay in it. As denizens of the forest they possess a knowledge of medicinal plants, and make use of them to give health and strength to their favourite. This in the Bölden's saga, the food from which Balder drew his great strength was guarded by virginises silvestres (Saxo Gram. iii. 77). They make special appeal to human beings for succour when they are pursued by the Wild Hunter. At such times violent whirlwinds arise, shaking the trees and pressing the branches far down. If the hunter's cry is not heard, he falls into the hands of the Wild Hunter, he lays her crosswise upon his head. If she is delivered from his power by a human being, she rewards the latter with the golden honey of the mead-dryads. The latter, like the dwarfs, sometimes substitute their own offspring for human children.

It is very doubtful whether these tree- and forest-spirits were also objects of worship, i.e. whether the milk that was poured out, and the berries that were left upon the trees, were intended for them. It is much more likely that these gifts were offered to the souls of the departed, which were supposed to survive in trees. In point of fact, trees were regarded by all the Teutons as the abodes, not only of demonic spirits, but also of souls, and as such were treated with the utmost reverence—a practice constantly inveighed against in the penitential discourses and ordinances, as well as in the legal codes, of the early Christian period. We find it said in numerous legends that the souls of the departed pass into trees, or continue to live in the trees that grow upon graves. The extent to which a materialistic conception prevailed here is shown by the widely diffused belief that the soul lived in the bark, and was not injured. Such ideas explain the severe penalties inflicted upon those who committed offences against trees. The act of killing the bark was specially forbidden, as the souls were supposed to dwell just beneath it. One found guilty of the offence, according to the Vorsiferme (i.e. abstract of special names forming part of ancient German law), had his body cut open, and his intestines wound about the tree in such a way as to cover the injured part. (J. Grimm, Deutsche Rechts geschicht (Leipzig, 1869, ii. 90). The spirits who lived under the bark could both impart disease and take it away. Hence sick persons were drawn through a hollow trunk, or else the malady was driven into the tree—i.e., a bird (owl or hawk) known to some of the invalid's hair or pieces of his clothing inserted into it, the cavity being then closed up again. Departed souls frequently take the form of a bird or hawk (a bird was sometimes known to be within which they have their abode. It was also believed that the soul of the family-ancestor had passed into the tree growing in or before the homestead, and this tree accordingly became associated with the tutelary spirit of the family, i.e. the domestic spirit. According to Norwegian belief, the fylges (fowl) approximates to the protective spirit of the individual, and to propitiate the tutelary spirits, and ward off evil from man and beast.

The origin of the tutelary spirit—the fact that it was at first particularly connected with theidea of a trestle (wood-grain or wood), this has gradually been forgotten, and its place taken by another soul-like being, the guardian spirit of the house, the Norwegian tomgrable (cf. 'Robin Goodfellow'), the German Haubold (cf. the brownie), whose tree was either in the trunk of the tree or in the root beneath, and who guards the dwelling-house against injury by fire. If a tree which thus harbours a domestic spirit is hewn down, prosperity departs the house, and the person who did the deed is taken ill. Some of the old tales represent the tutelary or domestic spirit as being regarded by others, it remains in the fallen trunk, comes into the house along with the latter, and continues to reside in the rafters made from it; and, if the required offerings (food, drink, etc.) are given to it, it continues to guard the house as before. To this class of tree-spirits—tutelary demons evolved from soul-like entities—belongs also the Klaußtermann (see DEMONS AND SPIRITS [Tent.], vol. iv. p. 633 f.) of the Baltic and North Sea coasts. He is a tree-spirit who has been brought into the house, and who continues to reside, helping the sailors in their work, and protecting the vessel. But, should the ship be destined to go down, he deserts it. He, too, receives gifts of food and drink.


E. MOOG.

HAMILTON.—See PHILOSOPHY (Scottish).

HAMITÉS AND EAST AFRICA.—The classification of the eastern Hamitic peoples is a matter of much uncertainty. There is a large body of tribes concerning whom, except on some trifling points, there is complete agreement between the various sciences and the scientific outside. Outside there is a want of harmony between anthropology and philology, and between the various philological schools. The common stock may be said to consist of two main groups: the Hamites (including Gallalites, 'Afar-Salamp), with these anthropology connects other peoples or import-
ant groups of peoples, as the Nuba, the Funj, the Massal, and the Wahuma, of whom some at least speak a purely non-Hamitic. One school of philology, of which the most illustrious representative is Renich, limits the true eastern Hamites to the peoples of the two great groups just named, but considers with them two other peoples dwelling between the one group and the other, viz. the Baria and the Kunana, who, although they do not speak a purely Hamitic tongue, employ languages—called by this school proto-Cushite—which seem to approach the Hamitic type, and represent, as it were, a link of connexion between the Hamitic and Nilotic tongues. Another school, of which the most recent and active champion is Meinloth, places the Baria and the Kunana among the peoples speaking the so-called Sudanic, and consequently non-Hamitic languages; on the other hand, this school includes among the Hamites the Bari dwelling on the White Nile, and the Massal of British East Africa and of German East Africa. It is easy to understand why here, as elsewhere, even for historical reasons, anthropology and philology are not in agreement. Further, while we recognize the importance of the doubts raised concerning the character of the Kunana tongue and the import of the analogies of the Massal language with the Hamitic tongues, this is not the place to discuss the differences between the philological schools. The following notes refer especially to those peoples whose language is generally admitted, with brief references to the two proto-Cushite peoples.

1. The Beja represent one of the greatest ethnic groups along the middle course of the Nile. According to some anthropologists, they were among the principal elements which went to form the ancient Egyptian people. Many of their tribes and parts of tribes are doubtless concealed under the unidentified names of the conquests of the Pharaohs to the south of Egypt. Their primitive seats appear to have been the desert regions of eastern Nuba. Towards the beginning of the common era they seem to have undergone a powerful movement of expansion or of migration, determined, it may be, by the influx of the Nuba and of other populations of the south-west into the regions of the kingdom of Meroë, of whose inhabitants they must have formed a conspicuous part. This movement drove towards the Egyptian frontier some fractions of tribes, such as the Biemuyes, who were the subjects of fantastic stories and of terror on account of their ferocious incursions; on the other hand, other tribes moved towards Abyssinia. The kings of Aksum were often occupied by the incursions of the Beja or by expeditions against the Beja, so much so that among their other titles they assumed that of "kings of the Beja." In course of time the Beja seem to have founded a proper land, at least for a time, in the regions of northern Abyssinia. It is certain that among the peoples of the Abyssinian highlands we find some speaking the Tigréa tongue and observing the customs of the other Abyssinians, and who boast a Beja origin, as the Tedder in Akake-Guray, and the Degg Itate of Serat. There was much rivalry between the Beja element and the Miskia in the valley of the Barks, in Eritrean Sahel, and on the mountains traversed by the river Anseba in the last part of its course; sometimes the one, sometimes the other, ethnic factor prevailed. Thus there were formed mixed populations, although fractions of races are to be met with who are purely Beja and purely Nuba, as far as the foot of the mountains of Abyssinia proper, such as the ad-Sala dwelling near the outfall of the river Barks from the mountains of Liban on the plain below.

Meanwhile in the northern regions the Arabs, who had succeeded the Byzantines in their rule over Egypt, must often have come into contact with the restless nomads of the south and their forays. Numerous military expeditions were the consequence, and also numerous treaties, the most ancient of which does not seem to have been very favourable to the Arabs, whose governor, the Aghlab Allah ibn Hiyah as-Sa'idi undertook to furnish the Beja with three hundred young camels, provided they would respect the borders of Egypt and the lives and goods of the Musalmans. As a matter of fact, it was possible to guarantee the safety of Egypt only when several Arab tribes went and established themselves in Nuba, thus paralyzing the warlike inclinations of the Beja elements, or when these tribes began to pass over to Islamism. In the 9th and 10th centuries the Beja formed a sort of independent principality, whose ruler, resident in el-Hajr in the southern part of their territory, acted in the name of all the tribes of his race dwelling between Egypt and Abyssinia. From Arab sources we learn the names of one of these, who already in the year 216 A.H. (A.D. 831) seems purely Islamite—Qutun 'Abd al-Aziz.

In the days of the historian 'Abd-Allah ibn Ahmad ben Salaim ibn-Uswan, who in the 10th cent. wrote a history of Nuba, this union of tribes had ceased, and the tribes once again appear in separate groups. Among these the ruler of the Belaw, whose seat was at Suakin, deserves mention. The Belawi principality lasted until the end of the 17th cent., when a family of Dajifil, favoured by the Funj, seized the command of the country. Nevertheless the Belaw have continued to constitute a kind of aristocracy down to the present day.

A long time before the historian 'Abd-Allah ibn Ahmad ibn-Uswan, a great internal revolution had taken place among the Beja. The place of the Sanafit tribe in the hegemony of the race has been taken by the Hadjare tribe, to whom ancient Arab writers assign as their territory the Beja country from the Egyptian border as far as Askalay, Aishab, and beyond. It is worthy of note that even today the Abyssinians call both the language and the tribe of the Beja Hadjare.

Even in ancient times the Beja must have crossed the Nile, settling nuclei of populations on the left of the river. Among the most important of those derived from them are the Beni Kathil or Kawaisha, who, however, in their various inter-crossings have ended by adopting the language and customs of the Sudanic Arabs, although they do not consider themselves to be Arabs. Their principal groups are on the Habab and the Dinder, but some are also found on the Athara, on the Blue Nile, and at el-Ashesh on the White Nile. Important portions passed into Kordofan, where for a long time they remained mingled with the Kababish. In fact, the Atawia sections of the Kababish, the Wayla sections of the Hamar, and the Tuwaimat sections of the Aulaik Bika Jawama's still belong to them; a Kawaisha colony has even settled at Werna in the mountains of southern Kordofan.

The principal divisions of the Beja now are: (1) the Abahab, between the Nile and the Red Sea to the south of Wad Hamasa up to the tropic; (2) the Nubia, to the south of Wad Hamasa, last towards the territory of Suakin; (3) the Hadamawa, between Suakin and Rasasa; (4) the Habasa, in the territory of Rasasa; (5) the Beni Amur, who consist of number of the Beja mixed with others of Abyssinian origin, in the valley of the Barks.

The Beja have a language of their own, which was formerly studied by Munzinger, and afterwards more perfectly by Almquist and Renich.
The Beja were always essentially nomads and a pastoral people. Among them devoted themselves to agriculture; many were camel-drivers. They never had any high degree of civilization, although the Kita' ah-Fashar ascribes a special alphabet to the Beja. The Beja adopted the religion of the Ethiopians or of the distant Berbers. In regard to religion, according to Arab authors, paganism seems to have been dominant for a long time among the tribes further removed from Egypt. Mas'ud says that in his day they still venerated an idol. The Beja were friendly to the Egyptians and in the time of the southern kingdom, when that nation was at its height of glory, the Beja were bound to the Egyptians by ties of friendship and marriage. In the 18th century, the Beja were still venerated by the Egyptians, who held them in high esteem.

2. The Agaos. The Agaos, whose famous mountainous and desertous districts are, as a matter of fact, described by Ethiopian geographers, are, the so-called Solomonic dynasty, because it claims as its founder Menilek, the son of the queen of Sheba and king Solomon; and the present kings of Abyssinia are the descendants of this family. The change of dynasty gave rise to a new movement of the Agaos peoples towards the north, and the Aksumites were not able to check it. The Agaos are the chief representatives of this fresh migration, and in course of time they adopted the Tigrinya language. The Solomonic dynasty extended its conquests over the Agaos on the west and south-west, who up till then had remained independent: at the beginning of the 18th century, Damot was conquered; about a century after, Wagari was firmly established in the country. The Agaos were definitively taken possession of, and in the 17th century, Agamo was annexed. Semi is a formidable mountain region, offered a fierce resistance to the Agao element, but the Agao element was driven out of the country.

Little is known of the ancient Agao religion. Their chief god was the sky (Debhan or Dar). Under him were many gods—some malignant, like the sar, and some beneficent. The latter dwelt in springs, trees, and mountains, and were there venerated.

To-day, Agao paganism is not longer proscribed, and the Agaos are either Christians, Jews, or Khamantas. Of the Agao Christians, it is not necessary to speak; but it seems certain that many usage of the Christians of Abyssinia, and even the style of their subterranean churches,
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have been inherited from the ancient pre-Christian religion. The Jews of Abyssinia are Agoss by race, and are only the remnants. The church is very uncertain. At first it was held that they were connected with colonies of Jews of southern Arabia, whom the kings of Aksum were supposed to have forcibly introduced into Africa to enslave the conquered ethiopians of Yemen (6th cent. A.D.), and to have settled in exile on the mountains of Semien. Now the hypothesis seems to be preferred that Judaism came into Abyssinia by land from Egypt. The Falashas do not know Hebrew, and they have not the Targum; they have adopted the Bible of the Coptic Church, and use their alphabet, their literary language, and almost all their books. But, although without originality, they have shown an indomitable attachment to their religion. Cf. ABYSSINIA, AGASS.

3. The peoples conventionally called Sidama represent a great mixture of differing ethnic elements; and this explains the immense variety of classification met with among travelers, according to the prevalence of this or that physical characteristic. It may be, however, that a better knowledge of the anthropological elements and of the languages of these populations will bring about a modification of the classification which is at present accepted by scientists.

The Sidamas, and a called Sidama seems originally to have embraced the southern part of Abyssinia, properly so called (at least the western province of Gisho), and to have extended southwards to within 200 miles of the great equatorial lakes; to the east it extended towards the Webb; on the west it occupied the high valleys of the rivers Sobat and Dassanech and the other affluents of the White Nile; to the north-west it crossed the Blue Nile (which separated it for a considerable part of its course from Gojam and Chara), and to the east the Dassanech, or the Semite, with whom, for the most part, we know nothing. The Abyssinians—Semites or 'semiitized'—early established themselves in the regions to the north, and absorbed the local tribes; the Gurgul, who speak very corrupt Semitic dialects, seem to be descendants of a north Abyssinian military colony, which had been placed in the territories of the kingdom, and which in the course of centuries had become amalgamated with the peoples of the country. These new Semitic tribes were so savaged to extend their territory still further south by conquests and raids; but the forming of Sidama States, whose chief sought a defence in Islamism, kept them back, or at least hindered the populations of the valley of the river Omo from being absorbed. Towards the middle of the 16th cent. the Galla tribes, dwelling to the east of the so-called Sidama, began their migrations and invasions, which were, for Ethiopia, more violent, and had more lasting consequences, than the barbarian invasions of Europe in the eastern part, all the north and north-west of the Sidama territory, became Galla territory; to the Sidama little more remained than the valley of the Omo.

Today, as far as is known, ethnologically speaking, into four principal groups: (1) Kaffa; (2) the ancient kingdom of Garto on the south and southeast; (3) the mountains of May-Gudo; (4) Zenjero; (5) Kollor, Deero, or among the Shitro, negroid tribes to the south-west of the Kaffa. But the long isolation of these regions from Abyssinia has prevented great alterations in the adopted religion. Some results have been achieved by Catholic missions during the last fifty years. The recent Abyssinian conquest is destined to revive the condition of the Coptic Church there, unless Islamism gains the upper hand. Islamism had appeared among the Sidama of the Kaffa in the 14th cent., but for centuries it made no progress; it has, however, been making rapid advance during the last fifty years. The old paganism is losing ground. Two types of paganism appear to be recognized, the first is not at present possible to say if the second represents a derivation from the first. The first type is met with among the Kaffa and the Ometi (Genta, Gisho, Kollor, Sale, Uba, Goza, Malleo). The supreme deity is Hezcko, called also Desco or Deotah. Hezcko is invisible, but is incarnate in his priests and in the king of the Kaffa; those who are incarnate in Hecoco become Hecoco themselves. Among the Kaffa, the priests belong to the aristocratic class of the Gojong, whence also is derived the royal family. There are two high priests among the Kaffa, and over all one high priest residing formerly in Addio near the village of Golco, now in Coba. This high priest consecrates the newly elected king, and receives the annual tribute also from the Ometi, or inhabitants of the valley of the Omo, who are not politically dependent on the Kaffa. Worship is paid in a temple in a wood. The priests, falling in the kios of Church, announces to the faithful the will of the god. The priest is naturally also the sorcerer who cures sicknesses, delivers from the evil eye, etc. Under Hezcko there are totelary genii of different places, who live in springs, rivers, crossroads, and great trees. The priests may not eat the flesh of the ox. All the women are prohited, because unclean, the flesh of the horse, ass, mule, wild boar, hippopotamus, and monkey; men abstain from eating cabbages, and women from eating liquor. Their beliefs are, that the other world seem to have been largely influenced by Christianity; but at the same time it is still possible to discern in their various rites and ceremonies the remains of primitive beliefs.---that death is succeeded by a life like the present. Thus, when a king died, his servants brought him his customary food every day, and it is still said (but this is not certain) that at the time of his burial a slave was killed, in order that he might continue to serve his sovereign. Among the Zenjero, religion had a specially ferocious and brutal character. The supreme god seems to be the sun; further, the Zenjero alone among all the peoples of Ethiopia have (or had) an idol of iron readily formed, which, they say, fall from heaven. They venerate numerous genii in the mountains, rivers, and rocks. The king was supposed to be an incarnation of the supreme solar divinity, and was the chief of the priests and sorcerers of his realm. It was his duty to deal the first blow to the human victims who, at the beginning of ten out of the twelve months of the year, were immolated on the summit of Mount Bor-Budda; these victims were chosen from twenty-two families of the country. Other human sacrifices were offered.

Out of every ten strangers who crossed the frontiers of the kingdom, one had to be sacrificed to the divinity. Naturally, the Abyssinian conquest, which took place in the year 1897, put an end to these practices. According to Boroffi, the chief divisions of the Sidama, based on their languages and on their political status, and the Abyssian conquest, are the following: (1) Kaffa; (2) the ancient kingdom of Garto on the south and southeast; (3) the mountains of May-Gudo; (4) Zenjero; (5) Kollor, Deero, or
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Northwards, where they gave rise to the Saho tribes.

It is possible to-day to recognize five Saho groups: (1) the Minifere, who dwell between the Benin and Assail river, and seem to have been placed to guard the country against Saho-Afar invasions; (2) the Haui, dwelling between the river Bagall and Assail, and the Eruwa and the Sozali; (3) the Hares, between the river Bagali and Kudali, and their allies, the Hares, who wander with their herds through the valleys of the Hadda, the Alabeket, the Sochek, on the south-eastern deserts; (4) the Hansa, at Saibar; (5) the Asa, in the district between the maritime region of the Adulis (Zulii) and the Abyssinian highlands, to the south of the Tewa, in the north of the Minifere; (6) the Debarka, two very small tribes dwelling in the region of the Mareeba south of the coast of the Benin; and (7) the Iru, on the north-west coast of Abyssinia.

But besides these tribes, who speak the Saho tongues, which is closely allied to the Afar language, the Saho gave rise to a few other branches, who, mixing in course of time with local peoples of other races, adopted their customs and language entirely. The Dongass, who speak the Kasa and Kasa, who are the former dwelling to the north of the river Labi, and the latter on the lower course of the river Azora, are the Kaffa, or Kaffa, of the same stock as the Debarka. The Saho language is known chiefly through the studies of Reinsch.

(5) The Somali, or their direct progenitors, as has been said, were in ancient times known as the Afar, or the Afar. They, however, are called Arab geographers of the Middle Ages. The name Soma appears for the first time in the documents of the Arab geographers. The most ancient sources show the Somali maritime region as being defined to the west by the Soma Assar (Nevis) (Gulf of Tadjur), and to the east by the coast of Tabo ( fuera); the former dwelling to the north of the river Labi, and the latter in the south of the river Azora, are the Kaffa, or Kaffa, of the same stock as the Debarka. The Somali were called the Masa (Hafun), and the masts of the Azania and the Zenj of Arab writers. But the Somali broke forth from these confines towards the south, crushing and absorbing the tribes, until they became the great tribes of the Somali races. This movement seems to have become more intense when the Somali passed over to Islam. It is said that towards the 14th century the Cushitic tribe Hawla, called that of the Ajura, succeeded in becoming masters of the territory between the two courses of the Webi and the Russ; in that century the Cushitic tribe Hawla, or Hawla, of the Cushitic language, which is the same as the Cushitic language of the Cushitic tribes of the south, had occupied the whole of the Cushitic territory.
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of numerous publications. The most important are those of
Diodorus Siculus; the most important of the works of E. de Lassus;
Gyptus de Manicou, Schleicher, Jahn, etc.

(c) The Gallis seem to have dwelt in ancient
times to the S.E. of the river Well. Unknown
reasons caused their formidable invasions of the
Sidama countries and of Abyssinia in the middle
of the 16th century. They were at that time
heterodox; they were ignorant of the use of
metals, so much so, that, according to tradition,
they made use of the horns of cattle for swords;
they did not possess the horse, although in the
course of time they became the best horsemen of
Ethiopia. Having scattered or subjugated all the
Sidama people of the north-east and north, they
succeeded in pushing themselves into the western
districts, and even settled between the higher
courses of the Baro and the Didesse. They also
planted themselves in Abyssinia proper, not only
in the southern districts of the Shoa, but also to
the north of the river Jimma as far as Lake Hayk
and the frontiers of the province of Angot.

Enraged by the success of the Gallis, they founded military colonies here and there, of
which that of Metéa in Gojam is important.

Thanks to the beauty and fruitfulness of their
lands, in the 18th century, they attained the highest
political influence in the kingdom. One of their
women practically governed the State towards
the middle of that century, and some of their women
acquired the throne. To a less degree the Gallis
also spread towards the south; their extreme
limits are met at a distance of a few days’
journey from Lake Rudolf, and the influence of
their speech may be traced in the language of the
Pokomo, south of the equator and to the north-
west of Lamo. By reason of all these movements
from place to place, and through the inevitable
crossings with the populations already existing in
the lands newly occupied, the Gallis ethnical type
was profoundly altered. While, on the one hand,
some of their tribes do not differ in appearance
from the true Abyssinians, others, on the con-
trary, have all, or almost all, the characteristics
of negro populations.

The changes in their social and family habits
are equally profound. Thus, formerly they had
no tribal heads, but nominated a kind of leader
called *lakht*, who remained at his post seven years.

Later on, wars and contact with peoples living
under a monarchy brought about the develop-
ment of the principle of monarchical power, or at least
placed that of a republic on more solid foundations.

About the second half of the 18th and the begin-
nings of the 19th cent. there grew up in the regions
to the south-west of the Shoa (Ghurers, Jimma, etc.,
little Gallis monarchies, having characteristics of
their own.

The Gallis call themselves by the national name
Imorma, or 'sons of Orma,' whence the name
Oromo or Oroma, under which they are also known.

Their chief division is into Baraituma and Boran.

The most important Baraituma tribes are the Karaya, Wollo, Obo, Marsaw, Waramo, Itu, Ablata, and Warasula; the
most important of the Boran are the Metéa, Hooco, Obo,
Gedil, Lahan, Illu, Soodo, Qasho, Yaluma, Badagda, alamun,
Laga, etc. From a geographical point of view we may
mention the Boran, who occupy a vast extent of territory, the
southern part of the Gallis country, between the region of Lake
Stefan and the river Juba; the Karaya to the north of the
precinct between the Somali of Ogaden and the Sidama; the
Aka to the south of Harar; the Itu, Itu-Chicheroo, Ghersa,
Metéa, and Warasula, between the Shoa and the Harar; the
Ablata, the Gombita, and the Gacka to the west of Askoba;
the Gedil, the Lahan, the Soodo, the Shoa, and the Juba; the
Keku, the Illu, the Soodo along the upper course of the
Aka; the Hora, the Hora, the Jula, the Shoa, the Didesse, and the
Juma; the Juma, the Karaya, the Shoa, the Didesse, and the
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6. The Knumas appear to be the remains of a people variously named (Bazah, Hame), which extended to the southernmost outposts of the Egyptian highlands (Dembelo) as far as the river Atbara at Metemma in the territory of Fayoum, almost as far as the Blue Nile. Other isolated pockets of this race have been found in Eretria and Arabia. Somewhat recent events have brought about their almost entire destruction in the countries bordering upon Abyssinia; the more distant tribes are gradually undergoing change by contact with other peoples. Chiefly of Knuma origin are the Alphens, who speak the Tigrè language, between the Baria and Kasaal territories; and perhaps of the same origin are the Dalbana, a tribe in the Atbara territory which many assert to be Arabian. The Knumas are almost all collected in the middle valley of Gazal and in part of the valley of Tak-kazé, which together form the south-west part of Eretria. They are divided into many small tribes: Torma, Logoda, Osseli, Goma, etc.; Tolu, Amoula, Calun, Foda, Belema, Elit, Elime, Selel, Logodat, Taywa, Gotta, Alumhu, Ghega, etc. They are at a very rudimentary stage of civilization, although they are tolerably perfect in agriculture. Their customs and laws are very democratic, and are based upon universal equality. They are, for the most part, ruled by the advice of their elders, and they hardly recognize any effective authority of chiefs. They have no idols. Their god is called Anna. Religious offices are handed down from father to son in certain families, as those of the Aula Mannas, who have the duty of causing rain at suitable seasons; the Aula Mannas, who keep the locusts at a distance from the Knumas country; and the Parda Mannas, who announce the time for beginning the ingathering of the grain, indiarubber, and honey. The first two offices carry with them the pain of death if the charms turn out ineffective. But the religious practices of the Knumas consist in manifestations of a gross superstition rather than in the worship of Anna. The Knuma language, which differs much from the Baria tongue, has been described by Reimisch.

**HANBAL.**—See Ibn Hanbal.

**HAND.**—I. Introduction.—The hand, as that member of the body which is used more than any other for all actions, whether ordinary, magical, or religious, became naturally a symbol of power. The hand of a certain being means the power exerted by him. Thus, to take a few instances at random, in Semitism usage an attack by a ghost on a human being is called 'the hand of the ghost.'

In the Scottish Highlands, invocation of 'the hand of your father and grandfather' means invocation of their power, etc., in Biblical usage, a passage into general speech, 'the hand' is a common phrase for power, God's or man's (Ex 25:4); and it occurs in innumerable connections. Similarly the phrase 'God's hand' in the Qur'an means His power, though the Wahhabis interpret it literally. In Christian art down to the 12th cent. a hand issuing from the clouds is regularly only in the gesture of benediction, or with rays proceeding from it—it is a symbol of God the Father. But already in ancient Egypt (the Book of the Dead) a hand comes from the clouds holding a number of human figures (souls), even in a late Greek fresco.

As a rule, the right hand is considered of more importance than the left; and it is usually mentioned before it in ceremonies affecting both hands, probably because it is used for many more purposes than the left, which is therefore more awkward. Hence many symbolic scenes begin with the left hand strictly for the lower purposes of life. In South Africa a man must not touch his wife in bed with his right hand, else he will have no strength in war.

Many Arabs will not allow the left hand to touch food, because it is used for unclean purposes, the right for all honourable purposes. In many magical rites there is a preference for the right hand, because it is more powerful; but not infrequently the unlucky left hand is used, perhaps with a view to increasing the sinister force of the magical action. In religious actions the right hand is the more important. Thus the Egyptians anointed the statues of the gods with the little finger of the right hand. But it has been generally used by most peoples in salutations, blessings, lay-

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2 J. G. Campbell, _Mythologies of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland_, Glasgow, 1909, p. 130.
3 Hughes, _p. 121._
4 See J. P. M. Moseley, _Ethiopia_ (Eng. trans.), London, 1888, i. 97.
6 _Ibid._, i. 85.
8 J. M. Macnaul, _J.A. Egypt.,_ 1881, 140.
9 E. W. Lane, _Modern Egypt.,_ London, 1846, i. 103, ii. 15.
10 _Ibid._, ii. 282-286, pp. 102, 119, and passages; _Pliny, N.H. xiv._ 11 (Gauls).
ing on of hands, etc. (cf. Gn 48:4). In divination the Greeks regarded the right as the lucky hand, but the Romans mainly thought the left to be so. But with them the east was the favourable side, and, as the seat of government, they had the east on the left hand. 3 They did, however, frequently regard left as unlucky, as is obvious from the fact that the common people were saluted with a kiss or otherwise; hence, perhaps, it was called salutaris digitus. 4 The touching of a fetish with the forefinger by a chief is found among some African tribes. 5 Jews touch the sword with the forefinger on entering the house or leaving it. In the ritual of the Church various rites are performed with the thumb—e.g. anointing and signing with the Cross in baptism. In later Jewish belief each of the fingers of God's right hand has a special function. 6 For the universal use of the hand, especially the right hand, in ordeal of water or fire, see ORDINAL.

The custom of wearing jewels on the hand (e.g. in rings), though now mainly decorative, probably arose out of magical reasons. The jewels were amulets by which the hand was protected. Occasionally, amulets are bound about the hand or wrist. 7 For similar reasons, or in order to sanctify the hands of certain persons, these were sometimes anointed. This ceremony is found in early Celtic ordinals—bishops, priests, and sometimes deacons. Having their hands thus consecrated, they are still continued in the Roman Catholic Church. 8 Where tatooing is practised, the hands are sometimes tattooed; and this, while it may have some other purpose now, doubtless was once regarded as a magical protective.

Tattooing the hands with special marks is practised by the Melanesians 9 and by modern Egyptian women, both Muslims and Christians, the latter using the cross symbol. 10 These marks often have a religious significance (cf. Ps 110:1), e.g. 'To take one's life in one's hand' is suggested by the carrying of something precious through dangers; it is a common occurrence in the Hâlds (cf. Ps 116:9, 118:6). 12

2. The sacredness of the hand in itself or for particular purposes is shown in various ways. The sacred book is kept in a sacred box, and it is pointed out that each part (fârka) of the hand is sacred: e.g., the root of the thumb is sacred to Bârâthâ, that of the little figure to Krâs (or to Fârâsâ], the tips of the fingers to gods, and the part between the thumb and the index to the Fôrî; and directions are given regarding the ritual slapping of water from the hand to a person in modern Hindustan the various parts of the hand are sacred to different forms of Viyân, and in the Kâra-sûyta ceremony homagie is offered to the thumbs, fingers, palms, and backs of hands. The parts of the body sacred to other gods are touched with the sacred fingers—an act gratifying to the deities. 13

The Tenth had similar ideas, for the space between the thumb and forefinger was called Wôdenapans, while the thumb was sacred. 14 The index finger was used by the Romans and other peoples as that by which the cup was clutched (cf. Ps 116:9). 15 The preference for the right hand is perhaps connected with the apparent connection of the sun from east to west, and the consequent idea that a sunwise course, keeping the object always on the right hand, is of good omen and the opposite is evil. 16

It still remains to be discovered why, among all races, savage and civilized, the right hand is generally used. Left-handedness occurs sporadically (as 3-5%) in the German army, and some people are ambidextrous. Some races run from right to left, or from each side alternately. There is no obvious physiological or psychological reason for the preference, and in fact most young children in this right-hand nation train right-handedness.

Since the hand signifies power, gods and heroes are frequently represented with several arms. This is most common in Hindu mythology and religious art; it is also found among the ancient Persians; and, though the Greeks were too artistic to make much use of it, a deformity, traces of it exist on Great Seal. A Lacedaemonian Apollo has four hands, Ares has had a hundred arms. 17 Two-armed gods. Two-handed gods do not share this deformity, but it is often attributed to giants and heroes. The crescent hand is probably also regarded as a symbol of strength (cf. Rev 16:8; 21:19). Conversely, singleness, one-handedness, in Greek and Roman mythology, indicates weakness. 18

The idea of the power of the hand is perhaps also shown in various myths of birth from the hand, etc. Poseidon was called Nûsà, as if standing on his hands. A reading of the hand is also in Lysippus. 19 In the Leporello, women who wished to become fruitful would consult the hand of the person from whose hands they were parted, and in Quiché and Amazones myth or Mêheren spitting into a woman's hand causes conception. 20

In the allusion of all hands, metaphors sometimes drawn from the gestures accompanying the actions thus described are in common use. For example, 'a man's hand is on a matter'; 'be not your hand on the sword'; 'the hand of peace' (cf. Ps 110:1); 'to say with a hand', etc. (cf. Ps 116:9). 21

The secretions, dermato-sudoriferous, gustation, motility, sensory, etc. (see CIRCULATION); and, on the whole subject, O. Földi, Das Gesichtsblästchen in der Fütterungspalästhesie, Leipzig, 1905, p. 278; J. J. Breuer, De angustioribus, Heidelberg, 1851, P. 178; Deutsche Gesichts- und Håndblästchen, Vienna, 1887, P. 178. 22

The secretions, sensory, motor, etc. (see CIRCULATION); and, on the whole subject, O. Földi, Das Gesichtsblästchen in der Fütterungspalästhesie, Leipzig, 1905, p. 278; J. J. Breuer, De angustioribus, Heidelberg, 1851, P. 178; Deutsche Gesichts- und Håndblästchen, Vienna, 1887, P. 178. 22

3. Laying on of hands. — As the hand is the principal organ of touch, contact with it is often regarded as an important means of transmitting the qualities or powers inherent in the person who

3. T. B. L. Webster, Phallicism among the Todas, London, 1870, p. 48; R. C. Thompson, 184.
6. R. C. Thompson, 184.
8. R. C. Thompson, 184.
HAND

stitches another, just as the mere lifting up of the hand over a person in blessing causes a rapport, even without actual contact. The well-known emotional or psychic states often produced by touching, doubtless suggested the value of this more ritual use.

Conversely, it is through the hand that contact with sacred objects is often achieved. In ancient Arabia on entering or leaving the house the domestic goddess with the hand,

ingers both hands. Similarly sacred stones, etc., were stroked with the hand, sometimes previously dipped in blood or oil (cf. the primitive meaning of 'anoint,' 'touch, v.lf., v.s. 'to anoint with the hands'). Supplicants touch or stroke the beard or garment of a superior, and at the procession of the Magian, the crowd press forward to touch it with their hands. 9

The hand is usually laid upon the head, because it is the noblest part of man, and because, as a possible spirit entry, power of a spiritual or magical kind would pass into it from the hand (see HEAD). Some examples from the lower culture may be given first. In Melanesia, where man believed to possess more or less mana, one who possessed much of it would sometimes lay his hand on a boy's head to transmit some of it to him. 10 In Siam the priest laid his hand on and stroked the painful part of a patient's body, and recovery was supposed to follow. 11 Touching for the cure of sickness is also used by the Dayaks. 12 At the election to a high position in Uganda the hand was put on to the head of the 'Keeper of the Princess' at once becomesth king. 13 Toucging now to the higher races: among the Hindus, at the initiation of a Brâman, his union with his teacher is identified with a marriage, and is symbolized by the teacher's hand being placed on the boy's shoulder. 14 In Babylonia, healing or exorcizing was effected by laying the hand on the head of the sick man. 15 In Egypt the blessing of those going to the temple was conveyed to a newly crowned king by their laying their hands on him, thus conferring the gift of a long life and a glorious reign. This is often depicted on the monuments. 16 What was probably a usual practice in healing is also reflected in the myth of Isis, who laid her hands on a dead child and uttered spells, so that he lived. 17 Teutonic legend and myth speak of the king laying his hand on the heads of the people, and in a similar fashion the 'stone hand' was laid upon the heads of the pharaohs. 18 Among the Arabs a holy person conveys a blessing by the touch of his hand, and healing certain sicknesses is also performed in the same way by the shait. 19 In Tibet the Grand Lama at the ceremony of reception imparts his powers to people of high rank by laying his hands on their heads; inferior laymen have a cloth interposed between his hand and their heads; the lower classes are touched by a tassel which he holds in his hand. 20 Among the Hebrews the custom of laying on of hands had various purposes. In the case of the scapegoat the hands of the priest were laid on it in order to transfer to it the guilt of sin (Lv 16:22). The same rite was used with other sacrificial victims, and here the intention probably was to identify the offerer with the victim by physical contact (Ex 29:9; Lv 1:3; 4:26; Nu 18:19). A similar custom belonged to the Egyptians. 21 The same idea of identifying is seen in the laying on of hands. The hands of the congregation upon the Levites (Nu 8:21). It is also the act accompanying words of blessing (Ge 48:14), and it is used to transmit an office or to ordain. Moses thus ordains Joshua, and puts some of his honour upon him (Nu 27:18-20) and he is full of the spirit of wisdom because of this rite (Dt 34:9). This rite of ordination (πρωτεύειν) was also used at the appointment of members of the Sanhedrin, but was discontinued, perhaps because it had become a Christian usage. 22 Laying on of hands for the purpose of healing was probably also in use, as it is 7 M.'s 'lay thy hands on her;' 'they beseech him to lay his hand upon him;' and Ac 9:17 (Ananias lays his hands on the blind Saul) suggests. The waving of the prophet's hands over the affected place was expected by Nathanael (2 K 13). The practice was used by Christ (Mk 6:5; Lk 4:25) and the Apostles and others (Ac 9:18; 19:6, cf. Mk 16:18) in healing.

The expression 'fill their hand' in reference to consecration to the priesthood (Ex 28:19) has received various interpretations, but it is probably metaphorical, identifying installation in office (cf. Ez 24:2; and a similar Assyrian phrase, kuša maštu, 'to fill the hand,' to install into office). 23 Used by Christ in benediction (Mk 10:18; cf. Lk 24:47 'lifted up his hands, and blessed them'); the laying on of hands for purposes of blessing has always been continued in the Christian Church, though the hands are now not touched, the benediction of a number of persons (6:12). But for two other important rites the laying on of hands is used—confirmation, and ordination. After baptism and prayer for the reception of the Holy Spirit, the Apostles lay their hands upon the baptized, who then receive the Holy Ghost—a spiritual union—and also speak with tongues and prophecy. This, the rite of Confirmation, is probably the 'laying on of hands' referred to in Ac 8:17. It became a part of Christian initiation; but, being connected with anointing, its place tended to be taken by the latter in some Churches (on this see CONFIRMATION). In the Church was the Anointing the laying on of hands is retained, and there is no anointing. Here also, as in the Roman Catholic Church, the bishop administers Confirmation. In the Eastern Churches it is often delegated to a priest, the oil being consecrated by the bishop. In the early Roman baptismal ritual the exorcism which preceded the ceremony was accompanied by laying on of hands by the exorcist and then by the priest on successive days. 24 The special grace (χρησιμοσύνη) in ordination was also conferred by laying of hands (Ac 8:19 [the seven deacons], 1 Ti 4:14 [the ἀσιτάς], 2 Ti 1:6). Similarly St. Paul and St. Barnabas are 'separated' to their office by laying on of hands (Ac 13:3). This practice became, therefore, a necessary part of the rite in all branches of the Church. At the consecration of bishops, bishops alone may lay on their hands, who must be not fewer than three in number—a rule dating from at least the 4th cent. —save where the Pope consents, though consecration by one bishop has occasionally been allowed. At the ordination of priests, the bishop lays on his hands, with the priests present. According to the Syr. Didasc., iv., a priest lays on hands, but does not ordain (οἰκονομέω, νλ χρησιμοσύνη). The bishop alone performs the rite of ordaining deacons. The imposition constitutes the matter of the sacrament of Ordination, but since the 9th cent. the Roman Church has added the tridacres (or tridacrices) instrumentum. 25 Laying on of hands is also used in benedictions, visitation of the sick, absolution.
and, in earlier times and in the Eastern Church still, at the unction in baptism.

4. The hand in healing rites.—Some of the instances in the preceding section have shown that the touch or stroke of the hand is an important factor in the healing of disease. Laying on the hand, touching, stroking, rubbing, and massage are the chief features in some of the oldest and most primitive forms of medicine (see DISEASE AND MEDICINE). The power of the hand is wide-spread in European folk-belief, but it is only certain persons who are thus gifted—e.g. a seventh son or the seventh son of a seventh son. But—doubtless as a result of the power ascribed to medicine-men and priests, or to chiefs and kings, who often had powerful magic—monarchs or petty sovereigns, even within recent times, have been thought to possess healing in the touch of their hand (see FAITH-HEALING, KING’S EVIL).

5. The hand in magic.—(a) The hand, as the chief member of the body used in magical rites, is of great importance. It is with which powerful amulets or wonder-working objects are held. Thus a Bab. spell runs:

‘The circle of EA is in my hand,
The tamarisk, the powerful weapon of Anu,
In my hand I hold.
The date-fruit, mighty in decision,
In my hand I hold’

By the touch of a sorcerer or witch, even by pointing the hand or finger, much harm can be done through contact real or imaginary, as, for example, by the touch or pointing of one who wishes well or who is lucky works good. ‘After me may a lucky finger be pointed,’ are words occurring in another Bab. spell. Hence certain gestures of the hand or fingers are all-important in magic, whether for good or evil purposes, and perhaps this is reflected in the story of Moses’ uplifted hands at the battle with Amalek (Ex 17: 9). The wave or the lifting up of the magician’s hand can effect wonders. The uttering of spells is accompanied by various twisting of the fingers. Clapping the hands may raise or stop storms; uncovering them causes it to be resumed. Or, again, articles with which magical rites are performed or divination is exercised must be held only by certain fingers. But it is mainly as a protective against the evil eye that the hand (or certain gestures made by it) is important. Of these the most common is the mano corvina, in which the index and little fingers are extended to imitate horns, the others being bent over and clasped by the thumb. The hand is usually pointed towards the person who is feared. This gesture is both ancient and widespread in its use. It is represented in early Christian art as a gesture of the hand symbolizing the Deity. This figure thus combines the power of the hand with the magical virtues attributed to horns (q.v.). The hand clenched, with the thumb pointing downwards between the first and second fingers, the mano sec, is another common gesture against the evil eye, as also of contempt or insult. It is not improbably a phallic gesture, the phallic being a powerful amulet against the evil eye (See EVIL EYES). (b) A hand, usually with fingers extended, is often found on houses, temples, and buildings of all kinds, especially on or above the door, to avert the entrance of other witchcraft, or to prevent the entrance of malicious beings. It is painted, or the impression of a hand dipped in blood is made on the surface. The range of this custom is very wide; it is found in ancient Babylon, Phoenicia, Egypt, Assyria, and India, and is practised in the East by Jews and Muslims, while it is also found in Italy (see DOOR, vol. iv. p. 850 and ref. thereof). The ancient Hebrews set up memorials apparently bearing the hand (1 S 15: 18, Is 69 RV). Probably they bore the impress of a hand, as did Phoenician votive steles, dedicated to Tannit and Baalat, and the purpose of the hand may have been apotropaic. The hand also occurs on some articles of dress. Thus it is figured on the robe of a Mandan chief, and a red hand was also the hand badge at the sacred dances among the Dakotas, Winnebagoes, etc.

For the same reason hand-shaped amulets, representing a variety of gestures, or holding some other protective, or covered with symbols, are in wide use against the power of the evil eye. They were probably worn in pre-historic times, and they are known to have been used by the Phoenicians, Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans, and in ancient Crete, as they are now in India, Austria, Italy, Spain, Portugal, etc.

(c) The hands of the dead have also great importance in magic. There was a well-known custom of cutting off the hands, or right hand, or fingers of slain enemies and bringing them home as trophies. This was done by the Egyptians 5, the Hebrews (2 S 4: 4, 2 Mac 15: 2), and the Teutons 6, and was also very common among the American Indians. 7 The right hands of living prisoners 8 or their thumbs (Jg 1: 3) were also cut off, the object being to spoil their prowess for ever. In the case of the dead the body there may have been a similar idea of maiming their ghosts, since, where mutilation is a punishment, it is sometimes dreaded for its effects in the other-world. At the same time, as a victimization of the well-known belief that the part influences the whole, or that any part of the human body gives the possessor of it power over the spirit, the mutilation may also have served this purpose, as in the case of cutting off the head (see HEAD). This would account for the fact that the American Indians held a dance round the trophies, and it is suggested by the fact that the Khonds hung up hands of enemies on trees in the villages. 9 But it is also seen more explicitly in the custom of wearing the hands or fingers as medicine among the American Indians. 10 The same practice might be used in the case of any dead person, especially a relative or friend, for some specific purpose, the power of the dead still acting through the relic. Thus in West Africa a common component of the fetish-bag is a human hand; or finger nails or clippings are carefully preserved in memory of dead relatives, and are thought to be very efficacious. 11 The preservation of fingers and nails as relics is found in New Caledonia and other parts of Melanesia. 12 In Mexico a common amulet favoured by warriors was the middle finger of the left hand of a woman dying in childbirth. (Such women had the same

3 J. G. Muller, Amer. Anthropology, Basel, 1880, p. 42.
5 Grinnell, L. 350.
6 Wright, L. 260, 261.
7 Grinnell, L. 350.
9 L. 174.
10 Macnab, Report on the Khonds, Calcutta, 1843, p. 87.
future abode as warriors.) The dead hand as a healing charm is also referred to by Pilley. Middle Eastern women in Egypt wore the dried finger of a saint or Christian as a charm against evil spirits. In European folk-custom similar usages are found. In Italy three joints of the ring-finger of an assassin are reduced to powder, mixed with a liquid, and sprinkled between a lover’s bowels; and in his sweetheart’s, in order to bring back her affections. In Ireland the hand of a dead man stolen from a churchyard gives the thief power to abstract butter from his neighbours as long as he keeps it in his house. The hand of an unbaptised infant disinterred in the name of the devil is also a powerful charm. The left hand of a male and the milk-pail causes the production of very rich cream. Both in Ireland and in Cornwall there was a belief that the touch of a dead hand healed certain maladies. In Germany the possession of the hand or thumb of a thief was believed to give its owner great magic power. A hanged man’s finger hung in the beer-cask caused the beer to sell fast. Witches were also commonly believed to make their magic salve or powder from the fingers of disinterred children. These modern survivals are patterned on the earlier animistic beliefs regarding the relics of the dead referred to above. An interesting aspect of them is found in the so-called ‘Hand of Glory’ or ‘Diebsherze’. In the Middle Ages the dried finger or thumb of a newly-born child, anointed with grease and ignited, was believed to make a thief invisible, and to cause a profound sleep to fall upon all in the house which he entered. The mere laying of such a finger on a table caused them to continue in sleep while the thief went on with his nefarious work. In the 17th century, thieves sometimes murdered pregnant women in order to obtain the unborn child’s finger. The hand or finger of a dead unbaptised child had a like efficacy. A similar superstition regarding the outcast leg and arm of a woman who had died in her first childhood in Mexico. The dried and pickled hand of a dead man, especially of a criminal, anointed with unguent and ignited, or placed in a candle made of human fat was placed, had similar magical powers; but, if any one remained awake in the house, the thumb could not be ignited. On this superstition a number of folk-tales have been founded. It should be observed, however, that other objects have the same properties and are so used among other peoples.

Where the dead are tied for magical purposes, their hands are supposed to strengthen those of the dead (Dayaka 12; Australians 13); and in New Zealand they were still used for this purpose. Among the Yersea, an Amazon tribe, the palms of the hands are a special delicacy.

(d) Magical omens are often drawn from the hands, especially from their testing, when the West Highlanders, if the right hand itches, money will be received; if the left, money will be given away. An itching right palm means blessing from a stranger, while an itching in the left hand signifies that one will receive a letter of money. In the north of Norway it was thought that, if the right hand itched, you would part with money; if the left, you would receive it. In Cairo it is thought that, if the right hand itches, money will come; but, if the left hand, ill-luck. Similarly the negroes of Jamaica believe that, if the right hand itches, you will get money; if the left, you will spend it. Other omens may be illustrated by the following examples.

It is a Jewish belief that any one who, on the right of Holohana Beach, in trying to read his fortunes from his shadow, does not see his right hand, will lose a son during the year. If he does not see his left hand, he will lose a daughter; if his finger, a friend. In China, if a child has fat hands, he will become fat and wealthy. In Norway, if a Ded jumps on the hand, the person will be sought by a good friend. Omen also come from the appearance of various animals on the right hand or on the left—the former being usually lucky, the latter unlucky.

(e) One form of ‘skrying’ or crystal-gazing, is to gaze into ink poured into the open palm (see art. CRYSTAL-GAZING, vol. iv. p. 365). The so-called science of chiromancy or palmistry, the reading of the past or future from the lines of the hands, has always found many credulous believers both in ancient and in modern times.

6. Gestures.—(c) As a means of communication or of emphasizing speech, gestures of the hand as well as the use of fingers or hands in betokening numbers have been universally employed; but perhaps nowhere has ‘sign language’ been more extensively used than among the American Indian tribes. Chiromancy was extensively used by both Greeks and Romans, and it is much practised in modern Italy. Many gestures, whether actually used or represented in art, are universally understood—hand or finger to mouth = silence; wringing the hands = grief; the clenched fist = anger; the hand to the face = sadness or grief. Hence it is natural that, where speech is directed to magical or religious purposes, in spell or prayer, it is usually accompanied by gestures, some of which tend to become conventional. Pointing with the finger is often held to be of magical efficacy, the power streaming, as it were, from operator to victim. This gesture is found among savages, magicians, and in later Tantrism. Hence it is in doctrine to point with the finger towards, e.g., the heavenly bodies or other worshipful objects, or at friends or superiors. Other magical uses of the hand have already been referred to.

6. In prayer or adoration no gesture is more common than the lifting up of the hands, which is usually open. It is the gesture of appeal, a kind of acted prayer. In Tonga, people put off a finger-joint to propitiate the gods, and, holding up their hands, confess that they have done wrong. The priest of the Congo, in speaking to a superior, stretch out their hands towards him, the attitude being precisely that of prayer. This was also the usual attitude of prayer in Egypt, represented so often on the monuments, and referred to in a text which says: ‘The hands of men and gods are lifted on high seeking for thee, even as those of a child (are stretched out) after his mother.’ Osiris is also


2. Grimm, 1187, 1894.


4. F. Winterpacht der Gegenwart, Berlin, 1890, p. 184; Grimm, 1873.

5. La Compadram Impare, La Monarquia Indias, Madrid, 1782, bk. xiv. ch. 27.


11. The dead are tied for magical purposes, their hands are supposed to strengthen those of the dead (Dayaka 12; Australians 13); and in New Zealand they were still used for this purpose. Among the Yersea, an Amazon tribe, the palms of the hands are a special delicacy.


14. W. C. Tipton, J. S. E. 1801; Liebesmuth, 282 f.


Both lifting and laying on of hands were and still are used in the Christian Church for individual and general benedictions, but in the latter the position of the fingers has been regarded as of some importance, and a symbolic interpretation has been given to it, while the blessing is always bestowed with the right hand. From comparatively early times in the Eastern Church the gesture has been that of the extended hand with the thumb joined or crossing the third finger, the other fingers open, or the second and fourth slightly bent. Among the mystic interpretations given, one is that the first and second fingers form the initial and final letters of Ιωάννης, and the thumb crossed on the third finger and the bent fourth finger form the initial and final letters of Χριστός. The Western form of benediction is, for a deacon or a priest, the extended hand; for bishops, the thumb and first and second fingers raised, the rester resting on the palm. This was at an earlier period the form used by priests also. The three upraised fingers signify the Trinity, the two closed fingers the two natures of Christ.

These positions of the hand are met with in early Christian art, and occasionally others are depicted—thumb and first finger or first and second fingers or four fingers raised. This gesture is made in all such benedictions. The Western gesture is the form taken by some pre-Christian amulets against the evil eye, and it is also one of commanding attention. In Buddhist worship, especially open, with fingers pointing upwards, signifies blessing.

The position of the fingers in signing oneself or any object with the sign of the cross is important and is mystically interpreted—five fingers outstretched signify the five senses of the Trinity, etc. At the Enchrissia the cross is symbolized by the elevation of the celebrant's hands.

(d) In taking an oath the position of the hand is of importance. It is placed upon some sacred object, the idea probably being that the power of the object will do harm to the person if he breaks the oath. This custom is found in Samoa (hand on sacred cup or stone), among the Hebrews (hand on generative organs, though here the oath partakes of a covenant [Gen. 24, cf. Gen. 43]), among modern Jews (hand on roll of Torah or on page with the Decalogue), and among Muhammadans (hand on Qur'an). Again, the hand is raised, as if calling the gods or God to witness the oath—a custom found among the Greeks, the Egyptians, the Hebrews (Gen. 41, Gen. 42; cf. Rev. 19, 1); hence 'to lift the hand' signifies 'to take an oath' (Ex. 6, Ps. 75, etc.), modern Jews, and generally in Christian usage, as in judicial oath-taking in Scotland. Shaking hands is sometimes used to confirm an oath or covenant, or as a pledge (e.g. 2 K. 10, Ex. 15, Ps. 9). To avoid the necessity of keeping an oath and to escape the consequences, certain gestures of the left hand or of the oath-taking right hand are used in folk-custom.

(e) The gestures or position of the hands in representations of divinities are often of importance, and reflect those already referred to. They hold various sacred objects, symbols, and the like. This is especially noticeable in early and later Christian representations or symbolic art, where our Lord or another Person of the Trinity holds His hand in the attitude and gesture of benediction. In Northern Buddhist art there are many recognized positions of the hands given to representations of Buddha and Buddhist saints, each with its appropriate name, e.g. the 'meditative posture'—one hand resting on the other, palms upwards; the
HAND

With unwashed hands was highly dangerous (these
being the openings by which a demon might enter).

1. Hand-shaking. — This is a general mode of salutation even among such low savages as the
Australians, now more, not less, ceremonious, and an obvious expression of sympathy by means
of contact. But it has also been a very common method of clinching a bargain, expressing a covertly,
and the like, each of the two persons thus giving himself over into the possession of the other
by contact, and so having a hold over him. This custom was prevalent among the Romans, Greeks,
Hebrews, and most other peoples of antiquity, as it is with most modern races. The hand is struck
into that of the other person, hence the phrase 'striking a bargain'; and in some usages, if this
hand-shaking does not take place after a bargain, the bargain is null. The hand-shaking is even
more effective when each puts into his hand before 'striking' or when, as among the Iberians, Goths,
and in the Highlands, the ball of the thumb is moistened and the parties press thumbs. Hence,
also, charity in kind is one of the most important parts of the ritual of marriage, not only
among Christian races, as set forth in the Church rituals, but also among many savage and barbaric
folk. It is also found in the Rigveda (x. 92. 30). The ceremony is at once a pledge and a symbol of the union which will later be consummated. In various religious or magical ceremonies, in
which several persons are engaged, they sometimes join hands, probably by way of giving
expression to the solidarity of the rite.

Washing of hands. — (a) The obvious effect of water in removing dirt from the body, as well as
the universal ideas regarding the sacredness of water or its being the seat of a spirit or divinity,
suggested other kinds of uncleanness—that of a tabu state, of guilt, and the like—might also be
removed by washing. And, as the hands were the main parts of the body by which uncleanness
threshold contact arose, were a possible entry to the body for demons (as in the Hindu belief re-
garding bâtás), whose ceremonial washing has everywhere had great importance. Indeed, with many peoples all washing of hands is more or less ceremonial.

Contact of the hands with any thing or person unclean or dangerous produces a tabu state, and no food must be touched with the hands while it lasts, because the uncleanness or con-
tamination passed over to the food, and so into the body. This is common in the lower cultures, e.g., in Polynesian; and it is illustrated by the proverb, 'I went to Hades to see his dead mother and would have touched her had she not forbid-
neil him saying that, if he did, the road to the upper world would be closed to him.'

Among the Greeks the danger of unwashed hands is illustrated by the story of Astylos, who, having
approached the altar of Zeus with unclean hands, was struck dead; while no one could go beyond the
warpârphâpous until he had washed his hands. The Romans had a similar belief, and no one with hands
stained with crime would touch sacred things. They must be washed first in a living stream. The
Jewish belief that to touch eye, nose, ear, etc.,

1 Waddell, 225; see also Grimm, 116 note.
3 Audley, 241, 267.
5 Notes, 124, M. Chambers, Book of Days, Edinburgh, 1865, i. 392; P.L.R. iv. (1818) 104.
6 Crawford, Myrtle Room, 373, 381; Coree, 'Of Sponsals popu-
lar.' Rev. des études ethnogr. et sociol., 1909; Lane, i. 211; cf. P.L. [1890] 435, 146.
7 Cf. Fraser, O.S.B., op. cit. v. 196, 198. On this subject see Tytler,
8 ibid. (1879), London, 1866, i. 138.
11 Verg. A. E. ii. 717; cf. Ovid, Fasti, ii. 65.

was held — that is the opening of the eyes of the priest. In the use of the hand, as the hand, besides the rest of the body in pure spring water is specially mentioned as a symbolic cere-
mony for lighting one of the power of evil spirits.

(b) Ceremonial washing of hands takes place before religious or magical acts. It is frequently
used before prayer, and this is best illustrated from Muhammadan usage. The Muslim must
wash his hands before prayer, the Qur'an: 'When ye prepare yourselves for prayer, wash your faces and hands up to the elbows' (v. 8. iv. 78). This washing is done three times—
first the right, then the left hand and arm. When washing the right hand, he says these words: — O
my God, on the day of judgment, place the book of my actions in my right hand, and examine my
account with favour'; and, while washing the left:

'Place not at the resurrection the book of my actions in my left hand.' The Jews are also care-
ful to wash their hands before prayer, the custom being deduced by the Rabbis from various passages
in the OT, where there is no direct reference to the custom. The Hindu usage at the Brâhmad-Puja
service may be noted. Although here there is rather an offering of water to the Pâtrîs, that they
may be refreshed and their hands washed. Water is taken in the right hand and poured on the ground
in the right hand: 'It was offered so as to pour over the side of the palm between the root of the thumb and forefinger, the 'father's space' (Pâtrîtrâka), and again so as to pour over the opposite side of the palm.

(c) Washing of the hands before sacrifice is also a very wide-spread practice. In Egypt the ritual
washing of the priests before offering sacrifices included the whole body, though stress was laid upon the
hands. Hence the name of the priests—ârâbôt, 'the washed,' or 'sâhîkhbôt,' the clean of both
hands.' In heaven the gods washed their hands in the laver before the door in heaven; and this act
was performed on their images. Similar customs prevailed in Babylonia, where the lord must wash
and be ritually pure before approaching the gods. Here also this was reflected back upon the gods,
who, as well as worshippers, must cleanse their hands before taking part in the sacrificial banquet.

In Greek and Roman sacrificial ritual the purity of the hands by washing in lustral water was in-
sisted on, and a vase of water for this purpose stood at the entrance of the temple. Among
the Hebrews the ritual law is quite explicit regarding the custom of washing hands before sacrificing (cf.
Ex 30:20-21). The ecclesiastical usage of ablutions of hands in the Christian Church before or during
the celebration of the Eucharist may also be referred to in this connexion. It is ordered in the early
liturgies and has remained a constant custom since.

(d) Before many rites of a magical kind the washing of hands is also customary. The custom of
the âµýkâdâmâ the midwives had to wash their hands before running round the fire with the infant.
Before touching seeds at planting, of women, the Lower Congo region must wash their hands lest
the crop be destroyed. Among the Romans, at the

1 J. Astrow, Aspects of Rel. Beliefs and Practices in Bab. and
Assy., New York, 1898, p. 300.
2 Lane, 1. 121; Hughes, D. I9, p. 3.
3 S.R.E 2: 31. 605; Midgley-Williams, 406, 418; see above, 6 a.
ii. 27.
5 Astrow, 125; Maspero, 302. For the ritual washing of the
hands of images, see Hall, P.B.S.A. xiv. 1001.
6 Ib. (1879), London, 1866, i. 131.
8 Verg. A. E. ii. 717; cf. Ovid, Fasti, ii. 65.
HANDICRAFT.—1. Definition.—The term 'handicraft' may be defined as the constructive adaptation by man to his needs of the material presented by the environment. It will thus include, on the one hand, the provision of implements, weapons, utensils, clothing, shelter, the preparation of food, and the like, but will exclude, on the other hand, activities such as those by which food and raw material are provided—gathering of fruits and roots, the processing of agriculture, hunting, fishing, etc.—as well as self-defence and war, and other activities in which, although manual dexterity and co-ordination of bodily powers are requisite, the result is either not material, or, if it is, is not produced by a structural or formal modification. A simple adaptation, such as the use of stones as missiles by apes or by men, will not come within this definition, while it is doubtful whether the psychological processes which underlie the operation of nest-building, even in the higher apes, or the sense of taste of the lower animals towards the activity of the orang which applied a piece of iron or other material as a lever and utilized straws of wire-setting, which it un twisted, as a saw to break out the tap root, (Jenyns, 4th Nov. 1912) may possibly be described as the psychological threshold of handicraft.

2. Implements of stone, bone, and shell.—The earliest undoubted examples of the products of man's technical skill are the stone implements of the Pleistocene period. Whether the implements known asoliths are actual specimens of man's early attempts to produce a tool to meet his requirements or are the results of natural forces is immaterial. It may be assumed that the earliest process of manufacture consisted of rough chipping to increase the utility of a stone naturally suited in form to some particular purpose.

Implements as simple in form and showing in themselves as little signs of human workmanship as soliliths have been recorded among primitive races in modern times. The Sert Indians use stones which have undergone no process beyond the fixation as hammers or as weapons in hand-to-hand fighting (W J. Boone, 'The Sert Indians,' 77; L. O. Bird, 'Handicraft,') and the Andaman Islanders use whetstones, chips, and flakes which have been split by simple pressure after breaking in the fire (T. E. H. Man, 'On the Aborigines of the Andaman Islands,' JAI xx [1895] 390).

The implements of the river-drift gravels of Europe belong to a stage when man had already acquired considerable technical skill, while a marked increase in dexterity is seen in the smaller but more carefully formed, as well as more highly specialised, implements of the cave-dwellers. The favourable conditions of archaeological study in France and the method of a detailed method of analysis and classification have made it possible to follow closely, in a series of known relations in time, this advance in skill, as well as in the process of specialization. The classification of the Stone Ages in Europe thus offers material of the greatest value in tracing the gradual development of man's technical ability.

The Palaeolithic age has been divided into three stages—Lower, Middle, and Upper. In these stages the Mesolithic, Streypan, Chellean, and Acheulean implements, so called for characteristic sites in France, belong to the Lower Palaeolithic; Monsterian implements to the Middle; and Aurignacian, Solstitian, and Magdelanian to the Upper. Each group is still further divided by

1. P. 1058 and note 1.
2. Crookes, PRS ii. 105.
French archeologists. Through all the stages, from the simple flake of the Mesovian gravel to the highly elaborate examples of the flint worker's art in the leaf-shaped implements of Solntrè, there is an immediate recognition and adaptation to a particular purpose. In the Strepyan stage the forms include coarsely flaked scrapers, knives, and the scraper, a pointed implement which has been described as 'not unlike in size and form two hands opposed palm to palm.' This implement—a natural form, a module of flint which had been worked, but of essentially modified—is still more characteristic of the Chellean stage, which also includes scrapers and a dagger form. In these implements the flaking was apparently produced by oblique blows with a pebble. The Chellean industry is of worldwide distribution, occurring in the river-gravels of France, England, and throughout Africa, Arabia, Palestine, in the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates, in India, and in some parts of Canada and the United States. In the Acheulean stage—a direct development of the Chellean—the chipping of the flint becomes finer, and the implements, especially the boucher, show a better edge. In the Mousterian age there is an increase in the range of implements employed, as well as a marked improvement in the methods of workmanship. The boucher disappears, but its place is taken by the Levallois flake, a large implement with a rounded point, dressed on one side and then struck from the nodule with a single blow. Side-scrapers, end-scrapers, notched scrapers, and awls are characteristic of this period, in which man began to make use of caves for dwelling-places.

In the Aurignacian stage of the Upper Paleolithic period, the improvement in the working of flint continued, and the same implements were made, including curved pointed flakes with secondary chippings, carinated scrapers and gravers' tools to meet the requirements of artistic development, which now found expression in ivory and bone carvings and engravings. The distinguishing feature of implements of this period is the secondary flaking known as the Aurignacian retouch. At this time a new material was introduced; awls of bone and ivory, and other implements, such as spear-heads and rods of ivory, appear. The working of flint reached the highest stage of development in the Solntrè period. Primary arrow-heads of the earliest phase were succeeded by the implements known as laurel-leaf points—flat and very thin implements with remarkably delicate secondary flaking of great regularity, probably produced, not by blows as in earlier types, but by pressure.

The Australian aborigines produced extremely delicately flaked points of stone, latticed made of bottle glass, by means of pressure, the implement used being a bored-geared stone made of a bone from the hind leg of a sheep (L. Baloux, 'On the Method employed by the Natives of N.W. Australia in the Manufacture of Glass Spear-heads,' Man, III, (1902) 65). The Flinders and the Lake Mungo stone, produced by pressure on a bone. The Apachee, after breaking a boulder by means of a pebble set in a wavy handle, wrought the implement into shape with a sperm-whale tooth. Torquemada describes the making of obsidian knives by pressure with wood, the flakes being split off a block held between the feet (see J. Bever, Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain*, p. 25).

The Magdalenian period witnessed a decline in skill in flint-working. The implements become less elaborate, and are often lacking in finish. This is due largely to the employment of bone and horn, which brought about a new and greater diversity of form and consequently a wider application in use. The simple flake-point develops into the bone, and later with two or more; arrow-heads and spear-points show great variety in form, to permit of different methods of attachment to the shaft. Spear-throws of bone or ivory are used, as well as the mèton de commande, an implement conjectured on Eskimo analogy, to be an arrow-straightener. Bone pins, needles, and bodkins found in large numbers suggest an increased elaboration in dress.

The culture of this period is frequently compared with that of the Eskimos, especially in view of the use of bone implements by the latter for both hunting and domestic purposes. In the Neolithic Age in Europe, the great variety in forms of implements and the purposes for which they were employed bear witness to a profound change in the mode of life. For which period of human development is broadly distinguished from that which preceded it. Although the rude stone implements of the kitchen middens of Denmark and elsewhere argue a civilization and a technical skill certainly below that of the cave-dweller in the later Paleolithic period, a knowledge of Japan, Korea, Siberia, and Portugal, of horses, deer, and the use of clay vessels, for which evidence appears at a comparatively early stage in Neolithic civilization, demonstrate that a rapid multiplication of human needs was accompanied by a parallel increase in effective means to satisfy them. The characteristic industry of the period—the making of implements and weapons of flint—remains relatively simple, and is marked mainly by a greater variety in form and by specialization. An important development in flint knapping techniques, hammering, and polishing—permitted the use of stones other than flint and chalk.

In the earlier stages of the Palaeolithic period, it is not possible to assign a generally accepted significance as a weapon or tool. The same uncertainty exists in the case of the neoliths. Some of the rough axe-like tools may be either unfinished weapons or implements made for other purposes. Nor does the fact that flint shows an early origin. The mammoth and hammer-stones which were used to shape the great blocks of stone at Stonehenge were of the roughest description, although this monument was erected at the beginning of the Bronze Age. Arrow-heads and spear-points of the earliest phase could be followed, as it develops, from the form in which it is a square butt, through the barbed form fitting into a notch, to the fully developed tang which was fastened to the shaft. The stone adze or axe, perhaps the most characteristic of all stone implements, can also be followed through a sequence of forms, from the coarsely chipped and roughly shaped implement to the well-balanced weapon, carefully ground all over and brought to an edge, which exhibits the highest point of development in this branch of Neolithic technique.

The usual method of attaching the adze was by fastening it to a handle with smooth stone or other form of string, as is done by modern primitive races among whom stone implements are not so common as in a transverse hole in the handle. The tendency to split the handle is ingeniously overcome by the peoples of the Swiss Lake Villages, who fitted into the handle a socket of bone which took the force of the blow. At a later stage, perforated axe-heads appear, the hole of which is covered by a piece of leather. In Great Britain this implement may be referred to the Bronze Age. The hole was bored by a cylindrical drill, or in some cases by a hollow tube, possibly of elder wood.

The greater skill in technique and the multiplicity in form and use of stone implements which took place in the Neolithic Age and in the one phase of a general advance in culture. But in the case of these implements the limits of development were fixed by natural laws, and whether among modern primitive races or in pre-historic times was the technique of the Scandinavian daggers or the transparent blades of the Egyptian knives surpassed.
The Australians, like many other primitive races, which first encountered by Europeans, were in the Stone Age. The use to which they put their implements and weapons and the methods of manufacturing and working these are, as a rule, dependent upon the general character of the culture of prehistoric Europe, as well as on special points where the purpose of a particular implement is not clearly discerned from its form or character.

One of their most useful implements, periodically as a tool rarely as a weapon, was the axe, which was the product of a long series of improvements in the form of quarts and pebbles with a rounded pebble, and then of grinding upon the mortar mills, the stones used for grinding seeds. It was mounted in a twisted handle, either as an axe or as an adze, and fixed in position on perpendicularly. As an ax it was used for hitting trees for felling, cutting open trees, catching the opossum or taking honey, taking off sheaths of bark from trees, shaping wood for shields, and the like. As an adze it hollowed out wooden vessels. A knife is a haft was used as a pick; fragments of stone set in a handle of gum made a saw; stone hammers were made of flaked pebbles set in a handle; pounders were used for breaking in seeds; stone drills were sometimes, though rarely, employed; and all kinds of axes were used as scrapers. The last-named implements were sometimes made of teeth, which also furnished knives and drills. The Australian native made a considerable use of shells. The Aborigines used them for beads, ornaments, and other small articles.

Their implements of bone included awls made from the log, bone of the kangaroo, a stiletto or needle by the women to sew, and the edge of the bark which they sewed into canoes, and for piercing the septum of the nose for the receptacle of the bone bead. (W. H. Thomas, Notes on Australian Soldiers, London, 1880, p. 46 ff.)

Axes of both shell and stone were used in Melanesia, the area of distribution being well-defined in each case. The most common islands (except Rennell and Bellona) and the New Hebrides. Shell was used by the Santa Cruz people, Ceram Island, and New Guinea. For cutting teeth, shaving, and fine carving, obsidian, chert, and shell's teeth were used (Cordington, The Melanesians, Oxford, 1861, p. 318 ff.)

2. The introduction of a new material in the discovery of metals (probably in Asia Minor, or in Egypt, whence its use spread to the Mediterranean and the rest of Europe) was necessary to render possible further development in this department of human activities. It has been assumed that the use of metals was first discovered by the toil and skill of many in the handling of copper ore among the stones used to build up the primitive hearth. While this theory, on the ground of its strong probability, holds the field, it is generally conceded that, in the circumstances where it was first introduced, the Bronze Age was preceded by a Chalcolithic Age in which native copper was employed in the same way as stone, and adapted to use by being hammered into the shape required. The Indians of Lake Superior, where native copper abounded, and possibly the early inhabitants of the Mediterranean area, passed through such a stage of development. That a Copper Age generally preceded the Bronze Age proper is a matter upon which it is more difficult to obtain conclusive evidence. Not only would copper implements be melted down for use in making bronze, but, in most regions where copper is found, it is not even enough to re-melt them in the same way as stone, and adapted to use by being hammered into the shape required. In Ireland, and again in the Mediterranean area, implements occur which are sufficiently pure to warrant their being called chalcolithic.

Apart from the link afforded by the Chalcolithic period where it occurs, the connexion between the civilization of the Neolithic and early Bronze Ages is sufficiently well-defined in the form the implements themselves, especially of the celt. The early metal celt, notwithstanding the greater refinement and economy made possible by the qualities of the material, is practically identical in form with the stone celt. The development from the flat celt, based upon the stone form, can be followed in all its stages—through the flanged and stopped forms, in which the men were made to fit over the curved handle, to the socketed form into which the handle fitted, and to which it was fastened by a string passed through the ring of the celt. The same essential identity in form can be traced in knives, spear-heads, daggers, and other implements in which stone was superseded by bronze. By the end of the Bronze Age, the art of working metal had attained a comparatively high degree of excellence; gold and, more rarely, silver were employed for ornament, and the adaptability of bronze for purposes other than those of implements and weapons had been discovered. It is probable that iron was first worked in the region south-east of the Euxine. In Europe it was in the first instance disseminated from the Iberian peninsula, as a costly, almost a precious, metal to be used sparingly, later as the staple material for a wide variety of articles. Its use became general, the art of metal-working in Europe, especially as shown in the bronze mirrors, articles and ornaments for personal use, horse trappings, etc., frequently enriched with beautiful ornament and coloured enamel, began to pass from the stage when it could be classed as a primitive industry and to take its place as an element in a higher plane of culture. In Africa the Iron Age probably began at a very early date, owing to the abundance of the raw material, but the metal is still produced among the natives by smelting in a primitive form of low blast furnace, such as has been five hundred years in use in prehistoric Europe, of which the product is practically a wrought iron. This primitive form of furnace, consisting of a shaft or trough of clay with holes for the introduction of the blast, is still found in India, Borneo, Japan, and, in Europe, in Catalonia and Finland.

Over the larger part of Africa the production of iron is of great importance. It is worked in Upper Nile valley among the Nilotic tribes (the Luo being noted for their iron), in the Bantu tribes of East Africa, and the negro tribes of West Africa, where the swords and knives, which show great diversity of form, are especially remarkable as examples of blacksmithry. The Masai and other Bantu tribes have been noted from time immemorial as workers of iron; the Zulus, however, do not appear to have practised the art to any great degree. In the Shire Highlands it is said that every village had its smith-house, and smiths who made axes, spears, needles, arrow-heads, bracelets, anklets, bow, two-edged and one-edged knives, and the like (A. Werner, Routes and Explorer Travels in the Interior of Africa, London, 1860, p. 201 ff.)

Before leaving the subject of metalurgy, reference should be made to the famous bronze castings of Benin. Casts, though of inferior quality, are still made in this day, but the process being employed. Wax is modelled on a clay core and covered with a clay mould, to which the wax is waxed and dried, through a hole, and molten metal poured into it. Modern bronze casting in West Africa, J.H.A. (1910) 362-369. The rame was the method of making hollow vessels of copper and white metal (W. Rosenbahn, Notes on Malay Metal-work, J.A.I. xxx. [1913] 167-71).

4. Basketry.—Basketry and the making of pottery are, psychologically considered, the two most important arts in early primitive handicraft, as they both involve a distinct creative act, not merely an adaptation, as in the case of the early stages of making a stone implement. Basket-work, including in the term that which is used to make cups, fulls many functions in primitive culture; it furnishes, next to the skins of animals, one of the most primitive forms of clothing, as, for instance, the plaited mats worn in the Caroline Islands; it provides the sails of the Polynesian and Melanesian canoes; it is used to form a shelter against wind and rain, as in the interlaced bouquets of the temporary huts of the Australian Aborigines; and the plaited mats and dab used in the lake-villages of Glastonbury, and it provides vessels for the collection, storage, and cooking of food, as well as mats,
cushions, and other furniture of the house. In Somaliland and Abyssinia, where the pottery is of
poor quality, baskets are used as milk-vessels. Basket-work, whether in the form of a receptacle or as a
wrapping, was largely used for mortuary purposes
by the Indians of N. America and the ancient Peru-
vians. Bodkins wrapped in mats of soft grass
straws have been found in narrow excavations in Nubia
(D. E. Derr, 'The Red Coloration on Ancient Bones from Nubia,' Exp. Brit. Assoc., Dundee, Lon-
don, 1912, p. 163). A simple variety of basket of the
plaited type is that common in the Pacific, which
consists simply of a palm-leaf split down the middle,
the midrib being coiled round to make the rim.
The pintails are then plaited together to make the
body of the basket. The inhabitants of the Swiss
lake-dwellings in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages
were expert in the making of baskets—checkered,
twined, and coiled. Specimens of coiled basketry
have been found on the pre-historic site of el-
Amrah, south of Abydos—so far the oldest to be
discovered. Baskets of the same type are still
found up the Nile.

In America basketry was of especial importance
(cf. Art (American), vol. 1, p. 827 f.).

The vegetable kingdom supplied the Indians with the
greater part of the material for making their baskets, they also
drew upon the animal kingdom; sinew, skins of the smaller
mammals, beavers, and spruce porcupine quills were employed.
The texture of the basket-bottles and bolling-baskets, in which
water was heated by throwing in hot stones, was almost
sufficiently close in many instances to enable them to hold
water. Sometimes a layer of clay was used to give a waterproof lining.
Among the Havanapai Indians of the Mohave stock baskets
for cooking were made of this fabric, which was also used
as lining. One form of basketwork made of narrow slats of wood, rods of
hardwood, and twine, was used as armour on the Pacific coast
of America, the Mississippi coast as far south as the Hupa
Indians of California. Captain Smith speaks of the Masapo-
 peoples of Chesapeake Bay as using similar armour. Water
shields are used in many parts of Africa.

5. Pottery.—The art of the potter follows close upon that of the basket-maker in the development of
culture. In all parts of the world, must be conceded from the fact that the earliest
pottery forms follow closely those of basket-work, and in some regions the use of clay vessels for
purposes of storing liquids or for cooking utensils would appear to have grown out of the devices
employed for rendering basket-work more suitable for those purposes. A simple form of cooking-
vessel in use among the Havanapai is a flat tray of
basketwork, on which seeds, crickets, or pieces of
meat were roasted in the fire. Another form of
the basket-work led to the employment of a clay
lining. This was turned by the heat into a flat plate, which was later turned, used as a brazier.
The origin of the parching pot of the Zulus is
indicated by the native name, which means a
roasting tray of twigs. By the obvious process of
raising the edges of the tray, whether of basket-
work or clay, it becomes a bowl. It has been
held that pottery generally was moulded in
basketwork in the eastern United States. It has also
been suggested that the method of building up a
pot by means of a clay coil is based upon the
technique of coiled basketwork. It is possible,
however, that in some cases the moulded forms of
basketwork on early fragments of pottery both in
America and elsewhere may be due to the use of
this material to produce ornament by impression,
or it may be that this is from to be
the common practice, which occurs, for instance, in
the Andaman Islands, of covering the pottery with
basketwork. The style of ornament of the pre-
historic pottery of Europe, and especially the
beaded form, suggests a derivation from, or at
least the strong influence of, a basketwork
pattern, the simplicity of regularity in the
structure of which has been preserved by the con-
servative primitive mind by a corresponding regu-
larity in ornament. Before the introduction of the
potter's wheel, for which the earliest evidence has
been found in deep deposits, little or no change
which appears in the Mediterranean in the Middle
Minoan period of Crete, symmetry in form is
usually obtained by moulding the pot on a base or
in a shallow trough, the surface of which is
smoothed with basketwork, as among the American Indians,
in pre-dynastic Egypt, and in the Mediterranean in
the Neolithic and early Bronze Ages. Among the
barerees, who are noted for their skill in
making pottery, employ a board on which is a ring
of coco-nut leaves sewn together. In some cases
the base of another pot was used, as in New
Caledonia. In Papua, for the early stage of pot-
manufacture, a gourd was used as a mould. The
base was slowly turned as the pot was built up.
The Kabyle woman uses her food for this purpose,
while squatting on the ground. The use of a slip
in primitive pottery is not uncommon before the
introduction of glasswork. The Pueblo used a
slip, usually white, made of carefully prepared
clay, and it occurs in certain classes of pottery in
the Mediterranean area. Ornament is usually
achieved by impressing, for which the finger,
pieces of wood or basketwork, or stamps may be
used, or by incision (the method commonly em-
ployed in the geometric designs of the European
pottery of the late Neolithic and Bronze Ages in
northern Europe and in the Mediterranean); where a
slip is employed, the incision sometimes goes
down to the fabric. Paints may also be used.
In Tunisia, in the hand-made fabrics the pigment
is smeared on with the fingers. Most elaborate
and artistic examples of painted ware are to be found
in the Mediterranean Kamara pottery. While, in
a more primitive type, the Pueblo painted pottery
shows some highly effective designs, the ornament
being derived and adapted from the motives of
textile prototypes to be given to the latter in order of time, in most regions of the world,
must be conceded from the fact that the earliest
pottery forms follow closely those of basketwork, and in some regions the use of clay vessels for
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beaded form, suggests a derivation from, or at
least the strong influence of, a basketwork
pattern, the simplicity of regularity in the
structure of which has been preserved by the con-
degree of proficiency in weaving, as the majority of those tribes use bark-cloth, employ a simple form of loom, and thread the ends of the warp are fastened to a light cane. They are kept taut by a string which is fastened to the cane and passing under the body of the weaver as she sits on the ground (Hose-McDougall, *Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, London, 1912, p. 225). More usually the warp is kept in position by stone or clay weights.

The large number of stone weights and sandstone wheels found in Britain and other parts of Europe with remains of Neolithic and Bronze Age date shows the importance of the industry and the extent to which it was practised in pre-historic times. The piece of the looms may be taken by a few cross-beams. When this is used, the weaving usually proceeds from the bottom, and the cloth as it is made is rolled on the lower beam. The warp is passed between the threads of the warp by means of a shuttle. In a still more highly developed form of loom, the weft is fastened from the upper cross-beam to the threads of the warp is used to raise or depress alternate threads, the shuttle being thrown or passed through the aperture thus made. A stick is used to push the weft and secure the proper consistency of the fabric.

In the simple form of weaving, the web is passed over and under the threads of the warp alternately, but variety in the pattern may be introduced by varying the number of threads over or under which the web is passed. Further variation may be introduced by different coloured threads. In the manufacture of the silk among the Bisawas in Peru the pattern is produced by inserting a number of threads, which are then dyed. After dyeing, the binding, which has preserved the original colour of the material, is removed (L. Wray, *Notes on Dyers*). To bind the silk, a woollen thread is fastened to the face, with the assistance of water or some mucilaginous fluid. Practically the process is one of telling.

Considerable skill in weaving was attained by the ancient tribes of both Mexico and Peru, while among the modern the greater importance in India and the Far East was accorded to the many uses to which dressed hide may be put, skill in its preparation is by no means confined to the cold regions of the world. The skin of an animal—usually with its natural shape preserved—is a primitive, and in warmer climates at the present day still a common, receptacle for carrying water or other liquid. The Australians used the skin of opus to supply the purpose. Among other uses to which skin or leather was put was the making of skin boats by the Eskimos, of shields, bags, and pouches, or meal-bags, by the North American Indians, while the skin of the buffalo or bison furnished the material for the wigwam or tipi as well as the well-known buffalo robe. In Patagonia the tents were made of the skin of the guanaco. Hides are used for the walls of huts among the pastoral tribes of the Upper Nile.

The skins of the thinner-skinned animals and of birds were used chiefly for ornament, but the Eskimo women made close-fitting under-coats of bird-skins, sewn together with sinew, or feathers next to the person; the skins were prepared by chewing. The skins of the smaller mammals—squirrels, foxes, and the like—were simply dried before use. A slightly more elaborate process was used for the hides of larger mammals, such as the moose, seal, elk, ox, or bear, which were to be worn with the fur adhering to the skin. The inside skin or dermis was removed with special tools, a piece of walrus ivory or an antler being used to remove the fat, and a stone being used to plane down the skin to an equal thickness. The shape of certain classes of Palaeolithic flint implements justifies the assumption that they were scrapers used for the same purpose. The American Indian women used three tools to cut away the flesh, a hoe-shaped scraper to cut away the skin, and a hoe- or chisel-like tool with serrated edge to roughen up the inside side of the skin and render it flexible. The skins were dried on frames, and sometimes treated with a solution made from the brains of the animal.

A third process employed by the Indians, but not found among the Eskimos, is the preparation of a material analogous to buckskin or chamois
feather, which involves the removal of the hair, is carried out by boiling the dressing
of the skin with a preparation of brains, and a careful manipulation and softening of the skin
while drying. The Athapaskan Indians were especially adept in this process.

In utilizing the skins in the making of garments, both Eskimos and Indians displayed great skill.
The difficulty experienced by the furrier in cutting the skin without damaging the hair was cleverly
overcome, the implement used being the woman's knife, a short or flint-blade, crescent-shaped on the
outer edge. Among the garments made by the Eskimos may be mentioned the shoes with
soles of raw hide and uppers of dressed skin, the hooded upper and the under coat, breeches, deer-
skin stockings, and outboard boots reaching above the knee, for the men, and for the women two flocks,
two pairs of deerkin boots, of which the upper is worn with the hair outside and is shot with soles of
seal skins. Much care is shown in cutting, to secure that pretty fur and fringes of hair should
show as an ornament at the wrists, shoulders, and borders, sometimes varied with inserted material.
Tacitus (Gerae 17) records that the German women ornamented their skin dress in much the same
manner. The buckskin garments of the North American Indians, especially the Algonquins,
were ornamented with fringes, wampum beads, and paint. Among the Mandans the deerkin tunic
was strung with seal-scales, beads, and er-
mellons. The leather of the tassels were ornamented
with porcupine quills and fringed with scalps.

5. Wood-working. Our knowledge of the
size of culture and the people of the Stone Age in Europe—of the Neolithic period
—outside certain well-defined limits, is largely
based upon analogies afforded by modern primitive peoples. We know that at the time as they were first
described, themselves in the Stone Age. It is
only in a few instances, where circumstances were
peculiarly favourable, that any relic has survived with its original form, and materials less durable
than stone, ivory, bone, or pottery. No evidence has survived of the skill in wood
possessed by the Palaeolithic man; but the new extinct Tasmanians attained a considerable degree of
dexterity in working this material with stone imple-
ments identical in character with some of the
earliest forms of palstaves.

The Tasmanians, who habitually went naked, except in winter, when kangaroo skins were sometimes worn, had as their only shelter rude sheds made of an under-tractive of bark to wooden stakes; their weapons both for the chase and for war were made
of wood, the nearest product of much skill and care, the shaft, if not perfectly straight, being heated by fire, and then shaped to a point before the skin was fastened to the side of the teeth; it was then strapped to a point, and, after the bark had been removed with a stone scraper, it was hardened in the fire. The notched stone
scrapers of Palaeolithic and Neolithic times are simply the use of similar weapons.

The Australians, whose culture has been compared with that of the Palaeolithic Monesterian period, show a decided advance on the Tasmanians; their spear is frequently provided with a bark, and the head is a separate piece of hard wood or stone; they do not possess the bow, but use a throwing stick for hurling the spear; their best-known weapon is the boomerang, returning and non-returning, the former being a striking example of mechanical and technical skill. Their stone axes, adzes, and knives were provided with wooden handles. They used two kinds of arrow, of wood and os; one to ward off the blow of the club. Bone was used for awls and grongias. The Bushmen of South Africa make a Stone Age culture of a primitive type comparable with the Palaeolithic culture of Europe. They use the bow; their arrows were made of reeds sharpened, bound with sinew, and tipped with a fletching of an ostrich, or a grey feather which had been sharpened with a stone spokeshave, by rubbing on the side of the wood to form the head, or compressed with a flake of quartz or other hard stone was used.

In the pastoral tribes of E. Africa, or non-existent, as in Melanesia and Polynesia, wood or horn is usually employed for vessels for carrying liquids. In S.E. Asia the interloping of the bimbos are used as water-vessels; in Melanesia and Polynesia gourds or bamboo or wooden vessels are used as a substitute for pottery.

10. House-building. The most primitive form of artificial shelter of ancient peoples was
against stakes, such as is used by the Tasmanians and the screen of interlaced boughs used by the
Australian hunter as a temporary shelter for the
night, already described. The Neolithic pit-
dwellings of Britain were holes in the ground,
with a central pole to which a roof of boughs stretched from the edge of the pit. Californians
lived in dwellings made on the same plan. The Bushmen's hut consisted of a few boughs
brought together and covered with mats of reed
sewn together at the sides. In the Egyptian Sudan, Abyssinia, and Somaliland, the hut is
figured and made of hide or mat; among the
more settled peoples, of branches or clay. The
hut of the Bantu is a durable structure, usually
circular, and conical or beehive-shaped. In Uganda,
substantial huts are made by fastening screens of
reeds, carefully sewn together, to a circle of posts, the whole being thatched with reeds. In the
case of the king's house the walls are built by peasants, but the roof is built by professional thatchers.

Among the forest peoples of Africa, the house is a rectangular structure built of poles with a thatched roof with a pitch. The rectangular house with mud walls, a composite structure, is found among the W.-Nyamwezi and a few other related tribes of E. Africa. The habitation of the Indians of America exhibit all stages of development—from the simplest form of wind-break to the more complex, erected for temporary purposes, through the tipi of hide and the adobe building, to the massive stone architecture of ancient Mexico and Peru.

Where manufacture of stone vessels is advanced, skill and ingenuity in their preparation were displayed. The Iroquois used posts covered with bark for the three kinds of houses they inhabited, including the longhouse as much as a hundred feet long, and was divided internally into compartments. On the N.W. coast of America, cedar slabs were employed in house-
building. These were split out of the centre of wide trees and fastened upright in a frame about ten feet high, on which rested split bark or boards laid on rafters, supported in the middle by long beams running the length of the house, and
themselves supported on four posts with totemic
emblems. The Iroquois long-house finds a parallel in the communal house of New Guinea. The communal house of Melanesia (which are not, however, divided
in compartments, though each family group or, in the latter case, the chief, his wife, and hearth), and the houses of the Kenyas, Kayans, and Borno of the Kayan and
Kenyah houses are divided into compartments—one for each family. Considerable architectural skill is
required in their construction; some of them have four hundred yards long; they are raised on piles, and a verandah runs down the whole of one side.

The best-known examples of pile-dwellings are those of the S. Swiss Lakes, of the Neolithic and
Bronze Ages, and the pile-dwellings of New Guinea, erected on platforms built out into the water; pile-
dwellings also occur in Africa—in the Nile Valley among the Nuer, on Lake Nyassa, among the Ba
Kunea, and on the West coast—and in various
parts of North and South America.

The construction of the house in Samoa is a matter of considerable detail. It is sometimes thirty feet in diameter, and is supported in the middle by four posts and a central pillar. The post are composed of a number of small posts or five feet apart; the rafters form the roof, or compareed with the spaces between being filled with small ribs, ingeniously joined until the requisite length is attained. The side at the end of the house are circular, the aching and jointing of those being considered the supreme test of a workman's ability. The thatch is made from the leaves of the sugar-cane turned over small reeds.

Before leaving the subject of building, the Pueblo stone dwellings of the S.E. United States may be mentioned. They
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consist of a number of rooms built adjoining or on top of one another. One or two single-room houses are first built, and then additions are made from time to time horizontally and vertically. The lower stories project before the upper and are connected by a bridge. The entrance to the lowest story is not from the ground, but from the first floor, to the room above. Room or rooms are entered from the tops of the lower. The walls are of stone laid in adobe mortar, beams of small trunks-trunks for the upper floor.

II. Rafts, canoes, boats. Among the most primitive means of conveyance by water is the raft made of a barge of logs or papyrus (used on the Nile), or made of the leaf-stalks of the amath-putus (Lake Nyasa). Similar rafts are used in parts of Melanesia. The Tasmanian were not acquainted with either boats or canoes, but used as a substitute a kind of half-raft, half-boat, made of the bark of various kinds of trees, but usually some species of eucalyptus made up into three cigar-like rolls. It was about nine feet in length and three feet broad in the middle, tapering to each end (H. Ling Roth, *Aororines of Tasmania*, London, 1899, p. 164 ff.). The Ika of the Seri Indians (California) closely resembled the Tasmanian raft, but was of greater dimensions, sometimes as much as thirty feet in length, and was used as a substitute for a small log paddy. The logs were greased to prevent the raft from rolling, and was constructed by a man sitting astride; a stage only slightly more advanced was the raft of several logs. A raft-like canoe of bark, resembling the above, is reported from the Lakes of Borneo.

The commonest form of canoe was a sheet of bark, carefully removed from the tree and shaped over the fire, with the ends several feet wide. The usual length was ten or twelve feet. The canoe of sewn bark was also in use—two, three, seven, or even more pieces of bark being used. The gunwale was strengthened by a mangrove pole, and the body was kept by cross pieces and ribs. The dug-out canoe, which in most parts of the world is a characteristic form of the primitive boat, was also found in North Queensland, and at Port Essington an outrigger was employed. At Cape York the double canoes were used, in length some fifty feet, and propelled with both paddles and sails. While the outrigger canoe is clearly an introduction from New Guines, it has also been suggested that the sewn canoes may have been of the Canoe is the Most Important and Most Widely Used Form of Water Transport in the World, 893 ff.). The commonest form of canoe in the Melanesian area is the dug-out with the single outrigger. In Fiji, New Caledonia, and New Guinea, large double canoes propelled by sails were also found. In parts of the Soloman Islands, finely made plank-built canoes occur. What seems to be a stage in the development of the plank-built canoe occurs in Borneo, where the freeboard of a Kayan dug-out is increased by planks along the gunwale (Hose-Dougall, I. 301). The Polynesians, who were born navigators, carried the art of canoe-making to a high degree of excellence, especially in Hawaii and in New Zealand. In Tahiti, where there were regular war-dugouts, the canoes were both single- and double-ended, with an elevated prow and stern, the stern-post being sometimes as much as eighteen feet high, and ornamented with the carved figures of the gods. The elaborately carved prow- and stern-posts are characteristic throughout this region.

The Tahitian war-canoe were capable of carrying fifty fighting men. The Tahitian cannon boat was a canoe with a gunwale sewn on with canes. The large double canoes were propelled by the boat, the hull being carefully shaped and then polished with oar and sewn together. Religious ceremonies were performed when the boat was laid down and when the canoe was launched. In Hawaii a special deity presided over the builders of canoes. In New Zealand, canoes sixty or eighty feet long were built of huge planks cut from the solid tree and lashed together. The figure-heads and stern-posts were painted as well as elaborately carved. Balls of rushes were used, but not outgrown.

In the Melanesian canoes various totemic charms were hung up at the stern to ensure calm and successful voyages. The important canoes had names, and rejoicings followed their completion. A human life was often bidden for the upper bow of the canoe, or heads were entered from the lower. In the Eastern Solomon Islands, if no life was taken on the first voyage, arrangements were made with a neighbouring chief that a victim should be forthcoming. For the heathen canoes were kept with a view to taking their heads when the canoes were finished (Codrington, 360 ff.).

12. Specialisation.—An important factor in the development of an industry is the tendency towards specialisation. This tendency appears at an early stage in human culture, mainly in three forms: specialisation of locality, specialisation of sex, and specialisation of workers as a class.

The localisation of an industry may arise from a variety of causes, but usually is attributed to a plentiful or peculiarly well-adapted supply of material in a given locality. In the Palaeolithic period in Europe flint implements were imported to the Channel Islands, for instance, probably from the adjacent French mainland, owing to local scarcity of suitable material. The large number of Neolithic implements of marked characterisations found at Presqu'ile de Weser, in Germany, indicates that the flint is specially suitable for making flakes of large size, suggests a localised industry, while both at Callot and at Grimes' Graves, where no flint is mined, it is evident that there was a factory, from which partially manufactured implements were probably exported to localities which possessed neither flint nor the means of producing an inferior quality. Spines near Mon, and Caddington and Stowe Newtoning in England, may be mentioned among a number of sites where the character of the finds has suggested that they are the workshops of the craftsmen of the Stone Age.

In the Bronze Age, the distribution of material had a much more marked effect in promoting local efficiency in manufacture. In the earlier stages, it is true, favourable circumstances, e.g. an easily accessible supply of native copper, such as was obtained in Egypt, Cyprus, and Western Asia, would determine the relative date of its utilisation, and give those localities an advantage in experience. But the rapid advance in the civilisation of southern Europe and the improvement in transport led to the exploitation of copper- and tin-producing localities, such as Cornwall and Spain, and the transport of the ores from these districts to the place of manufacture. The same course of development occurred in the Iron Age, where favourable circumstances for a time produced an early localised iron culture, of which evidence is found at Halstatt.

Modern primitive races also afford examples of localised industries. The Novobor Islands, for instance, are noted for their manufacture of clay pots. In Melanesia, canoe building was often the special work of certain towns because suitable timber was found near; other towns were celebrated for their fish-traps; the Samoans were famous for their mats (Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, London, 1910, pp. 306 ff., 304).

Owing to various causes—natural, economic, and religious—an early form of specialization in industry has been determined on sexual lines; i.e. certain spheres of activity of have been assigned to each sex. To man has fallen the provision of animal food, the care of cattle, the fashioning of weapons and most implements from stone and metal. Women, on the other hand, have been responsible for most of the useful arts in their early stages. The making of baskets, pottery, spinning, weaving, the preparation of skins, the making of clothes from cloth and skin, and the preparation of food, including the grind.
falling trees, cutting them from the bush, and the like. They also had to supply the carpenters' food, and these unskilled labourers from work if it was insufficient or of inferior quality. As the house progressed, payment was made for certain definite portions of the work, the principal payment being made when the two sides and one of the rounded ends were finished. It was considered a great honour to be paid in payment. If the builders were dissatisfied with the payment, they left the work unfinished, and no other builder would complete it. If any one did, he was visited with severe punishment at the hands of other members of the tribe. The regulations in trades other than building were practically the same (G. Brown, p. 306 ff.).


HANDS, LAYING ON.—See HAND.

HANGING.—See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.

HANIFA.—See LAW (Muhammadan).

HAOMA.—1. Derivation of the word.—The word haoma (Skr. soma, Pahl. and Pers. hom) comes from an old Aryan root Am = Skr. om, 'to pound,' 'to squeeze.' Haoma, the utenial in which the twigs of the haoma plant are pounded, āmara, the ghūr, or the part of the day when this plant is pounded, and āvedana, the priest who pounds it, come from the same root.

2. Haoma in the Avesta.—In the Avesta we meet with four Haoma:—(1) Haoma, whom for convenience' sake we may call Haoma the prophet. Chs. 8, 10, and 11 of the Yasna speak of him as well as of the plant. He is described in two different ways. Further allusions are found in Ys. ili. (19 and 20) and Yashts x. 88-90 and Aeshi xvil. 5—(2) Haoma, the plant; see esp. chs. 9, 10, and 11 of the Yasna. (3) Haoma, who may be called Haoma the hero (Ys. xii. 7; Ys. ix. 17, xvil. 37, 38).—(4) Haoma Khvarengangha (Ft. xil. 116). In the Fravardin Yasht we have a long list of the departed worthies of ancient Iran who had rendered some service to the community. The group in which Haoma Khvarenganghal is mentioned seems to be a list of the names of some of the immediate successors of Zarathustra. It appears, therefore, that this Haoma Khvarengangha, whose Zoroaster is invoked, was a great man of Iran, who had done some good deeds that commemorated his name.

These four different Haoma have one or more special names in the Avesta. Haoma the prophet is called Haoma Frashāh; Haoma the hero is called Haoma Frēzēm (Ys. ix. 7, 11, 24). Haoma the hero is known as Haoma Frashāh (so repeatedly in the Yashts). The fourth Haoma, as we have said above, is named Haoma Khvarengangha. Haoma Frashāh is also called Frashēm as well as Darsakā. The Haoma Frashāh of the Gādē and Aeshi Yashts is quite different from the Haoma Frēzēm of the Fravardin Yashts. This Haoma Frashēm is known as Frasišēm (Ft. xi. x. 20, 24). Haoma the hero is known as Haoma Frēzēm (so repeatedly in the Yashts). The fourth Haoma, as we have said above, is named Haoma Khvarengangha.

An interesting example of primitive industrial organization existed in Samoa, where the trades of boat- and house-building, tatau, etc., though not strictly hereditary, were carried on for generations by certain families, who thus acquired prestige. The trade was, however, open to any man who cared to attach himself to any craftsman until he acquired sufficient skill to begin work on his own account. Each particular trade had its presiding god, and was governed by well-known regulations. The times of payment and the different stages of the work were prescribed. In the case of building a house, a man was presented to the master-builder, and its acceptance signified agreement to do the work. The occupation of a craftsman, for whom the bench work was being built, was the unskilled labour, such as
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dimes of the Peshdadian dynasty, before the time
of Vivanghant (Vievreaal of the Vedas), the father
of Yima (Yama of the Vedas). He was a very
learned man (vādāy-pāsit), versed in the old
religious literature. For seven years he spent
of his time in divine meditation in the Hukairya
peak of the lonely mountains of the Elburz. 3
Before Zaraster, he was the first man or prophet to
practise the worship of Macayzianian religion. 4
As Zaroster had his own religious compositions,
so had Haoma. 5 He had his Gāthas (imseta
29, 30) and, as an opponent one
Keresani. 6

It was this Haoma who gave his name to the
plant, which he seems to have discovered, and to
the Haoma ceremony, which was, it is said, first
introduced. According to Yasti x, 7 he was the
first man who produced the juice in a mortar
(Aケース) on the Elburz mountains. It appears
that, while absorbed in deep divine meditation in
his retreat in the mountains, he discovered this
plant growing on the heights, and found it to be
nutritious, health-giving, and invigorating. He
introduced it to the world as such; but, in order
to make it doubly efficacious, he instituted a form
of ritual, designed to absorb the mind of the people
in holy and religious thoughts. A plant, in itself
health-giving and vigorous, when partaken of under
a partial inspiration of divine thoughts, was likely
to be beneficial to the mind as well as to the
body.

4. The Haoma plant—Haoma is a medicinal
plant which grows in Persia and in Afghanistan.
It is a species of Eleuther (Nat. Ord. Guttifer).

(1) The Avestan description of the plant.—Mountains
and mountain-valleys are mentioned as places
where the plant grows luxuriantly. In some pas-
sages Mount Elburz (called in the Avesta Hara
Bereziatu) is specially mentioned as its habitat.
But it must be borne in mind that the name
Elburz not only denoted the present Mount Elburz,
but also the whole range of mountains extending from
the Hindu Kush in the East to the Caucasus in the
West. The Haoma is described as a plant with
branches and sprigs, 8 possessing medicinal prop-
erties, and as "golden-coloured." 9

(2) The properties of haoma.—The religious or
spiritual inspiration, believed to give wisdom,
courage, success, health, increase, and greatness.
In such a state the devotee becomes as powerful as
an independent monarch, and is able to withstand
many dangers coming from ill-disposed persons. 10
Heaven, health, long life, power to contend against
evil, victory against enemies, and fore-warnings
against coming dangers from thieves, murderers,
and plunderers are the six gifts bestowed by haoma
when adequately praised and prepared. 11
Haoma is especially sought for by young maidens in search
of good husbands, by married women desirous of
being mothers, and by students striving after know-
ledge. 12 It affords special protection against the
jealous, the evil-minded, and the evil. 13 It is
a check upon the influence of women of loose char-
acter, who change their affections as frequently as
the wind changes the direction of the cloud. 14 For
all these reasons, haoma is called nāma-pāsit, vi-
pāsit, nāma-pāsit, danghū-pāsit, i.e. Lord of the
house, the village, the district, and the nation. 15

(3) Qualifications required of the man who would
drink haoma with advantage.—These are: good
thoughts, good words, good deeds, obedience to
God, and righteousness. 16 On the other hand,
Haoma curses those who are sinful and evil-
disposed. 'I, Haoma, who am holy and keeper
away of death, am not a protector of the
"May thou be childless, and may evil be spoken
of thee." 17

5. Antiquity of the Haoma ceremony.—It
appears from the Avesta that the Haoma ceremo-
y was in existence as early as the time of the Pesh-
dadian dynasty. It is as old as the time when the
ancestors of the Persis and the Hindus, and even
of the ancient Romans, dwelt together. It seems
to have been always accompanied by the Barasum
(q.e.) ceremony, as it is even at the present day.
Now, it appears that the ancient Romans, who
were the Roman fire-priests, and many of whose
practices resembled those of the atravanas, or
Iranian fire-priests, used twigs of a particular tree,
whenever they were holy and sacred. This practice
reminds one of the Parsi priests, who also use twigs of a particular tree when
performing the Yasna ceremony before the fire. The
twigs are now replaced to a certain extent by
metallic wires.

6. The plant used after purification.—We said
above that the twigs of the plant are brought
from Persia. They are not used directly in the cer-
emony. On being taken to a temple, or dar-i-maher,
they are washed and purified, and then laid aside
for a period of at least three months. The con-
secrated priest takes a quantity of these twigs, and
washes and purifies them with water, reciting the
formula of Khshnohta Ahruraha Mandāt, Achem
Vohu, etc., which means: 'Picked be Ahura
Mazda. Pista is the best good and happiness.
Happiness to him who is pious for the best perty.'
After being thus purified with water, the twigs
are kept in a metallic box, similarly washed and
purified, for at least thirteen months and thirteen
days before being used in the ceremony. When
so prepared and purified, they are kept in a metallic
box for a period of several years afterwards. This ceremony has no direct
connection with the Yasna ceremony with the
Yasna ceremony.

The Fenddād (v. 43. 44) says: "The identification of those
Haoma twigs which have come into actual contact with blood and
impurities; but present custom, which is designed to make assurance doubly sure, demands the purification of all haoma
twigs intended for use in religious ceremonies. Again, the
Fenddād requires the twigs to be laid aside for one year;
but present custom prescribes a period of thirteen months and
thirteen days.

7. Description of the Haoma ceremony.—This
ceremony falls under four heads: (1) the preliminary
preparations; (2) the ceremony of purifying or con-
secrating the haoma twigs; (3) the ceremony of
preparing and straining the haoma juice; (4) the
ceremony of drinking the haoma juice.

(1) Preliminary preparations.—Two priests take
part at this stage, as in the whole of the Yasna ceremo-
y. One of them with the ēshāb (i.e. ritual for
qualification), either small or great, duly observed;
the other first prepares the ānuyanghānā (stripes of date-
fruit), the murgān (twigs of a pomegranate tree),
and the jītēs (fresh goat's milk). All the ēshāb (the
necessary sacred utensils) are employed, and
put into the kūndi (the large water vessel on the
stone slab supplied for it). The fire is kindled
in the vase, and the ánez (fragrant wood) and
be (frankincense) are placed on the sacred
stone. Two water-pots—one small and the other

1 Fx. 12. 87. 2 Fx. 12. 3 Fx. 18. 3 Fx. 11. 4 Fx. 17. 5 Fx. 12. 6 Fx. 11. 7 Fx. 23. 8 Fx. 22. 9 Fx. 17. 10 Fx. 12. 11 Fx. 11. 12 Fx. 11. 13 Fx. 12. 14 Fx. 11. 15 Fx. 12. 16 Fx. 11. 17 Fx. 12. 18 Fx. 11. 19 Fx. 12. 20 Fx. 11. 21 Fx. 12. 22 Fx. 11. 23 Fx. 12. 24 Fx. 11. 25 Fx. 12. 26 Fx. 11. 27 Fx. 12. 28 Fx. 11. 29 Fx. 12. 30 Fx. 11. 31 Fx. 12. 32 Fx. 11. 33 Fx. 12. 34 Fx. 11. 35 Fx. 12. 36 Fx. 11. 37 Fx. 12. 38 Fx. 11. 39 Fx. 12. 40 Fx. 11. 41 Fx. 12.
The priest takes a few pieces or twigs of the haoma plant out of a cup, and, holding them between the fingers of his right hand, washes them thrice with the water. While doing so, he recites the Khosha-dhara formula three times. He then formulates the bāj and the khesunman of Haoma aksa-coesanga, wherein he says that he does this for the homage, glory, pleasure, and praise of Haoma, the giver of the strength of purity. Then, reciting the Ašem four times, he dips both his hands, together with the twigs, in the kundī on his right hand. He dips them four times in the water thrice in the direction pointing from his position to the opposite side (i.e. from north to south), and once in the opposite direction. Having thus made the twigs wet, he pulls them apart and dips the purified twigs in the sauktra water. Then, drawing the haoma before him, he inverts it and places it on top of the agni-shaped image of the haoma twig; the rest are placed over the foot of the makh-wesi (moon-faced); two crescent-like stands. He next places a piece of the worshipped beside the haoma twigs.

**The performance proper of the recitation of the haoma juice.** — The priest begins by saying: 'I invoke all the belongings (i.e. the requisites for the performance of the ceremony) of the Haoma, for the sake of Ahura Mazda.' Then he enumerates some of the important requisites which lie before him on the stone slab. While reciting their names, he looks at them. The requisites which he enumerates are: haoma, myasana (i.e. the darun, or sacred bread, which is spoken of as khanegham myasana, 'appropriate or sacred food'), the consecrated water (saktra), the twig (Khosha), the fasting bread (vahyiyaho), pure good water (saktra vanguyaho), mortar for pounding the haoma (bødama), fragrant wood (asaman) and frankincense (bakata or busi), and fire (atiha). The prayer, in which he invokes or enumerates the requisites, and, while reciting their names, looks at each of them as if they lie before him on the stone slab, forms a part of the 24th chapter of the Yasna. He recites that chapter from section 1 to section 12, omitting therefrom, in sections 1 and 8, the words, imāneh kariyaš aksa-coesangat (this jīvad, or fresh milk, held up with right hands), because, at the time when he recites this prayer, the jīvad is not yet placed on the stone slab. Sections 9 to 12 of this 24th chapter are the same as sections 4 to 7 of the fourth chapter.

The haoma ceremony may be performed either in the haosum-gath or in the haosum-gath, i.e. during the morning or the evening hours. So, after reciting the first 12 sections of the 24th chapter, the priest recites the 13th section if he prepares the haoma juice in the haosum-gath, or the 17th section, if he prepares it in the haosan-gath. Having thus recited the khesunman of the particular gath during which the ceremony is performed, he recites the khesunman formular of the particular day of the month and the particular month of the year on which he performs the ceremony. Then he proceeds to recite the prayers contained in the 4th chapter of the Yasna from section 17 to 22 up to the word vaityaha, omitting the portions which refer to onthay sobat and svaosha asuyaya (in sections 22 and 23). Next he recites the prayers contained in the 22nd chapter of the Yasna, from section 1 to 3, omitting the reference to vaityaha svaosha (fresh milk) in section 3, smaller of the two water-pots, and with the water of that pot makes the kundī containing all the utensils pāde. Then he prepares the sauktra water and ties the barsone wires. Having done all this, he next proceeds to make the haoma twigs pāde.

(2) The ritual of purifying the haoma twigs. — The priest takes a few pieces or twigs of the haoma plant out of a cup, and, holding them between the fingers of his right hand, washes them thrice with the pāde water. While doing so, he recites the Khosha-dhara formula three times. He then formulates the bāj and the khesunman of Haoma aksa-coesanga, wherein he says that he does this for the homage, glory, pleasure, and praise of Haoma, the giver of the strength of purity. Then, reciting the Ašem four times, he dips both his hands, together with the twigs, in the kundī on his right hand. He dips them four times in the water thrice in the direction pointing from his position to the opposite side (i.e. from north to south), and once in the opposite direction. Having thus made the twigs wet, he pulls them apart and dips the purified twigs in the sauktra water. Then, drawing the haoma before him, he inverts it and places it on top of the agni-shaped image of the haoma twig; the rest are placed over the foot of the makh-wesi (moon-faced); two crescent-like stands. He next places a piece of the worshipped beside the haoma twigs.

**The performance proper of the recitation of the haoma juice.** — The priest begins by saying: 'I invoke all the belongings (i.e. the requisites for the performance of the ceremony) of the Haoma, for the sake of Ahura Mazda.' Then he enumerates some of the important requisites which lie before him on the stone slab. While reciting their names, he looks at them. The requisites which he enumerates are: haoma, myasana (i.e. the darun, or sacred bread, which is spoken of as khanegham myasana, 'appropriate or sacred food'), the consecrated water (saktra), the twig (Khosha), some product of the cow such as fresh milk (goshudū or goshī hadda), a twig of the pomegranate tree (HS overall asgadagām), pure good water (saktra vanguyaho), mortar for pounding the haoma (bødama), fragrant wood (asaman) and frankincense (bakata or busi), and fire (atiha). The prayer, in which he invokes or enumerates the requisites, and, while reciting their names, looks at each of them as if they lie before him on the stone slab, forms a part of the 24th chapter of the Yasna. He recites that chapter from section 1 to section 12, omitting therefrom, in sections 1 and 8, the words, imāneh kariyaš aksa-coesangat (this jīvad, or fresh milk, held up with right hands), because, at the time when he recites this prayer, the jīvad is not yet placed on the stone slab. Sections 9 to 12 of this 24th chapter are the same as sections 4 to 7 of the fourth chapter.

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form the last part of this passage, he takes up the twigs of the haoma and the swārām from the mortar between his thumb and fingers; and, holding the pestle also, he touches the Yāstukh with the ring of the Yāstukh, and then now to act as the naṣta, enters the yazasaha-gāthā. Reciting an Aṣṭam voḥā and a certain number of Yathā ahā vairiyō, the number of which depends on the number of the priest's days, the priest then takes the haoma cup of the Yāstukh in his left hand, and the vəras ring in his right hand, and finishes the bij of the vəras which he had commenced some time before. To do this he recites two Yathā ahā vairiyō and the Yamānchka with the Khaṇum of the Frawahki of Zoroaster. He next dips the vəras ring in the vərasa water cup and places it in its own cup. Then he takes from his seat, and, taking the haoma cup which contains the juice prepared and strained, as above, places it in an adjoining niche in the hall. He brings the jindm and pours it into its plate (jindm no tashīt). In a plate on the stone slab he now places the darsu, or sacred bread, which was kept till now in another plate, and places it by the side of the juice. Then he recites an Aṣṭam voḥā and Ahmān radačchā, etc., finishes the bij, and performs the baṣaḥti.

This closes the ceremony of preparing the haoma juice, more properly spoken of as the ceremony of straining the haoma (Höm gātā). With its completion terminates the paragōma, i.e. the first or the preliminary preparatory ceremony of the Yasna. The second priest, who now has entered the yazasaha-gāthā and who is to recite the whole of the Yasna, mounts the stone slab or platform which serves as a seat. As he does so, he recites two Yathā ahā vairiyō. While uttering the word shyapadāsman of one Yathā he places his right foot over it, and, while reciting the same word of the second, his left foot.

The Dēdātān-Dēdātān (xvii. 30-35) tries to explain part of the symbolical sense of the ceremony of preparing and straining the haoma juice. For example, the haoma twigs are poured during the recital of four Aṣṭams. These four Aṣṭams symbolize the coming of Zoroaster and his three future apostles. The pure water, which is squeezed out by four applications of holy water (āvāk) with religious formulas, is noted even as a symbol of the understanding and birth of the four apostles bringing the good religion, who are he who is called Zarāsīdāh and they who are to be Bīshādād, Bīshādād-nah, and Kāshādāh.1 The stirring of the metallic kēnārā by pouring and straining the haoma reminds one of the triad of thought, word, and deed on which the doctrine of Zoroaster rests. The Dēdātān says on this point: "The metallic mortar (kēnārā) which is struck during the straining of the haoma, his word is evoked along with the words of the Avesta, which becomes a reminder of the thoughts, words, and deeds on the coming of those true apostles into the world.2 The three ceremonial processes of pouring the sacred water into the haoma mortar for the preparation of the haoma juice are symbolic of the three processes of the formation of rain in nature, viz. (1) evaporation, (2) formation of clouds, and (3) condensation as rain.3

The juice, prepared as above, by pouring the haoma twigs together with the swārām in the sacrižu water, is called vam-haoma.

(4) The ceremony of drinking the haoma.—The last ceremony in connexion with haoma is that of drinking it. We saw above that its preparation and straining formed a part of paragōma, i.e. the ceremony preparatory to the performance of the Yasna. The ceremony of drinking it forms a part of the ceremony of the Yasna itself. It is included in the recital of the 9th chapter, and finishes with the recital of the 11th. In these three chapters the priest sings the praises of haoma. The mode described in a highly poetical strain at the recital of the haoma juice which lies before him. On his finishing the description and the praises of haoma, at the 9th section of the 11th chapter, he collates the above.

1 SSB xviii. 170. 2 Th. 170. 3 Th.
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or स्वामक्षेति, makes his hand přd, and, coming to the सांक, lifts the cup containing the haoma juice from the stone slab, carries it round the sacred fire in the vase on the slab opposite, at the same time making the सांक (sandalwood and frankincense) from their stone slabs, and placing them on the fire. He then comes back to the सांक, and, holding the haoma-cup, says to the सांक, "May the haoma juice be of twofold, threefold ... ninesfold efficacy to you." Next he hands the haoma-cup to the सांक, who, holding it in his hand, looks into it, again recites a few words of praise, and prays that the drinking of it may bring spiritual happiness to him. Finally, he holds up his padas, or cloth veil, to his mouth and drinks the whole quantity at once, but in three draughts. In the interval between each of the three draughts the零售er recites an Ashvar-slok.

During the recital of the Yasna, the haoma juice is prepared and strained twice. As described above, at first it is prepared and strained by one priest in the ceremony. It is drunk by another priest during the recital of the 11th chapter of the Yasna. Then the priest who drank it prepares it a second time during the recital of the three chapters of the Yasna from the 25th to the 27th. The process of pounding the haoma twigs and striking the mortar continues during the recital of the 33rd, 34th and 35th chapters, during which the second preparation terminates. Though the ceremony proper commences for the second time during the recital of the 25th chapter, it may be said to begin with the 22nd chapter, because all the requisites of the ceremony are enumerated and invoked at its commencement. These two preparations and poundings are spoken of in the Avesta as अय or to it, अय (that brings a few words श्रवणम्), i.e. the first and the second squandering of the haoma.


HAPPINESS. — This term belongs to the ethical rather than to the psychological sphere, though referring to a condition of mental life. In ethics its use has been almost universal, yet in such varying senses that the substitution for it of more definite equivalents is much to be desired. A formal and a material meaning may be distinguished, the latter subject to a threefold division.

1. Formal meaning. — The practical human good, the end of action. In this sense 'happiness' is a mere abstract term for the desirable in life, implying nothing as to its concrete constituents.

Thus Zeller: 'This conception is in itself a purely formal one, admitting of any desired material interpretation.' (Fortuyn, 1882-84, III. 300.) Also Sorley: 'To say that the ethical end is happiness, is, to use Locke's terminology, a trifling proposition'; for in doing we merely give it a name. ('Ethics of Naturalism, 1883, p. 7.)

Aristotle (Nic. Ethica, l) assumes that all men agree in calling the good 'happiness,' but differs in the practical aspect of the term. This was true for the ancient world, and for some modern thinkers of the Greek type, but is no longer universal. Happiness has come to include various specific connotations which are particular and debatable interpretations of the good, and not merely equivalent names for it, though the latter is sometimes claimed by Hedonists for their own interpretation (J. S. Mill, Utilitarianism, ch. iv.). Kant and his successors, especially, deny the possibility of happiness being either the end or the supreme good, though it is an element in the complete good. This formal use of the term should therefore be abandoned in favour of the more abstract term 'good' or 'ultimate end of action.'

2. Material meaning. — (a) Pleasure, or the absence of pain. — This is the meaning which has been given to the term by Utilitarians since Gay, and which has been advocated by Sidgwick (Methods of Ethical Theory, 1906, p. 12) to the exclusion of any other. J. S. Mill, by his assertion of qualitative differences in pleasure, and hence in happiness, forms an exception to the Utilitarian tradition, using the term 'happiness' in its second (material) meaning as the pleasure of an objectively higher order of activity (Utilitarianism, ch. ii.). Kant's usage agrees with that of the orthodox Utilitarians, although he puts an opposite ethical value upon the idea (Werke, ed. Rosenkranz, 1835-40).

'The notion of happiness ... is only a general name for the subjective determining principles.' (Wll. 157.) 'A rational being's consciousness of the pleasantness of life uninterrupted by other sensations and desires is almost indistinguishable from the non-existence of subjective disturbance or pain.' (J. S. Mill, Utilitarianism, ch. iv.)

This happiness, as merely the feeling accompanying the satisfaction of desires, is qualitatively alike, irrespective of the nature of the objects causing the satisfaction. As such, it is a subjective and necessary law for conduct, but is only a name for the satisfaction of any and every desire.

(b) The feeling accompanying the systematic activity of the whole self, the feeling of self-activity or self-realisation. — In this sense, 'happiness' is distinguished from 'pleasure,' which is limited to the feeling accompanying partial or limited activities.

'If it is the form of feeling which accompanies the harmonious adjustment of the various parts of our lives within an ideal unity' (J. S. Mackenzie, Man of Ethics, 1900, bk. ii. ch. v. 14). 'Happiness is not the sum or aggregate of pleasures; it is their harmony or system—or rather, the feeling of this harmony.' (J. S. Mill, Utilitarianism, ch. iv. 48.) 'Pleasure is an aggregate of primary and relative, enduring only while some special activity endures and having reference only to that activity. Happiness is permanent and universal.' (J. S. Mill, Utilitarianism, ch. iv. 9.)

Happiness is the feeling of the whole self, as opposed to the feeling of some aspect of self' (J. E. Dewey, Psychology, 1897, p. 293.) Mill's conception of happiness consists in the pleasures of the exercise of the peculiarly human or higher faculties belongs to the same category.

This distinction between happiness and pleasure has been criticized by Kant (vii. 120) and others, on the ground that it is based upon the nature of the objects causing the feeling rather than upon the nature of the feeling itself, and, therefore, that happiness does not differ qualitatively from pleasure. Inasmuch it allows no end of action other than that of pleasure. As Ladd puts it (Philosophy of Conduct, p. 479): 'Ethics can divide pleasures into higher and lower, noble and ignoble, or difference (sic) pleasure from happiness or even from blessedness, only by introducing into the psychological composition of pleasure-pain something from the outside. That something is a standard of moral values.'

While this criticism is valid psychologically against the attempt to distinguish qualities in pleasure, and is also valid ethically against the attempt to make happiness, as a distinct kind of feeling, the moral end, it does not necessarily invalidate the use of the term in the authors criticized. Although the pleasure of partial and that of systematic activity may be alike in kind, it may still be convenient to use the term 'happiness' to denote the latter, though its moral significance be derived wholly from the character of the activities which condition it. Happiness would thus denote the affective side of the virtuous life. So Spinoza: 'Happiness is not the reward of virtue, but virtue itself.' (Ethics, bk. v. prop. 42.) This use of the term, however, while justifiable, is no excuse of misinterpretation to be retained.
HAPPINESS (Buddhist)

Happiness is applied alike to physical health, material well-being, and spiritual beatitude. Etymologically the word has no connexion with hap, happening, or luck. Grammarians assume that the second term, **sukka**, is a substitute for the first *sukak* (= Greek *Greek*). The word would then be equivalent to the original meaning of our "well-".

In Buddhist psychological analysis, feeling, or emotional sentiment (vedana), is resolved into three phases: **sukka**, **dukkha** (pain), and **adukkkhama-sukka** (neutral feeling). The last of these, to which modern psychology in the main ascribes a mere zero point between positive degrees of the first and second phases, is in Buddhism ranked as an equally distinguishable constituent of consciousness (Maj. v. 302; Soet, *loc. cit.*). We do, indeed, meet with a layman who pronounces a twofold division of feeling more orthodox (Maj. i. 59; Soet., *loc. cit.*). But the Buddha, when appealed to, explained that he divided feeling variously, according to the aspect under which he was treating it of his teaching (cf. his method in another connexion, Maj. ii. 32). When, e.g., he distinguished feeling under two heads, he was treating of sensuous feeling and spiritual emotion, to both of which the term **sukka** was applicable.

We may pause, before considering the chief division of the Buddha on **sukka**, to note the way in which, in one of the canonical dialogues, the psychological analysis of feeling is applied to ethical training. The teacher is the noted woman apostle Dhammakantha. (She finally refers her interlocutor—her husband—to the Buddha, who endorses all she has said.) She first gives the orthodox division (as stated above), and then adds a dictionary definition of each kind. She thus speaks:

> In happy feeling, what is happy, what is unhappy? In happy feeling, what is happy, what is unhappy? She replies: In happy feeling, the state (element) is happy, change is unhappy; the reverse for unhappy feeling. In neutral feeling, knowledge is happy, want of knowledge is unhappy feeling—an answer that reveals the weakness of the few.

E. S. Mill is representative in that professedly, at least, he takes a special kind of feeling as the end. Those who use the term 'happiness' in this sense are usually careful not to assert it as the ultimate end, but to make it only an aspect or component of the end (Mackenzie, Sath). (ii.) *Hedonism* should also be the term applied to systems in which the second meaning of happiness is taken as the end, since a kind of pleasure is still presupposed, although it is not in the form of a final end. The idea of happiness as an end carries with it all the ambiguities of its definition, and systems which propose this end receive different names according as they have.

(i.) *Hedonism* (p.v.) is the term applied to systems which propose happiness in the first sense as the end. It may be used in two ways. First, the system may be of such character that what one is led to believe to be an end, may be the end, and the idea that one may be mistaken in the belief. The idea of happiness as an ends carries with it all the ambiguities of its definition, and systems which propose this end receive different names according as they have.

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HAPINESS (Buddhist)

nexion with the practice of jhāna. The brief discourse has been set down by the compilers with the rhetoric progress and iteration of the Butanses retards, suitable for oral teaching. He commences with this refrain:

"With him who should say: "This is the supreme happiness and pleasure (or bliss) (the inner experience), I do not agree. And why? Than such happiness there is another happiness sweeter and more excellent. And what is that?"

In successive replies it is pointed out that the stages of jhāna, four of rūpājāna, five of arūpājāna, are each of them a sweeter and lofter happiness than kāma-sukha and each preceding mode of sukha. The last stage of arūpājāna was the attainment of catasaya or trance, described in the usual formula, elsewhere amplified, as the cessation of perception and sensation. Nevertheless, of this also, happiness sweeter and more excellent, it is to defend the position and to withdraw the original bone of dissent, Gotams concluded:

"Other teachers say: "The samana Gotama predicates happiness of the trance-stage: what and how is that?" Thus are they, the Vanita One does not predicate happiness only where there is happy (pleasurable) feeling; he also predicates happiness wherever and wherenwhereas it shall be stated.

These observations, referring his hearers, as always, to the spirit rather than to the letter, were the Buddha's method of teaching that the word sukha could represent concrete states of being, activities, ideas, memories associated with happy consciousness and genuine 'well-being,' no less than the idealisations and designs of desire. He might have extended his final remark to most of the preceding stages of jhāna; for, whereas, in the first three stages, the happy feeling, accompanied in the first two by that zest of pursuit known as piti, is the prevailing factor, the fourth jhāna is explicitly defined as a state wherein all positive feeling, joyous or melancholy, is merged in neutral feeling, so that the consciousness is one of complete equanimity and clarity of mind.

A unique compound may here be added—upākkhelittha occurring in Āguttara, iv. 418, as the conscious state which was to cease when the fourth jhāna was attained, and which can, therefore, be taken to mean the happy feeling of, or belonging to, or accompanying equanimity.

Sukha was, moreover, the predominating nature of celestial existence; so far at least as the six realms of deva in the Kāmaloka extended. To re-birth in these heavens the moral average layman aspired, believing that he would there enjoy pleasures of a sensuous sort, but intemper, more numerous, and less fleeting than those of earth (cf. Rhys Davids, Dialogues of the Buddha, ii. 533 ff., 345 ff., 262). Nor would he, as deva or devaputta (son of the gods), be incapable of lesser emotions and satisfactions to which the term sukha might equally apply; whatever the behaviour, in many Buddhist legends told in Nikāya and Jātaka, of the sentiments of Sakka, god of a Kāma-realm, and of those of the many devas who flocked to earth to hear the Buddha and his saints preach, or to commune with and admonish here and there a saint in sāvāca.

Sukha, then, we repeat, is of very wide import, consisting all pleasure, pleasantness, happiness; and it is equally applicable to the lowest and loftiest kinds of experience so designated. We have also seen that the neutral feeling accompanying vague intellecction merges into ecstatically happy feeling when the vagueness passes; and, again, that absorbed reverie and abstract contemplation, if rightly induced and persisted in, lead to emotionless quasi-ascetic states which can also be described as sukha, because they are a means whereby the saintly life is nourished and advanced.

In the next place, the natural desire of mankind to attain happiness and avoid pain and sorrow is fully recognized, believed in, justified, and explored by Buddhism. As a system of ethical philosophy, it may be classified as a monistic, monistic or hedonist, i.e., neither egocentrically nor altruistically so, but of the kind termed by H. Sidgwick "the greatest happiness of all beings". It recognizes in happiness an ultimate to which every human aspiration is in the last resort reducible. Accepting the current proverbs of the day, it sees in happiness the resulting benefit of mundane wisdom (Theragathā, 393). Happy re-birth, as a deva or as a fortunate human being, is the legitimate quest urged on the laity and the simpler-minded, less saintly Vīśhaka (Devā, iii. 181, 185, 191 ff.; Aṅg. i. 58, ii. 192, iii. 76 ff.). Meritorious acts are justified as happiness-bringing (suksatās) for self and others, and good conduct is the best of the worth of a practical doctrine (Aṅg. i. 190 f.; tr. in Buddhist Review, April 1911). Again, it is only the quest of the highest good that gives adequate opportunity for ending sorrow (Maj. iii. 245; Aṅg. i. 249). The mission of a Buddha is frequently declared to have as its object not only, in negative terms, the breaking of sorrow but also, in positive terms, the attainment of the good, or, weal, and the happiness (āśā rājukṣās) of all beings. In the wrestlings of the Buddha and of his disciples, there is a parallel whereby he could qualify for that high mission, Gotama admits that the quest of sukha was the ground wave that bore him along (Aṅg. i. 249 f.), and in the midst of his self-devised career he claims that this quest is won for good and all;

"Ay, young sir, I verily am of those who have happy, even though you see me exposed in this hut to the obliq lights of winter. Your well-baked sitcom, happy after his kind, may, the king himself with all his pleasures, is not to me as I. They may be sufficient with torments through greedy desires, envy, or blunders. But one who has cut off at the root all those sources of suffering dwells at ease, for he has won peace (Aṅg. i. 198 f.; Maj. i. 492 f.). A fortiori, happiness is commended not only for the babes in religion, but also for earnest disciples as a reasonable and sufficient aim of the religious life (e,g. Maj. i. 140 f.). And, adopting as a name for their rāmamānus word a word which would seem to have been applied to the careful cool organic consciousness of physical well-being (67th Sutta), the Buddhists qualified Nibbāna as supreme happiness (parānukṣās): These things to know en as they really are. This is Nibbāna known of supreme consciousness, 509.

The happiness thus commended and extolled for and by saints and those qualifying for saintship was, of course, neither the kāma-sukha, nor the jhāna, nor any under edukāsa, or feeling on occasion of sense, nor the sukha associated with ideas of the same. The attitude enjoined with regard to such feeling was very uncompromising. "Pleasant (sukha) feeling, bhikkhu, is to be considered as (equivalent to) pain (or ill); painful feeling is to be considered as a jealous; neutral feeling is to be considered as the highest permanent. A brother by whose are thus considered is an Aryan of supreme vision; he hath cut through craving; he hath rolled back his bonds; through supreme grasp of vain conceits he hath put an end to sorrow (Atthadānas, 58; Samm. iv. 207).

Coming next to ideal emotion, or the three modes of feeling when associated with ideas (domanassa, domanassas, upākkhet), we find the admission that, for spiritual health, these three modes of feeling are not at all condemned as ill, but amenable when unaccompanied by such thought as is engaged upon sense-experience (vīttattā-vīttathā). (Such is the implication of the phrase translated 'pre-occupation and travail of mind' in Rhys Davids, Dialogues, ii. 312 f., the terms vīttattā, vīttathā being essentially terms of senscognition, and used only in the first stage of jhāna, when the mind is not yet abstracted from such cognizance.)
HAPPINESS (Greek and Roman)—I.

GENERAL.—I. Greek teleology: happiness attends fulfilment of function. — ὀόδοιος, when critically appraised, could not mean to the Greeks ‘a happy temperament,’ to which a genius was propitious. This might be very well, but it was not of ‘knowledge (as Soliloquy and Platonism)’ or of ‘wisdom (as St. Paul). The term was applied to well-being judged from outside by a certain agreed standard of perfection. The Greeks, however, serious their practical doubts, never showed any hesitation, save in the Atomic School, in accepting teleology: everything was made for some end and found its satisfaction in fulfilling its function, in realizing its idea or its notion; only in science, as in the Orient, did this idea was real, true, good, and therefore happy. Man was contrasted, as a single type, with the rest of creatures; never (oddly enough) with other and different members of his own species; his differentiation lay in reason, implying self-consciousness and self-criticism, above all, recognition of a law—and that a universal one, beyond the private and the particular. Thus, the only state deserving the title ‘happy’ in the truest sense was that of the philosopher, who alone used formative or speculative reason rightly, and so fulfilled the end for which he was made. It is clear, that, like Kant’s categorical imperative, this vague axiom can give no special guidance for individual cases; no help to men of different character, aim, and station.

In the end, then, Greek ethics set up in the various schools an ideal of life singularly alike, a purely typical excellence which was bound to end in a negation rather than in any positive content. Except the early Cynic model, which soon passed out of favour, there is little to choose, in essential detail, between the ‘sages’ of Plato and Aristotle and that of the Stoic and Epicurean schools; indeed, the Cynic model, significantly enough, tended later to approach this common standard. Happiness, then, in every Greek system of religion or philosophy, is singleness of aim, uprightness of heart, and the undisturbed peace of one who rests in ultimate truth, and has hold of reality. It is always set in contrast with the aims of the worldly-wise, cumbersed with much serving or the pursuit of many ends. Not within the limits of our period do the modern features of such distinct human activity towards the conquest and improvement of the world, and complexity of life; nor towards social service. This was the ‘happiness of the greatest number,’ multi-form legislation to secure better conditions for the poor.

2. Enemies of happiness: impulse and convention.—Happiness, then, as above described, lay in

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reason (as private judgment, which mirrored an external order and laid hold of objective truth), not in impulse or custom. The body and conventional society was the two great essence of wisdom and, therefore, of happiness. The aesthetic and anti-civic tendency of Hellenic morals is now well established, in spite of some feeble protest. The dualism between the state's true welfare and all earthly concerns begins in Pythagoras and Heraclitus, and only increases in intensity down to Aristotle and then later Stoles. The conventional order, φύσις, the State, was never really the true home of the sage who desired to be perfect and therefore happy. Happiness lay in understanding and accepting the world-order, not in average honesty or public life in a small city. It was, then, directly dependent upon knowledge, as wide as that postulated by Plato in his "Ideal.

Upon this Epicurus, the anti-teleologist, insists as strongly as the rest: his last advice was "to remember the dogmata," which explained the physical world by science. The Atomic theory, which put accident above providence, had existed from early times as a heresy defying the orthodox belief in a rational world-order. But, if the axioms of Democritus and Epicurus mark the start of the rest, there is substantive agreement in actual life and in their portrait of the wise and happy man; he is, as he said, 'the wise man accepts the world-order of nature,' by taking his proper place in it; and, it need scarcely be said, even this accidental system assumed a half-personal look. Nature was even defined in Lucretius (55 BC), to the loss of all religious education and utility, and the gain of that moral independence and earnestness without which ethical theory is dry bones.

Happiness in Knowledge of Nature or the world-order (αὐτὴ φύσις ἐστὶν αὐτὴ λόγος).—Happiness therefore lay merely in living according to Nature, in finding the wider law which was higher and more imperative than the customs of a city, or the edict of a tyrant. Except some sophists, perhaps, in empty theory, or Aristippus for a short time, none believed that the individual could stand alone, or be safe in following impulse and running counter to convention. There has never been much discouragement in the whole of history on the virtues, on what makes an 'A gentleman,' and the like; the indecency of the Cynic was reprobated by all, and Epicurus soon turned aside from pleasures to find a unique satisfaction in the simple life, in a temper permanently cheerful. But the sanction demanded was from the Universe itself, not from any local or partial authority; the happy wise man was the cosmospanian. And here we meet two questions: Does Nature, after all, recognize the goodness and respect the happiness of the sage? And, if not, is the consciousness of duty done and right defended at the cost of life sufficient for happiness? It is clear that these doubts were at the root of the movement which gave a welcome to Christianity, turned the self-poised independence of the Stoic into piety, and brought back in countless forms the cult of various tutelary beings.

4. Virtue to be self-sufficient or found in union with God.—When the Porch became a practical guide instead of an academic paradox, men like Plato and Socrates turned from the subject of average men; like Aristotle and the Peripatetics, they postulated for happiness not bare virtue but a moderate equipment of external goods. Where Zeus had shut the door on everything but the 'good will,' they let in the (uncertain) elements (Diog. Laert. vi. 65) of health, competence, and strength. So Adam Smith admits as constituents of happiness health, a good conscience, and freedom from debt; Lucian makes equally merry over those who demand a good deal from the world and fortune and those who pretend to despise any such demands and to deem virtue self-sufficient. With the collapse of the city-State system, the correspondence between merit and receipt was destroyed; a sextet of thinkers in the Stoic, professing to 'rationalize' the world-order (see Bussell, The School of Plato, 1896, Marcus Aurelius, 1900), ended in pronouncing it unknowable and incomparable with the human ideals of right and wrong. They still adhered to the axiom that the λόγος spoke in everything; the cruelty of lion and tyrant was quite in place, like death or disease; but there was no real interrelation between these several units, each displaying its nature. The sage could help feeling dissatisfied only by sealing his lot with a few maxims to be kept ready against doubt. Nature, whether as the actual system around us or as its ideal perfection conceived by the thinker, made no allowance for the virtue of the good: the world lay in the 'Evil One,' as St. John said (1 Jn 5:18), or, as Seneca preferred to say, under Fortune. Flight from the world, instead of the Platonic attempt to embody the ideas in the body, to hew out a piece of the world's sufficiency of virtue was an article of faith, because it was the last and only certain possession of the wise man, and he was not stoop to make terms with an alien and immoral power. Hence pius resignation and religious prayerfulness and ecstasy, or self-loss, became the distinguishing marks of the whole school, and the end of self-sufficiency was gone, and only in surrender to a divine order or to a tutelary god, as with Apuleius, were safety and happiness to be found.

II. DETAILS.—All Greek philosophy sought the permanent in the fleeting and changeable; and, in human life emerging into self-consciousness and purposeful interest, the individual was the centre for which pure subjective feeling and impulse was ruled out as self-defeating. All schools were agreed (as soon as the question was once posed) that (a) well-being is the aim of all effort and all inquiry; and (b) wisdom, or knowledge of the good, can alone give security and guidance; that (c) 'none can sin against the light' or his own good if he knows it; that (d) ethical conduct, already personal and universal, is a pure matter of insight; and that (e) to know good is to follow it, and to attain it is the highest happiness or satisfaction known to man.

2. It is noteworthy that no Greek school placed the ideal of perfection (and, therefore, of happiness) in active social service; the end was always self-realization, and everything was regarded from the individual's standpoint, though the subject was conceived objectively; the very frequency of classical protest that 'man is a social being' bears witness to their profound antipathy to the subject of average men; like Aristotle and the Peripatetics, they postulated for happiness not bare virtue but a moderate equipment of external goods. Where Zeus had shut the door on everything but the 'good will,' they let in the (uncertain) elements (Diog. Laert. vi. 65) of health, competence, and strength. So Adam Smith admits as constituents of happiness health, a good conscience, and freedom from debt; Lucian makes equally merry over those who demand a good deal from the world and fortune and those who pretend to despise any such demands and to deem virtue self-sufficient. With the collapse of the city-State system, the correspondence between merit and receipt was destroyed; a sextet of thinkers in the Stoic, professing to 'rationalize' the world-order (see Bussell, The School of Plato, 1896, Marcus Aurelius, 1900), ended in pronouncing it unknowable and incomparable with the human ideals of right and wrong. They still adhered to the axiom that the λόγος spoke in everything; the cruelty of lion and tyrant was quite in place, like death or disease; but there was no real interrelation between these several units, each displaying its nature. The sage could help feeling dissatisfied only by sealing his lot with a few maxims to be kept ready against doubt. Nature, whether as the actual system around us or as its ideal perfection conceived by the thinker, made no allowance for the virtue of the good: the world lay in the 'Evil One,' as St. John said (1 Jn 5:18), or, as Seneca preferred to say, under Fortune. Flight from the world, instead of the Platonic attempt to embody the ideas in the body, to hew out a piece of the world's sufficiency of virtue was an article of faith, because it was the last and only certain possession of the wise man, and he was not stoop to make terms with an alien and immoral power. Hence pius resignation and religious prayerfulness and ecstasy, or self-loss, became the distinguishing marks of the whole school, and the end of self-sufficiency was gone, and only in surrender to a divine order or to a tutelary god, as with Apuleius, were safety and happiness to be found.

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totelian text ἢ ἔριξαν ἀλώλοτρον καὶ τοὺς παραδόσεις προέξεσθαι, while προέ is at the same time God Himself.

4. Roman 'virtue' was very early conscious that respect for custom, and the traditions of a proud ruling class, insured to hardship and State-service, with no keen desire to distinguish private from public life. The Senate expelled the usurious Bacchanals—both symptoms of unruly or sceptical subjectivity. They had all Hegel's distrust of the man who protects his own salvation; and yet, in the long run, did the precarious tenure and uncertain title come to light, throwing a man back on his own inner resources and reviving the old Platonic asceticism. Peripateticism was three centuries ago in a compromise with the worldly and social spirit. Aristotle was quite sincere, for instance, in holding that human good is specific and attainable in this life by an activity of the soul, not needing a comprehensive knowledge of the universal good which is in Plato supernatural. But how imperfect and provisional is his portrait of the natural man, and with what emotion he speaks of the highest life of God and of man! For the average man in the world neither Aristotle nor his school gave any real guidance in the management of conduct or the pursuit of happiness. When Theophrastus stoutly defended the value of external good (leisure, security, and affluence), he was speaking on behalf of a privileged aristocracy, the elect of wisdom.

The weakness, then, of ethical appeal in the Greek world was due to (1) the small number who could reach the ideal; (2) the ascetic and transcendental character of the happiness promised to them; (3) the increasing sense of the instability of fortune, the submerged props on which rested the joy which should be manifest in ever-changing possession; (4) the confusion of moral and intellectual good (to the detriment of the former), and the permanent entanglement of right action with 'knowledge of the good.' Impeccable custom and just regulated the life of ordinary men. Philosophers taught no striking novelties in ethics, and merely laid stress on a negative goodness, aloof and remote, which could have no public influence. The lower happiness was allowed by Plato in the Republic to those who implicitly obeyed authority; it was but the external form. Aristotle only gave definite shape and object to this ideal yearning. However far he diverged from Plato in the general, he never swerved from the doctrine of highest happiness in contemplation alone. He passed from the docetic and mystical stage of his Eudemus (quoting Silenus' maxims, 'Best of all not to be born,' and calling death 'going home'), from the devout theological attitude of the Eudemian Ethics, to a cooler tone in his praise of θεωρία, and of a god who is the last term in science rather than in religion; to a far more sympathetic attitude to the actual world of men and things. But, though he changed the highest ideal from devotion to inquiry, he always placed happiness in intellectual, not in social life a διανοητὸς πάθος. In his admiration for virtue, as excellence won by endeavours, he was quite as sincere as Kant in his reverence for Duty; witness his poem, 'Ἀγαθὴ πολιτεία γίνεται ἐπιτελεῖ | ὁμολογία κατ' ὄρθον ἔχει; but, as with an apostle like Bradley, this dualism and striving denoted an imperfect sphere, and had to be transcended by that which alone gave freedom to science. He believed the best to be within the grasp of a few only whom Fortune had equipped with competence, health, and leisure. In his Platonic Protagoras, he calls worldly goods (strength, beauty, and honours) mere semblances or shadow-pictures (εἰκοναγωγός); and compares the soul in the body to a living prisoner yoked with a corpse. How far he transcended the ascetic dualism of principles is known to every reader of the de Anima. Quite clear is the negative (or cathartic) character of moral as distinct from intellectual 'virtue'; it prepares the way for the chief good, but is not to be identified with it. Aristotle reverences Eudemus, ἢ μέγας ἢ μικρός ἄνθρωπος κατεχόμεθα τοὺς | φυσικοὶ τις καὶ μικροί πόλεμος | ὁ ἄνθρωπος τε καὶ ἐκεῖνος δεῦρο εἰσί | ἱστορίας τε καὶ ἔρεμος ἔν τινα ἕτοι. In his early and more devout phase, this happiness was a divine gift or recompense; later, the sage became independent and worked out his own salvation; on his deathwards the precarious tenure and uncertain title come to light, throwing a man back on his own inner resources and reviving the old Platonic asceticism. Peripateticism was three centuries ago in a compromise with the worldly and social spirit. Aristotle was quite sincere, for instance, in holding that human good is specific and attainable in this life by an activity of the soul, not needing a comprehensive knowledge of the universal good which is in Plato supernatural. But how imperfect and provisional is his portrait of the natural man, and with what emotion he speaks of the highest life of God and of man! For the average man in the world neither Aristotle nor his school gave any real guidance in the management of conduct or the pursuit of happiness. When Theophrastus stoutly defended the value of external good (leisure, security, and affluence), he was speaking on behalf of a privileged aristocracy, the elect of wisdom.

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TILL THE SUMMARY.—We may sum up the doctrine and practice of the ancient Greeks thus: happiness or well-being as the avowed object of our human activity is twofold—higher and lower, positive and negative. What is the 'instrument of a Divine reason' but, owing to the complex and accidental character of his body, he is hindered in the pursuit of goodness and truth. The first stage is, therefore, to order his ideal of perfection (happiness) to consist in a harmony between the three parts of the soul (reason, spirit, and appetite); Aristotle was equally clear that moral virtue (or human excellence) involves a control of these duties, which all thinkers and teachers have called 'our lower nature.' Above this negative victory over the disorderly elements in our self, which gave a certain domestic peace, was a far higher realm of true happiness. Every one is familiar with Plato's portrait of the soul, freed from earth and sentiment, and enthroned in heaven, as its eternal form. Aristotle only gave definite shape and object to this ideal yearning. However far he diverged from Plato in the general, he never swerved from the doctrine of highest happiness in contemplation alone. He passed from the docetic and mystical stage of his Eudemus (quoting Silenus' maxims, 'Best of all not to be born,' and calling death 'going home'), from the devout theological attitude of the Eudemian Ethics, to a cooler tone in his praise of θεωρία, and of a god who is the last term in science rather than in religion; to a far more sympathetic attitude to the actual world of men and things. But, though he changed the highest ideal from devotion to inquiry, he always placed happiness in intellectual, not in social life a διανοητὸς πάθος. In his admiration for virtue, as excellence won by endeavours, he was quite as sincere as Kant in his reverence for Duty; witness his poem, 'Ἀγαθὴ πολιτεία γίνεται ἐπιτελεῖ | ὁμολογία κατ' ὄρθον ἔχει; but, as with an absolutist like Bradley, this dualism and striving denoted an imperfect sphere, and had to be transcended by that which alone gave freedom to science. He believed the best to be within the grasp of a few only whom Fortune had equipped with competence, health, and leisure. In his Platonic Protagoras, he calls worldly goods (strength, beauty, and honours) mere semblances or shadow-pictures (εἰκοναγωγός); and compares the soul in the body to a living prisoner yoked with a corpse. How far
followed of the two great Hindu sects, the followers of Siva giving the name as Haradvarā (Gate of Hara, or Siva, the destroyer), those of Vignan calling it after Hari, the 'tawny one,' a title of Vigna Kṛṣṇa. The place was also at one time known as Kapila, after the saint Kapila Muni, the scene of whose devotions and asceticism at Laktāra, called Kapilāśvara, 'Lord of Kapila,' is shown at Kapilāsthāna in the hills adjoining Hardwar (Atkinson, Himalayan Gazetteer, 1904, p. 506). Hien Telang calls the Ganges at this point māḍha-bhadra, 'very propitious'; and even in his time vast numbers of pilgrims used to bathe in the sacred stream. I have only to have been the scene of a cult of Buddha, because, among the broken sculptures at the Nārāyanasālī or Nārāyanabalā temple, Cunningham identifies one small figure of Buddha in the second, surrounded by smaller images of ascetic attendants. Doubtless this is only one survival above ground of many images of the Master. Hien Telang also notes also of a neighbouring site, known as Gangañāvāra, 'gate of the Ganges,' and here undoubtedly a cult of the river-goddess prevailed from a very early period.

Thames, 1884, ii. 109, Cunningham, Arch. Rep. ii. (1871) 231). Hien Telang adds that Daksha made a great sacrifice here, and invited all the gods except Siva. But his consort, Sati or Uma, jealous for the honour of her lord, induced him to drink the poison of the sacrifice, and she was ordered to mar the sacrificial. Accompanied by the terrible goddesses of Dakshāśa and her train, Virabhadra attacked the assembled gods, with the result that Siva, god of death, was cut off, and Svarṇa, goddess of learning, and the Mātri, or mother-goddesses, had their noses cut off. Sva, lord of sacrifices, was decapitated, and he now forms the constellation Mrigāśira, the antelope's head. A variant of the tale makes Sati in her wrath destroy herself on the scene of sacrifices by leaping into the same for the sins committed during three previous lives. The place where this river proceeds, for the purification of the three worlds, is the third division of the celestial region, the seat of Viṣṇu (ib. Wilson, London, 1894-77, ii. 374 f.).

A remarkable legend, told in connexion with Kankhal, a town close to Hardwar, has been interpreted to represent a conflict between the rival cults of Vigna and Siva, in which the first the former, but finally the latter, acquired the ascendancy. The story as told in the Purāṇas (Wilson, Viṣṇu Purāṇa, i. 129 ff.; Dowson, Classical Dict. of Hindu Mythology, 1894, p. 336), and the narrative of the story that Daksha made a great sacrifice here, and invited all the gods except Siva. But his consort, Sati or Uma, jealous for the honour of her lord, induced him to drink the poison of the sacrifice, and she was ordered to mar the sacrificial. Accompanied by the terrible goddesses of Dakshāśa and her train, Virabhadra attacked the assembled gods, with the result that Siva, god of death, was cut off, and Svarṇa, goddess of learning, and the Mātri, or mother-goddesses, had their noses cut off. Sva, lord of sacrifices, was decapitated, and he now forms the constellation Mrigāśira, the antelope's head. A variant of the tale makes Sati in her wrath destroy herself on the scene of sacrifices by leaping into the same for the sins committed during three previous lives. The place where this river proceeds, for the purification of the three worlds, is the third division of the celestial region, the seat of Viṣṇu (ib. Wilson, London, 1894-77, ii. 374 f.).

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In the time of Akbar, because Abī T-Fazl speaks of Mākā, known as Haradvarā on the Ganges. It is held sacred for its length (cosat 37 miles). Large numbers of pilgrims assemble on the 10th of Chaitra (March–April) (Alim-ākbari, tr. Blochmann and Jarrett, Calcutta, 1873-94, iii. 300). Both Sāiva and Vaiṣṇava sects are thus agreed upon the sanctity of this place. In fact, as generally the case in India, the most famous sacred places are those whose sanctity dates from a period antecedent to the rise of the present religions. Hardwar, as the place where the great river issues from the hills, was naturally regarded as sacred from the very earliest times, and thus became a fitting abode of the deities who in succession acquired the devotion of the people. The first was the river-goddess; then Buddha; then the Hindu gods of the later period. Besides this, in the Mahābhārata we have a hint that a serpent-termed poison, called the boon, one of the Pandava princes, is said to have come here to bathe, and met Uśā, daughter of the Naga king, who besought him to marry her (Mahāb. i. 214). Both stories are unlikely, but the act of bathing, in the holiness of the place on river legends describing the birth of the river. The former allegory that the river springs from Kailāsa, the paradise of Siva; the latter, that it falls from the toe of Viṣṇu — in support of
HARISCHANDIS—HARPIES

original stone marked with the footprints of Vyágo, is said to have decayed under a tree some time ago; but a substitute has been provided.

The bathing steps have been the scene of more than one eruption of cholera. In 1811, before the rule of British India, the stars of the name of Dharma, Vyasa, taking human form on purpose to test Harishandra's sense of duty, expressed himself satisfied. Harishandra and his wife were tried, and since that time the son was resurrected and restored to his kingdom, where he reigned in his father's stead. The whole story is told with much pathos in the seventh and following chapters of the Markandeya Purána, and is a favourite subject of modern vernacular literature.

The Harishandras are nearly all of very low caste, mostly Doms. They claim to practice the tendered down to them from Harishandra's Dom master, who was taught to do as his master had been taught in the intervals of his employment. They worship Víspu as the Creator of the universe; and, if they have any other definite doctrines, they are those of the Bhakti-mâyya (see E.E.E. ii. 536 ff.).


HARMONY SOCIETY.—See COMMUNISTIC SOCIETIES, vol. iii. p. 780 ff.

HARPIES.—Rarely do a mythological figure express so unmistakably its nature as the Harpies. They are the 'Apórragai, 'Snatchers,' creatures of rapine, and rapacity. On a black-figured vase in the Berlin Museum (Cat. 1855, Arch. Zeitung, 1855, p. 9) two Harpies are figured, and they ask them their name in the dual. 'Apórragai, 'the two Snatchers' (see fig. 1). From this vase we are certain that in the 5th cent. B.C. the Greeks conceived of the Harpy as a winged divinity of human female form. The vase is of special interest because, though the two winged figures are inscribed as 'Harpias,' the name of which they form part is the slaying of Modusa. This shows that Harpies were apt to be confused with another type of monster, the Gorgon. The Gorgon is always represented from the Harpy by the mask-like face with tusks and protruding tongue (see GORGON), but the Gorgon is sometimes figured in Greek art as performing the functions of a Harpy, i.e. snatching away human beings.

The function of the Harpies as Snatchers comes out clearly in Homer (Od. xx. 77 fl.):

Penelope is telling the old Lydian story of how the daughters of Pandaros waited in their father's hall while Aphrodite planned for them in Olympus a goodly marriage; but they never came to marriage age, for

Sometimes the Snatchers snatched away the maid, and gave them o'er
To the hateful ones, the Etrusci, to serve them evermore.'

The Harpies here are little more than ministers of untimely death; they are only half-way towards impersonation; and to give them a capital letter is really to crystallize their personality prematurely. It must always be remembered that to the Greek, even when the Harpies became fully personalized, their name carried its adjectival sense of 'snatchers' in a way lost to us.

To Homer, in the passage cited, they are death-demons near akin to the Etrusci, the angry ghosts. But here, as so often, Homer has moved somewhat away from primitive conceptions, of which, however, in this very passage, he betrays a haunting remembrance. The Snatchers were originally not death-demons but simply winds. Penelope, just before the passage cited, prays in her desolation that the 'storm' (θύρης) may 'snatch her away'

1 J. P. Partridge's tr. p. 62 ff. The story also occurs in the Padma Purána.
Harpies

(ἀρπαγόταται, just as the 'storm-winds' (θύκαλαι) snatched away the daughters of Pandareos:
in E Ψευδομερναίου μακραί δίκικι ρηδίκα
O.D. xx. 68).

Clearly the Harpies are equated with the storm-winds. It is only incidentally as Snatchers that they perform the functions of death-demons.

As winds the Harpies have a double function: they not only snatch away to destruction; they give life. Homer (I. xvi. 150) tells us that a Harpy, Podarge ('Swift-foot'), was the mother of the horses of Achilles by Zephyros the West Wind. Both parents are winds; but, as was natural in a mare-breeding country, the Harpy was conceived of not as a woman, but as the creature who was swiftness embodied—a fleet horse. The notion that winds could impregnate was wide-spread in antiquity. Vergil (Georg. iii. 274 f.) says of mares:

'... scipe sine ullis conjuxit vento gravidae, minax dicta.'
The winds are breaths and souls (νεφέες); and, when breezes are spoken of as 'life-begotting' (ισνεφές) and 'soul-rearing' (ψυχαγοράς), this was not to the ancients a mere metaphor. Winds, says the author of the Geoponics (iv. 3), 'give life not only to plants but to all things.'

It depends, however, on what quarter of the world one lives in which wind will be beneficent or maleficent. The principal myth in which the Harpies are concerned was a Thracian one—that of the feast of Phineus; and here the Harpies clearly stand for pestilential winds which come from the South—in a word, for the sirocco, which blights man, beast, and vegetation. The feast of Phineus is clearly depicted on the famous cylis (fig. 2) in the Würzburg Museum (JHE. 334). Phineus, to the right, reclines at his banquet, attended by the women of his family, one of whom holds a large flower in token of plenty and fertility. The Harpies, the sirocco-snatchers, have been at their work fouling the feast, but for the last time

Fig. 1. Painting on Berlin vase.

and which maleficent. The principal myth in which the Harpies are concerned was a Thracian one—that of the feast of Phineus; and here the Harpies clearly stand for pestilential winds which come from the South—in a word, for the sirocco, which blights man, beast, and vegetation. The feast of Phineus is clearly depicted on the famous cylis (fig. 2) in the Würzburg Museum (JHE. 334). Phineus, to the right, reclines at his banquet, attended by the women of his family, one of whom holds a large flower in token of plenty and fertility. The Harpies, the sirocco-snatchers, have been at their work fouling the feast, but for the last time

Fig. 2. Würzburg cylis.

question of the 'Harpystomb' and for the interpretation of the Cyrene cup with supposed figures of Harpies); J. H. Harrison, Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, Cambridge, 1905, pp. 176-226 (on the almost inextricable confusion between Keres, Gorgones, Harpies and Sirens, and for the various art-monuments). Among the modern Greeks some functions of the Harpies, but not their names, are exercised by the Nereids (p. 6); but, as the Nereids perform all the functions of Nymphs in general, to discuss them here would only cause confusion.
HARRANIANS. — The Harranians were a Syrian religious community named after their headquarters, Harrān (the Haran of the OT, and Carrhae of the Greeks). The first mention of them as a sect seems to be in the Chronicle of Dionysius of Tell-Mahre (ed. Chabot, Paris, 1906, p. 86), composed about A.D. 840; he confuses them with the Manicheans, and records an occurrence of the year 764 in which they were concerned. Owing to the fame acquired by various professional men and writers belonging to this community, they attracted the attention of Muslim authors, who composed numerous monographs about them and their tenets. Some of these are preserved, at any rate in part, in the Fihrist, or Bibliography, of Ibn al-Nadim, composed A.H. 377 (A.D. 987); and accounts of them are given in the Maqāṣid al-Dhahab of Mâṣlahī, composed A.H. 332 (A.D. 943), and in his later work, the Tahqīq, composed A.H. 345 (A.D. 956). Much is also heard about them in the 6th cent. of Islam, especially in the 'Guide of the Perplexed' of Moses Maimonides (A.D. 1153) and the 'Guide of the Perplexed' of Moses Maimonides (A.D. 601 (A.D. 1204)). The community seems to have disappeared during the devastations of Mongols by the 7th cent. of Islam.

Islamic writers usually call them Sabians (Sabadān); even in the Qurān, where those bear who are treated with some respect; and, according to some of the Muslim authorities, the Harranians adopted it in A.H. 218 (835), in order to obtain integration in the Qurān (A.D. 243, Cairo, 1281), after Yūnūs b. 'Abd al-A'la (†304 (917)) after Abdallah b. Wāhīb (†317 (928)) after Muhammad b. 'Abdallah b. Wāhīb (†318 (929)), and in the Jāzirah of Maqāṣid, which, though somewhat vague, is a correct location of Harrān, but would not suit the Harranians. If these authorities are correctly given, the connexion between Harrān and the Sabūdah must have been three-quarters of a century earlier than the date given in the Fihrist; and the earliest geographer Iqtahshār (c. A.H. 300 (A.D. 912)) mentions Harrān as the city of the Sabā'īn (p. 76, ed. de Goeje, 1870), without any suspicion that the connexion was less than a century old. 'There,' he says, 'are their seventeen ascetics (hadana). Neither of these authorities was accessible to Chwolson. Further, it would appear from good traditions that the followers of Muhammad were known by their enemies, and even to some extent among themselves, as Sabūd, and this seems to bear some relation to the title which Muhammad connect with Abraham, Hānīf, and which he gave his own community. For Christian writers frequently speak of the Harranians as pagans, Anḵēth, and Abraham is constantly mentioned in context, much more than Moses, and more decidedly than in the narrative of Genesis. The controversial but decidedly learned writer, Ibn Ḥarrawī (†1083), in his Fīsūʾ al-Mawālikin (Cairo, 1317, i. 36), has no hesitation in identifying the Harranians with the Sabūdah of the Qurān, and supposes that Abraham was sent to convert them, and that during his time they took the name Hānīf. According to him, they believe, like the Māzdaeans, in two eternal elements; they honour the seven planets and the twelve constellations, and paint them in their temples; they offer sacrifices and incense; but they have five prayers similar to the Muslim ceremony, they fast in Ramadan, turn to the Ka'bah in prayer, and regard the same months as unlawful as are regarded by the Muslims; their religion is identified with that afterwards restored by Muhammad except that they had introduced the worship of the stars and idols, which Abraham endeavoured ineffectively to abolish.

Although this account has many inaccuracies of detail, it is confirmed in some important matters by the others; and it seems to solve one of the puzzles of Islamic history, viz. the adoption by Muhammad of the name Hānīf, while he himself was called 'Abd by his contemporaries. But this would imply that the latter name was used either by or for this community in his time, whence we should suppose that the story adopted by Chwolson was a fiction invented by its enemies—a supposition which is by no means unlikely. The origin of the appellation Sabūdah is obscure. Tabarī in his history (i. 178) derives it from one Sabī, a son of Me'mūs, but in his discussion of the 'Guide of the Perplexed' of Mozes Maimonides (A.D. 601 (A.D. 1204)) the community seems to have disappeared during the devastations of Mongols by the 7th cent. of Islam. The Sabians gave place to a new sect, 'to desire,' since that verb is also found in Syria, and there would have an exact analogue in the name murūdīn, 'aspirants after the knowledge of God,' which is taken by al-Fihrist, and has even been used as a title of a sect.

The accounts of the Harranian system preserved by the Muslims purport to come either from members of the sect with whom the authors came in contact, or from Arabic translations of their sacred books. One of the latter was made by order of a qādī of Harrān, and, according to the account of the Fihrist, was widely read; of another, called the 'Book of the Five Mysteries,' he had come across a mutilated copy. A Harranian calendar was composed by Abū Saʿīd Wāhīb b. Ibrāhīm, the Christian contemporary of Ibn al-Nadim, who gives it in extenso; and another is embodied by al-Bīrūnī in his Chronology of Ancient Nations (A.D. 390 (A.D. 999), tr. Sachau, London, 1879, pp. 314–329). The Fihrist also embodies a list of Harranian gods, and some other matter of an analogous kind. A magical treatise called Ghaybat al-Sabda (A.D. 340 (A.D. 1048), also contains what is ostensibly a lengthy extract from a Sabīan book. Finally, Shahristānī reproduces a lengthy dialogue between the Sabians and the Hindu.

From a comparison of these documents, Chwolson inferred that the Harranians were, as the Christians called them, pagans, i.e. a community who had retained a mixture of Babylonian and Hellenic religion, over which there had been superimposed a coating of Neo-Platonic philosophy (chiefly among the educated), while certain features, had also been adopted from one of the monothetic cults, possibly through the influence of the surrounding Muslims. This view perhaps harmonises the evidence before us as well as it is possible to harmonize it; yet the Muslim authors seem to call attention to certain features whichSab′ian shares with Islam, especially their daily prayers measured by inclinations and prostrations, which imply that they were a real sect, i.e. followers of a system founded by some person or persons, rather than that their worship was a survival modified by unconscious syncretism. The 'prophets,'
whom they professed to follow were Hermes and Agathodemos, whom they identified in Shahra-
stant’s time with Zeus and Idris (Zoech); these
names appear to belong to the Hellenic period of
Hellenic religion (G. Murray, Four Stages in
Greek Religion, 1912, p. 86).

Of the deities mentioned above, the most
authentic appears to be the list of gods, which,
however, is so seriously corrupted or mistranslated
that little can be made of it; in another account
the Harranians are said to sacrifice to the gods
of the seven week-days, whose names are partly
Babylonian, partly Greek. To these the sacrificial
animals were variously golden men, golden
shapes, the god of the jinn, the lord of the hour, the god who makes
arrows fly; the god Tawûs (or Tammtûs), who was slain by his master, who then ground his bones in a
mill, and scattered them to the winds; Haman, the
prince, father of the gods, the prince of the
jinn, the greatest god, the god North, the lord of
fortune; etc. The account of their sacrifices
contains much that is incredible; the sacrificial
animals were, according to it, in many cases burned
alive; and on one day they would sacrifice a child,
whose flesh was thoroughly boiled and made into
cakes, which were then eaten by a certain class of
the worshippers. On a particular day they prayed
for the destruction of the Mosque of Harrân, the
Christian Church, and the Women’s Market; to be
followed by the restoration of their kingdom.
It seems clear that the calendar is the work of an
enemy of the sect. The story, however, of the
human sacrifice appears to have been brought up
as frequently as the modern accusation of the
same kind against the Jews. Dionysius (loc. cit.)
asserts that they annually entrap a victim, whom,
whom, after keeping for a year, they decapitated
with a view to divining by his head; and this story
is separately told in the Fihrist, where, in lieu of
decapitation, a bull’s head is said to have been
brought to the priests and then thrown to the
sheep that the head came off. The victim, according
to this account, was a person who displayed
“mercurial” qualities, which are explained in the
Ghayat al-Bakim. In the story of the Fihrist one
of their victims succeeded in escaping and invoking
the Muslim authorities, who severely fined the
delinquents; we may, however, be sure that the
practices described in this calendar would never
have been tolerated by the Muslim rulers. Al-
Biruni’s calendar agrees in some respects with that
of the Fihrist, but contains many more names.
The chief accounts agree in making the Harranians
pray towards the north, and fast for thirty days,
during a period between February, March, and
April. They had a law of purity resembling in
several respects that of the Jews, and they had a
table of un lawful meats, wrongly identified by Ibn
Hamm with that of the Qur’an, since they tabooed
the camel.

Most of the accounts make star-worship a chief
characteristic of the Sâbi’an system, and in the
magical treatises published by Dory they are
credited with an elaborate astrological theology.
As, however, the author gives reasons why no
Sâbi’an can ever divine the mysteries of his faith,
the authenticity of this document is self-condemned.
The Book of the Five Mysteries, from which ex-
tracts are reproduced by the author of the Fihrist,
appears to be the book, in which there are for the
confirmation of the deities and responses repeated by the khatûn (priest)
and a congregation of youths, apparently identified
with the Prophet (as uncertain word, which may
be masc. or fem.); it is thought that the word is so
poor that the author of the Fihrist suggests that the
translator was either a bad scholar or translated
literally.

Mas‘ûdî and Shahrastanti treat the Sâbi’ans as
philosophers rather than as pagans; besides temples
to the planets, which, according to Mas‘ûdî,
were in a variety of geometrical figures, they had
temples of the Chain, Matter, and the Soul. In Mas‘ûdî’s time
only one temple remained—that of mây-xûr, ‘the
great goddess,’ which, however, the Muslims sup-
pose to be dedicated to Abraham, and therefore
in the Qur’an Asar. The knocker of the door
bore an inscription in Syriac characters which
Mas‘ûdî was told meant ‘Whose knows himself is
religious,’ supposed to come from Plato. He also
tells of a ceremony of initiation undergone by the
Sâbi’an youths in the vaults of this temple, similar
to one described in the magical treatise, the number of
Shahrastanti’s ‘Debate’ makes the Sâbi’ans defend
by metaphorical arguments their practice of approa-
ching the First Cause indirectly by sacrifices and
prayers to the intermediaries, who are the powers
attached to the celestial spheres.

Many works by Sâbi’an authors are still extant,
but they appear to throw no light upon their tenets.
Their famous man of science was Tabû b.
Qurrah (A.H. 211-288 [A.D. 829-903]), who trans-
lated various Greek scientific works into Syriac and
Arabic. Equally distinguished as a secretary of
state was Ishrâm b. Hûlâl (313-384 [925-994]),
many of whose letters and poems are preserved.
We learn from his biography (Yâkût, Dict. of
Learned Men, ed. Marçouly, 1910, i. 284-306)
that the fellow profession was medicine, as was
the case with other Sâbi’ans of note. Ishrâm was
famous for his accurate acquaintance with the
Qur’an—a qualification indispensable in his posi-
tion. The private letters of this personage do not
appear to differ in their religious expressions from
those of professed monothists.

Until some discovery is made of genuine works
belonging to the sect, their origin and tenets must
remain obscure. A certain amount of veracity is
attached for the Syriac words which they contain;
and it is noticeable that some Muslims call them ‘Chaldeans’
and others ‘Chasdeans’ (so Pahlavi ‘Chast,height’,
† 606 [1200]), which perhaps was a title that they
assumed. The polonic put in the Qur’an (vi. 74-
83) into the mouth of Abraham, who endeavours
to convert his father from the worship of idols, and
himself repudiates the worship of the heavenly
bodies, bears a curious likeness to that which
Shahrastanti ascribes to the ‘Hânîs’ in their reply
to the Harranian Sâbi’ans.

LENNARD.—Besides Chewbacca’s work mentioned
above, there is text and notes of the extract from Qur’an 25:43 by
Dory and du Goeau, in the Attle du cimetière de l’Ori-
entalistes, Leyden, 1868, ii. 392 ff.

D. S. MAROOLOUTH.

HARTMANN.—See PREISHEIM.

HARVEST.—The ceremonies and observances
of primitive races before, during, or after harvest
belong to a group of customs which have gathered
round the critical seasons of the year. The exact
date at which such celebrations or ritualistic
observances are carried out varies according to
the character of the community. Among tribes whose
chief occupation is hunting, the opening of the
hunting season will, as a rule, be found to be
marked by a kind of dance and the securing of a
plentiful supply of game and the success of
the hunters. In agriculture, the most critical
season to the primitive mind is the time of sowing.
This period is one of intense activity, in which
and practices intended to ensure the growth
and fertility of the crop. As the year goes on, various
means are employed to influence the occurrence
of natural phenomena or to avert the evil conse-
quences of untoward conditions, such as an inadequate
rainfall. Harvest observances, though in their most obvious aspect in a civilized community they celebrate only the turn of the year and the fruition of the labors of the preceding months, depend, to the primitive mind, on the religious observances and the rites of the earlier stages; and consequently the harvest is not simply an occasion for rejoicing, but a time at which natural forces have still to be propitiated.

Taking harvest rites as a whole, the essential elements resolve themselves into three: (1) propitiatory rites; (2) observances to secure fertility; (3) communion, and the offering of firstfruits, usually accompanied or followed closely by a feast, a period of licence or rejoicing, which in the course of development tends to become simply a celebration of the end of the labours of the year. These elements do not necessarily all appear in all harvest practices, and are often distinguishable. A rite may exhibit features which would justify its classification under more than one head.

1. Propitiatory and cogitate rites antecedent to the harvest.—In all ages a spirit which manifests a soul or spirit to objects both animate and inanimate, the act of destruction involved in plucking fruit or killing an animal for human consumption, is peculiar to both the races that habitually eat spirits of the animal or vegetable world must be propitiated to avert the evil which would otherwise inevitably follow. In the case of corn, which impresses the mind merely by the regularity of its growth and the effect of space it gives, the feeling of danger is intensified by the fact of human intercourse with the plant being in course of operations, as well as by the organized and prolonged effort required to secure the crop. This deduction from the general character of religious beliefs and practices of people is fully borne out by their practices at the opening of the harvest.

Among the ancient Egyptians, the reaper, after cutting the first few blades of corn, sprinkled for the impiety of his act by beating his breast and uttering the lament which the Greeks called the Istanum (Ps. 73. 5). In Greece (Hes. v. 751) a celebration of vegetation was bestowed in the Lycoio song, a song sung over the corn-stack (Tolos), and in Babylon the death of Tammuz (obviously, from the legend, a personification of the corn) was bewailed by the women. The feast of Demeter (Chloé), which was held at Athens on the sixth of Thargelion, at about the time when the corn was ripe, was a solemn feast of purification and of marshalship, and probably was originally the feast of atonement and propitiation before the gathering of the harvest. The carrying of the corn to the Nandi woman, when she goes with her daughters to pluck the first corn (obviously her right), is enjoined by the same motive; the plucking is a solemn function with a regular ritual, and the crop as a whole is consecrated and accepted by the spirits (see A. H. Haddon, The Nandi, Oxford, 1906, p. 48). Among the Thunguli of Manipur, no work other than that of attending the crop is done from the time of the first germination, or even before, except the setting of the hay. Among the Madras group of the same district, a season lasting for four days is observed before the beginning of the harvest (C. C. Munden, The Naga Tribes of Manipur, London, 1911, p. 207 E.). Any action which might prove prejudicial to the crops is thus prevented.

A ritual must be observed at the time of plucking the first fruit or seed, before the real harvest begins, to secure a plentiful crop and to avoid evil to the spirits (see A. T. F. H. Ross). Another indication of the sacredness of the corn is that the first sheaf is sometimes cut by one specially designated. In England, among the Burghees, the first sheaf is cut by a Kromba, a man belonging to a tribe whose members are under an age-agreement. Among the Kings of Southern India, the man who has to cut the first blades of corn is chosen by an astrologer, and in the ceremony which follows he is not allowed to mix with other members of the tribe until the last mouth of the blades he has cut has been sown. In one part of Yorkshire, the first corn was cut by the vicar, and in another part the vicar was asked.

(1) The corn-spirit.—Customs connected with the gathering of the harvest and the threshing of the corn which are practised, or were practised until comparatively recent times, are closely connected with the fertility of the crop, and particularly with the survival of a belief in a spirit irremovable in the corn, or closely connected with it. The existence of this belief is affirmed by the epithets corn-mother, corn-mother, and corn-spirit, according to the nature of the crop. In Lithuania it was believed that an old woman sat among the corn; both in Germany and in Poland, children were warned against entering the cornfields or throwing down the corn because of the 'corn-mother.' The corn-mother is sometimes identified with the corn-mother, and the children are warned against entering the cornfield because 'Deak sits among the corn'; the last sheaf is sometimes known as 'the Dead One,' and in children's games played in Transylvania Death is represented by a child dressed in maize leaves. At Dinkelsbühl in Bavaria, the corn-mother was said to punish the farmer for his sins by giving him a bad harvest.

The precise character of the beliefs is still more clearly indicated by customs followed at various stages of the work. The spirit is supposed to reside in the last sheaf of corn, the object of the reapers or threshers to drive it away or catch it. In Hanover, the reapers beat the last corn with sticks until all the grain has fallen from the stalks, when the corn-spirit is said to have gone. A more common practice is to make the last sheaf of corn into a doll—the corn-mother. At Dantzic, the doll is brought home in the last waggons. Frequently the doll is dressed in women's clothes, as in Holstein. When the corn-spirit is conceived as an old woman, the doll is made by one of the elder women, but when the corn-spirit is thought to be young, as a maiden, it vitally usually falls to the lot of a young girl. This presents an analogy to the Mexican belief that the corn-spirit aged as the crops grew and approached maturity; victims of appropriate age were offered at different seasons, varying from young children at the first growth to old men sacrificed at harvest-time. At Bruck in Styria, the ideas of youth and age were combined. The doll was appropriately bound, usually by the oldest married woman under fifty in the village, but the finest ears of this sheaf were picked out to make a wreath for the prettiest girl, who carried it to the farmer. The corn-mother was either placed in the barn at once or carried on a pole behind the girl who took the wreath to the farmer, and then placed on a pile of wood to form the centre of the harvest supper and dance; it was afterwards hung up in the barn until the threshing was over. Sometimes the man who cut the last sheaf of corn from which the doll was made was wrapped up in the corn-mother and carried round the village by the other reapers. The wreath was then suspended in the church on the following Sunday, and at Easter the grain was rubbed out by a seven-year-old girl and scattered among the young corn, while the straw was given to the cattle at Christmas to make them thrive.

The customs described present, on analysis, several elements which are closely akin to the animistic beliefs of more primitive races. Briefly, these elements may be stated to be: (a) the immutability of a spirit in the crop and especially in the last corn cut, to which material expression is frequently given by an emblem or figure, usually human; (b) the conception of maturity in the corn-spirit, accompanied, however, by a parallel conception of youth; (c) the idea of sympathy, or connexion in the performers of certain rites, shown, for instance, by the age of the binder of the doll and the weaver of the wreath; (d) the function of a sacred character of the act of cutting the last blades of corn, the reaper being sometimes identified with the corn, sometimes treated as though guilty of a crime (e) the vitality of the corn-spirit, as signified by the preservation of its material representation, which ensures fertility in the future when given in part to the cattle and in part mixed with the crop of the following year.
The ritual of Osiris and Isis in ancient Egypt and the myth on which it was based, as well as the epithets Ματρίση, Τελεσφορέα, Καρποφόρα, applied in Egypt to Penia, Meryt-Amen, Edfu, and Dendera, are the kernel of worship of Gaia, Demeter, and Kore, seem to point to an earlier belief, in which these deities were identified with the corn in the same manner as the 'corn-spirit' of more primitive races—a phase in a general belief in a vegetation-spirit out of which grew the worship of Adonis, Attis, and Dionysus, as well as of the deities more specifically connected with the corn (see G8 ii.; and G9 iii. chs. i.—ii.).

(2) Various forms in which the corn-spirit is conceived.

Among the Slavs, the last sheaf is known as the 'Wheat-mother,' the 'Barley-mother,' the 'Oats-mother' or 'Barley-mother,' the 'Rye-mother,' or the 'Palm-mother.' In Sweden, a branch of the oak is thrust into the sheaf and tied with white ribbon. In Germany, the last sheaf is known as the 'Granny,' its special character being that it is not frequently the case, not merely by a name being given to it, but also by a special manner of cutting it. In the Low Countries, the sheaf is placed in the barn during the winter, and is cut in the spring by the reapers through its middle. In Switzerland, the last sheaf is called 'the buffalo sheaf.'

(3) Connection between the last sheaf and the reaper.

Reference has already been made to the custom whereby the last sheaf is hurled or made into the form of a puppet by a woman of an age appropriate to the conception that it is set up of an old or young woman. By an extension of the custom, the puppet is frequently known by the same name as the doll, or is specially identified with it.

In East Prussia, the reaper who cuts the last blades is said to get the grandmother. In Sweden, at Allhamb, the man who cuts the last sheaf and the last strip of corn is said to be the 'old woman.' By association, the reaper is said to have 'the dog.' By Neumasse (West Prussia), both the last sheaf and the last strip of corn are called 'the old woman.' By Neumasse (West Prussia), both the last sheaf and the last strip of corn are called 'the old woman.'
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Wolf has been driven out by the last stroke of the fall, a man is led through the village with a chain round his neck, as though he were to be punished. In the morning, when the man is at the cornfield, the wolf's skin is laid about in a similar manner at Christmas.

The custom of burning a live cock, pig, or ox on the harvest field is said to be a transference of the spirit of the corn to a material object.

2. Fertility charms. The importance of an adequate rainfall for the proper growth and nourishment of the crops is so great, it is not surprising to find that many of the customs connected with the harvest should appear to have as their object the securing of such a rainfall by means of sympathetic magic. The custom of dressing the corn-mother with water, as it was carried home, was an instance of such a rain charm.

In Neussan, both the sheaf and the reaper who cut it out, when dressed with the sheaf, were washed with water. In Poland, the woman known as the Jaka was dressed as she was carried home. Sometimes men were dressed behind the farm-gates with pots of water ready for the home-coming. In Rutlandshire, where children were carried on the last cartload of the hay, a regular pitched battle with water and apples was fought between the maidens and the men; from the gate of the farm until the wagon came to rest in the barnyard (Brand, loc. cit.). In Bulgaria, the corn-effigy was thrown into the fire. It had been carried round the village.

In Carlisle, the man who has been wrapped in straw to personate the corn-mother on the threshing-floor is rolled in a broom. The custom of dressing the men, at which the Athenian women planted and tended with special care, has been mentioned before. A custom which is peculiar to the Barnsley district, in which the Corn-mother is dressed in live corn—practices intended to secure the fertility of the crop by sympathetic means—will be mentioned later.

Fraser (GB, ii. 225) suggests that the throwing of the corn-mother into the river may be a survival of the practice of throwing the body of a human being into the river. In the custom of burning the 'Ceres' at Auxerre after the harvest dance and of burning the corn-mother in Bulgaria and scattering the ashes recalls the practice in Egypt of burning a human victim and scattering his ashes on the fields to secure the fertility of the crops.

Many customs are intended to secure a plentiful crop in the following year.

In Westphalia, the 'harvest-mother' sheaf is made heavy with wheat, and in the hope that all the sheaves in the next year will be equally heavy. At Alt-Pillaus, eight or nine sheaves are bound together to make one huge sheaf. In Scotland, in the Isle of Lewis, the 'old wife' is dressed up, her dress including an apron tied round to form a pocket, which is stuffed with bread and cheese and a stick.

Frequently it is believed that the same object will be attained by preserving the material emblem of the last sheaf and carrying it to the harvesters, whether they are men or women. At Guildford, in the east of England, the last sheaf is kept in the barn until the next reapers enter the farm. In Scotland, the last sheaf is known as the 'old' and it is supposed that it is the sheaf of corn in the barn that is kept until the next harvest.

The custom is supposed to live throughout the year; and the practice of mixing part of the grain from the 'corn-maiden' with the seed ensures the presence of the spirit in the crop of the following year.

On the Skirian farm, the wreath which formed part of the last sheaf and had been kept through the winter is scattered among the following crop; its influence on the well-being of all forms of life is shown by the straw being placed in the fodder of the livestock. In Tarnow, in Galicia, the wreath is mixed with the seed corn. In the north of Scotland, the 'old man' was given to the cattle on Christmas morning, at Balnhidder to a mare in foal, or the oldest cow. On 1st January, the 'old wife' is kept throughout the winter. When the man or woman is ploughing, they carry the grain taken from her in their pockets, and give it to their horses to feed on as a sort of sacrifice to the corn.

The marriage procession in Bolland is obviously intended to bear on future fertility, as is the custom of mixing part of the grain from the winter, buried in the fields from seed time to harvest to quicken growth. The old Frenchmen suspended a goat skin in the field from sowing time to harvest to stimulate the growing of the corn; in Upper Bavaria the last sheaf is called the 'goat.' In the course of the maize harvest dance of the Alkays, in which all the people in the village dance and the leaves, a small image of dried clay was unwrapped from banana leaves and held at the level of the face by the dance of the corn-mother for adoration. It was then put away in its usual resting-place—a store of flour (W. S. and E. Boulenger, With a Tobacco People, London, 1910, p. 180). At the close of the Nandi harvest ceremony, after the old man has eaten a pregnant goat, the women take two pheasants from the nearest nest, one of which is kept throughout the year in the water jar and the other in the granaries. In the Malay Peninsula, where the 'rice-child' and the 'rice-mother' appear together, the 'child' is kept to be mixed with the seed in the following year. The Chams of Biah-Tahan, Indo-China, keep three ears of corn to form three burros in the 'field of secret villages' in the following year. A custom which bears some analogy to the 'child' or 'rice-mother' of the Malays appears in Normandy, where a small sheaf is wrapped up inside the big one. In West Prussia, a simulated birth takes place on the field. With this may be compared the legend in Greek mythology of the intercourse of Demeter and Iasion in a corn-field, which resulted in the birth of Trioun. At Dijon, where 'beast's' nest and corn and the site of the ancient corn-market is the field where the reapers are wont to pick a sheaf and eat the first of spring. In Barry, the corn-spirit is born on the field as a cow-calf.

On the other hand, the 'bag' is sometimes passed to other farms. In some parts of Pembroke, after the 'bag' has been cut by the reapers in their stocking cap and with the, 'corn-mother' in the bag, it was taken, usually by the ploughman, to the field of a neighbour, where the work was still in progress, and thrown at the foremost ploughman. The ploughman immediately raises the bag and runs away, pursued by the reapers working in the field. In parts of Scotland both an 'old wife' and a 'corn-mother' may be kept; on the one hand, this is the result of a competition between two sets of reapers, those who themselves get possession of the 'corn-mother' whilst the others get the 'caulich' or 'bag.' According to another account, the competition is between two ploughmen, and the 'caulich' being passed on from farm to farm and retained by the farmer whose harvest was completed last. In North Uist the 'caulich' was put on the thresher and the burning corn of lazy crofters. The same custom was followed in thrashing; e.g., in Dunbartonshire, if the last sheaf was cut by the crofters the last sheaf was taken to a farm where the thrashing was still unfinished.

Sacrifice and fertility. It appears that cutting or binding the last sheaf entails certain penalties, while the farmer who finishes his harvest later than his neighbours is in some districts punished with the custody of the 'bag.' The obvious explanation is that the consequences are decreed by rustic wit for lack of dexterity. On the other hand, the close identification of the last sheaf and the reaper, when viewed in the light of other practices, suggests a less obvious reason. In the Romani and in other parts of Europe, when all the hay has been cut, the 'old hay-man' is said to have been killed. In Bavaria, the reaper who cuts the last sheaf is said to have killed the 'old man.' In Lithuania, 'Robe's' head is cut off; sometimes a straw pyramid is put under the last sheaf, and the 'old woman is struck dead.' A stranger who crosses the field is pursued and tied with straw-bands, and must pay a ransom before he is released, or the farmer himself may be bound when he enters the field. In Mecklenburg, the reapers advance in a body towards the thresher, shouting and sharpening their scythes as if preparing for a sacrifice; and so also on the threshing-floor. At Wiedingharse, in Schleswig, any stranger on the threshing-floor is nearly throttled with the flail, which is put round his neck as if he were a sheaf of corn.

The custom of human sacrifice to secure the fertility of the crops appears to have widespread. In the earlier stages of the practice the victim appears to have been regarded as the embodiment of the corn-spirit. There was nothing to be done but to be the reason for scattering his ashes on the field, or throwing his body in the river; while the solemn feasts at which the victim's body was eaten by the ancient Mexicans was supposed to be a fertility rite, and that they also believed that by partaking of the body of the corn-spirit they ensured a good harvest. It has been conjectured that the head-hunting practices of the Naga of Manipur may have been a custom of setting up a straw figure at which they
shoot with arrows at certain times, may be connected
with agriculture. When the figure is hit, the one who hits it in the head, it is said, will take a harvest, but if it hits it in the stomach will have good crops (T. C. Hodgson, 110). The connexion between human sacrifice and fertility is also
found in the customs of the Indians of Guayaquil of scattering human blood on the fields at the time of sowing, while at the Mexican harvest a criminal was crushed between two falling stones when the firstfruits were offered. The Mexicans, as already stated, offered a series of sacrifices to
make the maize thrive, culminating in the sacrifice of an old man at harvest time. Among the
Pawnees and Sioux, human sacrifice was offered in the spring; and, in one case described among the
latter, after the heart of the victim had been taken, the flesh was cut in small pieces and scatter-
ed on the fields.

Instances of human sacrifice to secure good crops are recorded in Western Asia, among the Egyptians and among the Bushmen and other races, usually in connexion with the sowing of the crops, or at the time of their early growth, to promote fertility. Among the Khonds, part of the victim was buried as an offering to the earth-goddess; if the victim wept copiously, it was a sign of a plentiful harvest. (O. M. Roscoe, Memorials of Services to India, London, 1866, p. 115.) Among an agricultural tribe in Uganda, the women dance at about the time of the harvest. The Tahitians offered a human victim at the yam harvest, placing it head first into a hole in the ground. (J. A. Hille, Tahiti-speaking Peoples, London, 1887, p. 280.)

Great ritual and ritual preserves traces of human sacrifice in connexion with fertility. The legend of Agamemnon tells how he was offered down the precipices of the Acropolis; it has been suggested, may have consisted of a primitive custom of casting a stylus of the vegetation spirit down a steep place. In a similar fashion, later concorded to Khonds, a human victim was sacrificed at the altar by the Brahmins. A legend at Habi, near Besancon, tells how a head, thrown into a river, caused the current to move. (J. G. Frazer, The Golden Bough, 1922, p. 1140) speaks of water springing up whenever the blood of the victim dripped (cf. p. 113, 114). The ceremonial of the Bruneians and other races was of another sort: an ox for a human victim at a 'firstfruits' ceremony.

Frazer (GB 3, 292 sq.) suggests that, when the European customs are considered in the light of the practices followed by primitive races, we are justified in concluding that it was the practice at one time in Europe to offer a human sacrifice on the harvest field, the victim being identified with the corn-spirit. The penalty paid by the last reaper was death, as, he being nearest at the time the spirit was driven from the corn, it would be natural to conclude that it had entered into his body.

Communion, harvest supper, firstfruits, and the corn festival. It remains to consider the question of the harvest supper and the offering of firstfruits, which are closely connected, although by no means identical. Attention has already been called to the custom that the 'harvest maiden,' in which a man or woman is sometimes wrapped, should be present at the dance or supper which usually follows the ending of the harvest.

In Le Vendele, the 'Cere,' before being torn to pieces and burnt, was the centre of the dances. In the North Riding of Yorkshire, the 'mole doll' was presented at the meal supper. In Lewes, the farmers and reapers drink to 'the one that helped us with the harvest.' At Daventry, the old man was carried to the supper, and a portion of everything was given to him; but this was eaten by the woman who bound the sheaf, had it as her partner at the supper and dance, and was known by the same name for the remainder of the year.

The presence of the harvest figure at the supper, and the importance attached to it, suggest something more than a mere feast of rejoicing at the consummation of the year's work. Instances have already been quoted of the killing of an animal, such as a cock, a pig, or a bull, on the harvest field as an embodiment of the corn-spirit. The bodies of these animals were sometimes given to the reaper who killed or caught them; sometimes, especially in the case of a larger animal, its flesh was eaten at the harvest supper, as in the case of the goat killed at Gretnahoe. As Dijon, the ox killed on the harvest field was partly eaten at the supper, and partly pickled and kept until the spring. In Bavaria, the man who made the last stroke in threshing had to carry the pig to a neighbouring barn where the threshing was still going on. He ran the risk of being beaten, but at the harvest supper he received a number of dishes in the form of pigs.

From the numerous instances of eating the body of the slaughtered animal, bearing in mind their special relation to the harvest and the significance of other customs, it would not be unreasonable to conclude that the harvest supper is a survival of a form of solemn feast, of which the great festivals in Greece connected with the worship of Demeter and Kore, the Halos (the threshing-floor festival), and the Eleusinians were probably a development. Hippolytus (Philosoph. v. 3) says that in the Mysteries the Epoptes were shown the mystery of perfect revelation—a cut conceals the general use of the crops for ordinary consumption. (3) By a logical extension of idea the sacramental feast grows into an offering of firstfruits to the powers that preside over the crops. (4) The solemn ritual of the harvest meal is frequently accompanied or followed by a period of licence, in which the ordinary rules of conduct and respect for superiors are disregarded, or in which an inferior may even take the place and usurp the authority of his superiors. On this point it may be recalled that these changes of personality and irregular conduct are usually adopted for purposes of disguise, and that, even when such saturnalia are not the concomitants of ceremonies held at harvest time to drive away the spirits of the dead—as, for instance, is the case after the harvest among the Hos of Assam, and in the 'devil driving' of the Hindu Kush tribes, when the evil spirits are expelled from the granaries—the harvest is a critical period of the year when malignant influences may be expected to be especially powerful.

The harvest supper observances as a whole, taken in conjunction with the beliefs which underlie other harvest customs, point to an origin in a belief that the crop is taboo, and that to cut it or eat it is a dangerous act, of which the risk can be averted only by the process—familiar in the practices of magic—of a solemn covenant based upon a communion in which that which is feared or desired is brought into the closest relation with the one who is afraid. In this case, by eating the material manifestation of the dangerous element after special prayers, the primitive mind of the savage believes he becomes one with it and immune from its influence.

HASAN 'ABBAD.—A village and ruins in the Attaq District of the Panjab; lat. 33° 48' N.; long. 75° 14' E.; forming part of the great city known to Greek and Roman authors as Taxila (Tάξιλα), a close transcription of the Pali or Prakrit name Thakśalī, Skr. Ta$kśalī, 'hewn rock or summit' (MacDermot, Indians, who, by Ptolemy, London, 1885, p. 118 f.). It takes its present name from that of a Muhammadan saint, Bābā Hasan 'Abbād, who lived under Mīrā Bhārshā, son of Tāhir (Elliot, Hist. of India, London, 1867-77, i. 259; Asis-Allāh, tr. Blochmann and Jarrett, Calcutta, 1873-94, i. 516). The sanctity of the place—a list of the numbers of pilgrims—dates from early times. Hind Tejān, the Buddhist pilgrim of the 7th a.d., describes the tank of the Naga Rāja, or snake-king, Elapatra, to which, when the people went to rain or fine weather, they used to go in company with some Buddhist ascetics (arāṇakas), and, snapping their fingers, invoked the aid of the Naga, and at times offered fruits (Elliott, Hist. of India, London, 1868, p. 137). The place seems originally to have owed its sanctity to a holy spring which gushes into the fountain of the modern saint. Round this, as is common in India, a serpant-cult grew up, the Naga, or dragon, being supposed in particular to have control of the weather (Crooke, PB*, 1890, ii. 136 f.). The Buddhist legend was succeeded by a Brahmanical version; and that again by a Muhammadan story, of which the saint Bāhāwāl is the hero; finally, the Sikhs, connecting the site with a tradition of the warrior, came to the place fatigued and thirsty, invoked Bāhāwāl for a cup of water. The saint, indignant at the presumption of an unbeliever, flung at him a stone several tons in weight, which the gouris caught in the air, leaving the impression of his fingers on it, which are visible to this day. The whole series of legends is an interesting example of the manner in which a place, owing its sanctity to some natural feature, is adopted in turn by the followers of rival faiths. The importance of the place in Buddhist times is shown by the apeos, the priests and the remains of a temple discovered by Cunningham.


HASAN AL-BASRI.—Hasan al-Basri (Abd Sa'id) was born at Wadi 'l-Qura near Medina in A.H. 21 (A.D. 641-42), two years before the end of Quran, Oct. 610; he was at Basra, A.H. 91 (October—November, A.D. 708). Ibn al-Athir says that his age was then eighty-seven, in which case the date of his birth would be A.H. 23. Both his parents were originally slaves. His father, Ya'qub, was a native of Ma'arim in the neighbourhood of Basra, was taken prisoner in A.H. 12, during the conquest of Iraq by Khalid ibn Walid, and became a freedman of one of the inhabitants of Medina—of Zaid ibn Talhāt, the Prophet's amanuensis, according to some authorities. Tabari (922-300), the biographer of Hasan's father was Hāthib, and that he was a Christian, while al-Sha'ra'ī (Tabaght al-kubrā, i. 11. 13) declares that he was of Nabian extraction. These statements are significant, in view of the great influence which Hasan and his pupils exerted on the early development of Muslim theology. The name is most probably derived from that famous Egyptian mystic, Dhu 'l-Nun, who died in A.H. 245 (A.D. 859-60), is said to have been the son of a Nabian slave. Hasan's high reputation for orthodoxy was possibly gained, as Dovy has suggested, at the expense of his pupils, who gave currency to his speculations. At any rate, he was in touch with all the religious movements of the period, and must have taken a leading part in the theological controversies which were then agitating the Muhammadan world. We are expressly told that he disputed on the subject of free will (qadar), but afterwards returned to the monotheistic dogma (Ibn Qutbi, Kitāb al-ma'ārif, ed. Wustenfeld, 1850, p. 228. 12). A commentary on the Qur'an is ascribed to him (Brockelmann, Gesch. der arab. Literatur, Leipzig, 1911, i. 67); and he is said to have explained the meaning of Apostolic Traditions, whereas the younger generation were content with restating them (Qat al-qulub, Cairo, A.H. 1310, i. 147, line 6 from foot).

Whatever may be thought of the well-known story which attributes the origin of the Mu'tazilite school to a difference of opinion between the master and one of his pupils—Wael ibn 'Ata' or 'Amr ibn 'Ubad—there can be little doubt that in Hasan's circle the dogmas of Islam were freely discussed and expanded; it was this freedom that caused his activity as a teacher to have such fruitful results. But if, in fostering the spirit of inquiry, he overstepped the limits of traditional authority, the sayings and anecdotes recorded by his biographers show that his religion was intensely real. His ordinary demeanour was that of a man under sentence of death, and he looked so well he had been created for him alone. Like many of his fellow-Muslims, both men and women, he found in asceticism the only means of escape from the wrath to come. No man, in his opinion, deserved the name of theologian (fāqih) unless he had renounced the present world and fixed all his desires upon the future life. Muslim asceticism soon developed mystical tendencies, and Hasan seems to have gone some distance in this direction. It is asserted that he was the first pioneer of mystical science in Islam, and that he made it a subject of discussion, and explained its ideas in terms that were not used by any of his contemporaries (Qat al-qulub, i. 186. 2). He was the founder of the Basrī school of mystics, who maintained that the knowledge which, according to a maxim of the Prophet, it behoves every Muslim to seek consists in knowledge of the heart, and in a scrupulous examination of the thoughts that enter it, so as to discern whether they are spiritual or sensual, intuitive or intellectual (ib. i. 129, 16). Prayer-meetings (majālī al-dhaher) were held in his house at Basra (ib. i. 143. 18). Those who attended them were persons inclined to quietism, interested in communicating to one another their spiritual experiences, in studying the Qur'an together, and in conversing about religious questions. While it is easy to believe that Hasan, as Quhaibri and other Shi'ī writers mention, attached more value to inward piety and humility than to outward acts of devotion, like fasting and prayer, there is no evidence that he was a Shi'ī in the full sense of the word. He was driven to righteousness by the god of fear, not drawn, as the true mystic always is, by a spontaneous and irresistible rapture of Divine love. His character appears in a legend told by 'Abdu'l Ilah in the Ta'liqāt al-Ajwīd (ed. Nicolson, 1905-07, l. 87. 17). 'Uba al-Ghulam, one of his disciples, had crossed a river on foot, while Hasan himself remained behind, to prevent those who were afraid of being drowned and powerless to follow. Hasan asked him how he was able to work such miracles. 'For thirty years,' 'Uba replied, 'thou hast done what God commands, but I have done nothing!'

HASIDEANS—HATRED

REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON.

HASIDEANS, HADISMS.—The Hasidaeans (Hebrew or Aramaic, from Heb. חסיד, plural of חסיד, 'pious') were the precursors of the Pharisees. The names of the two religious parties have practically the same meaning: חסיד was 'pietist,' and 'Pharisee' (יוד, יוד, 'separated') means 'separatist.' During the period of the Seleucids in Palestine the Hasideans were the enemies of Hellenism, and opposed the introduction of Greek ideas and manners into Israel. As shown by the name they bear, they were an exclusively religious party; they were rigid zealots; they formed an arm's chief support of the Pharisees, a party of rigorists. In reality they were the descendants of Ezra and Nehemiah, who expelled the foreign wives; they continued the tradition of the Scribes.

As far as we now have information preserved concerning them enables us to judge, the Hasideans did not differ essentially from the Scribes. They were men completely devoted to the Law (םירש וֹנֵעַל, even so far as to take up arms in its defence when it was threatened by sinners and lawless men (1 Mac 2:53); but, as soon as proper means were restored, they threw aside their weapons, as their hands were better suited to handle the sacred scroll than to fight with the sword.

According to 1 Mac., the Hasideans played only a very minor part in the Maccabean war. The events which took place in Palestine at the beginning of the national revolt against the Seleucids show this very plainly. The high priest Menelaus, who had been put to death in 163 B.C. by command of Antiochus V. Eupator, was succeeded by Alcimus ('Aλεξιμος, 'Aleximos, 'Alexianus, Αλεξιμος, Yāqūn), who was of priestly stock, but did not belong to the ruling branch of the Onias family. Josephus (Ant. xx. x) tells us that Antiochus Eupator offered his services against the patriotic Jews who were trying to shake off the Syrian yoke. The king, we are told, entrusted him, along with his general Bacchides, with the pacification of Judaea, and at the same time raised him to the high priesthood (1 Mac. 7:9). It is at the time of this mission that the part taken by the Hasideans appears clearly. The comparative study of parallel fragments from the first and second Books of Maccabees sheds clear light on their attitude in the national revolt. If we had only the account in 2 Mac., we should be left in no doubt that the Hasideans took part in the national war, in spite of the obvious errors contained in the narrative. It is there stated that 'being called by Demetrius Soter into a meeting of his council and asked how the Jews stood affected and what they purposed, he [Alcimus] answered thereto: 'Those of the Jews that he called Hasideans, whose leader is Judas Maccabees, keep up war, and are righteous, not suffering the kingdom to find tranquillity' (2 Mac. 14:10).

Thus, according to this account, the Hasideans were under the command of Judas Maccabees, and are represented as the promoters of the war.

In 1 Mac., on the other hand, the Hasideans are the peace party; it was to obtain peace that they sought Bacchides and Alcimus, the deputies of King Demetrius. This is how the author describes that mission:

'And there were gathered together unto Alcimus and Bacchides a company of scribes to seek for justice (ὑπερφύσια ἕσθις). And the Hasideans were the first among the children of Israel that sought peace of them; for they said, "One that is a priest of the house of Aaron is come with the forces, and he will do me no wrong."' (1 Mac 7:14).

The Hasideans, then, were not the instigators of the war. In reply to their request for peace, the royal envoys, thinking they would make an example, had sixty of them put to death. Thus, according to 1 Mac., the Hasideans, grouped round the Scribes (from whom the Pharisees also sprang), form an independent party, acting in opposition to Judas Maccabees and his followers, as they acknowledge Alcimus not only as high priest but as the lawful representative of Syrian policy.

From the seemingly contradictory texts which we have just quoted it is easy to understand the rôle of the Hasideans. At the outset the Maccabean war was essentially and exclusively religious: the Jews were fighting with the Syrians to defend the Law endangered by the persecutions of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes. Hence the particular and even rigorous character of the Hasideans, a very rigid and exclusively religious party, in the national revolt. The religious aim pursued by the patriots was attained on 25th Chisleu 152, when Judas Maccabees purified the temple defiled by Antiochus Epiphanes, and restored the Jewish religion. The treaty of Lydda (162), which ensured the religious liberty of the Jews, thus gave full satisfaction to the Hasideans, who are not again mentioned among the belligerents. Henceforth the Maccabees alone and their soldiers continued the struggle against the Syrian king and for the political liberty of the country. We hear nothing more of the Hasideans, and we have every reason to believe that those forerunners of the Pharisees became blended with them.

In any case an incident which happened during the reign of John Hyrcanus I. (135–106 B.C.), and which exhibits Pharisaism and Sadduceism at that time fully developed and in direct opposition, proves that the Pharisees of that period, engaged solely with religion and its immediate interests, were indeed the heirs of the Hasideans. John Hyrcanus was entertaining the Pharisees at a feast, when one of the guests named Eleazar demanded that the royal high priest should lay down the priesthood and rest content with the civil and military power (Jos. Ant. XIII. x. 5). That is precisely the position which the Hasideans took up at the beginning of the national revolt—the absolute separation of the religious from the political domain.

See also ABASCATERIALISM (Jewish), vol. ii. p. 97 f.


HASTINAPUR (Skr. Hastinipura, 'elephant city'; or, according to other authorities, named after a mythical Raja Hastin).—An ancient city in the Meerut District of the United Provinces of India, situated on the Bāhr Gangā, or 'Old Gangā,' an old course of the river; lat. 29° 9' N.; long. 78° E. The legendary account of Hastinā will be found in the Pānini Pārta (tr. Wilson, London, 1864–77 iv. 139 f.), which states that the old city was washed away by the Gangās. This, the capital of the Kurava tribe, figures largely in the epic of the Mahābhārata. The buildings, which were probably built of clay and wood, have now disappeared; and nothing remains to mark this famous site but some shapeless mounds.


W. Crooke.

HATRED.—1. Psychological analysis.—The term 'hatred' designates a mental state of revulsion from some thing that offends either the sense of right feeling of ill-will, intensified by the desire to harm or injure or make a speedy end of the object hated. This applies in chief to hatred of persons by persons, at the root of which lies the desire to
destroy. 'Hates any man the thing he would not
call?' asks Shylock (March. of Ven. r. 67);
'whosoever hateth his brother,' says St. John
(1 Jn 3. 15) 'is a murderer.' But it applies also to
hatred of things. Thus, a person's desire to
inanimate objects, or beliefs, and the
like. Even when a schoolboy says that he 'hates
lessons,' he means not merely his feeling
of aversion to them, but also his wish to make
a summary end of lessons, if only he could; and,
likely enough, he gives embodiment to his wish
by tossing his books to the other end of the
room.

The intensity and duration of hatred in general
bear no definite or fixed proportion to the amount
of injury received. Much depends upon the nature
and temperament of the individual hated; and,
especially, upon his private estimate of himself,
and his sensitiveness to any affront to his dignity.

The outward corporeal expressions of hatred are
clearly marked and well known: biologist, psycho-
logist, and poet alike have duly recognised them;
and how they show themselves in the lower
animals, as well as in man, has been strikingly
brought out by Darwin in his book On The
Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals.
The menacing attitude of the body, the lowering
countenance, the suspicious and unsympathetic
look, the leer, and the coldness of behaviour are
some of the modes of the object.' In the animal;
and these objective signs (it is important to observe)
have much psychological significance, inasmuch as
they react on the emotion proper, intensify it, and
induce them to live.

Hatred is not designative of a mere passing
mood (like some forms of anger), but of a settled
attitude or disposition, which pervades ill-will
and can hide its time and plan means for the
injury or destruction of its object. It must be
distinguished from antipathy, which is a merely
sentimental or constitutional dislike (for the most
part irrational) of an object, leading to shrinking
from or avoidance of the object but not to its
destruction—as we see, for example, in the
antipathy to poisonous crawling creatures which
affects many people.

Hatred attaches itself to the malevolent side of
human nature, and is to be classed along with such
reprehensible emotions and sentiments as
envy (q.v.), jealousy, revenge. It is essentially
anti-social and self-centred.

The justification for it is love (q.v.), and the
characteristics of the one are best seen in contrast
with those of the other. If, then, (1) we
view the two in themselves, we find that love is a
conserving and attractive force, while hatred is
destructive and repellant. Again, (2) regarded
from the side of the subject, love is a feeling of
pleasure on satisfaction with the person loved,
together with the desire to do him good or to pro-
mote his welfare; hatred is a feeling of dissatis-
faction with the object of it, mixed with pain but
frequently intensely pleasurable, together with the
desire to harm or to secure his ill-fare. Hence,
live clothes his object with all amiable qualities
and is apt to be blind to faults and defects; hatred
clothes its object with all detestable qualities,
and refuses to see any good in it. Further, love to a
person is prone to make him whom it entertains it well
disposed towards all whom (or with which)
that person associates—even towards his status in
society, or the nationality to which he belongs;
while hatred produces the exactly opposite effect.

No doubt the most effective of all the human
object of love is one great means of turning an enemy into
a friend (hence the supreme wisdom of the
injunction, 'Love your enemies, bless them that curse
you, do good to them that hate you!' Mt 5:44).

Hatred is prone to turn a friend into an enemy.
Love begets love, but hatred breeds hate. Once
more, (4) viewed as successive states, the two show
psychological peculiarities of a very interesting
kind. (a) If, from not one cause, we assume to
hate a person whom we have greatly loved, our
hatred will be intensified by the fact of our previous
love, and greater than if we had not loved before.
This, no doubt, arises in part from the fact that we have lost a source
of pleasure and are pained; but it involves also the
fact that we feel ourselves injured by unrequited
affection, and the further fact that we are chagrined
at having expended our affection on an unworthy
object. On the other hand, when we come to love
a person whom we previously hated, our love
will be proportionate to our previous hate, and all the
greater that hatred has preceded it. One reason
for this is that, in the circumstances supposed, we
are conscious of having got rid of a source of pain;
but two other things have to be taken into account,
viz., the newly-aroused feeling that by formerly
hating the person we have done him an injury or
an injustice, and the consequent desire to make
amends for this injustice. Again, (b) our love for
a person is apt to be diminutive, and, even, perhaps,
turned to dislike of him, if he does not love, much
more if he actually hates, the things and persons
that delight us; while community of likings or of
interests goes some way towards making us well
disposed towards one whom we hate.

All these are psychological facts, revealed in our
actual experience of life, which must be taken into
account by the ethicist in determining the values of
hatred, and by the legislator, who cannot with
impunity ignore the working of any human emotion
as it shows itself either in the individual
or in the community.

2. Ethical and religious aspects.—As a source
of pleasure, hatred has undoubtedly power. But
this does not necessarily mean that it is to be
ethically condoned and the development and
growth of it encouraged. On the contrary, char-
acter is one thing, pleasure is another; and it is
the function both of ethics and of religion to
emphasize the fact that 'the life is more than
meat,' and that the higher aspirations of man
his spiritual ideals count for most. Hence, the
psychological fact that the intensity of love may
be increased by the circumstance that we have
been previously hating does not justify the con-
clusion that therefore we ought to hate. For
if hatred is in itself deleterious to character, it
must both restrict the power of loving and lower the
kind of love. The increase of love that is de-
pendent on hate is an increase on the level of a being
to whom hate seems in itself desirable; but, if
perfect love ruled as between man and man, such
a conception would be impossible. Love would
then be greatest of all, because it implied the
abolition of hate and, therefore, substituted the
higher pleasure for the lower, or the highest
pleasure of all, from which the lower, having
degradation in it, is excluded. It is a matter of
quality, then, not of quantity or degree. Psychol-
ogical experience is not an infallible guide to
ethical and religious estimate.

(1) From the ethical standpoint, it is easy to see
why hatred, in so far as it is expended by persons
on persons (or even on the lower animals) is con-
demned. Its pleasure may be intense, but it is
too dearly bought. The consequences it entails
are far-reaching and disastrous. It lets loose
many of the most malignant of human passions,
such as retaliation and revenge—hence, we apply
to hatred such epithets as 'cruel,' 'deadly,' 'fierce,'
'vindictive'; it aims at injuring or even destroying
the object hated; and it cramps and distorts the
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nature of the person harbouring it, blunting his sympathy and perverting his judgment. Above all, it is the mark of deepest alienation of love from another, ignoring the fact of the universal brotherhood of mankind, and transgressing the fundamental law of love, or mutual affection and mutual helpfulness, on which the existence of society depends. As its object in destruction, it repels instead of binding together, it dissolves instead of uniting things. That there is such a thing in man as a natural and legitimate resentment of injury received, ethics fully allows; and this, when rationalized, becomes the powerful thing we know as 'moral indignation'—which is the spontaneous protest of the conscience against wrong inflicted. But it demands more than a conscientious protest: it requires hatred—hatred, however, not of one man by another, but of everything that would interfere with the proper and higher development of a man's nature or of human nature in general; hatred, therefore, of vice or wickedness or wrong. But even then, while it enjoins hatred of vice, it will not allow hatred of the man who practices vice: it is the transgression, not the transgressor, that is to be abhorred. Hence the condemnation by ethics of misanthropy. 'Hatred of mankind' is selfish and abnormal, and destructive of the very idea of mankind, which presupposes society and, therefore, unity among the members; otherwise, it would be meaningless. In like manner, ethics condemns us to war in itself: war is man's hatred of man, with the lust of blood. Carried out to its full extent, it would become a state of universal hostility, which would speedily mean the extinction of the race. Once more, vindictive punishment is condemned by ethics because it is founded on hate, and is meant only to gratify the maligant nature of him who inflicts it. Men—

... (text continues)

In like manner, A. Bain strongly maintained the existence of malevolent affections as native to human nature, and the need of reckoning with them in ethics. He was brought out in his famous controversy with F. H. Bradley in Mind (reproduced in his Dissertations on Leading Philosophical Topics)—a sufficient account of which has already been given in art. ANGER. In that article also will be seen the bearings of evolution on malevolence.

There is still another point to be noted, midway between the extremes. As its representative may be taken Thomas Brown.

"We are formed to be malevolent in certain circumstances," he says (Philosophy of the Human Mind, Lect. iv.), "as in other circumstances we are formed to be benevolent; but we are not formed to have equal enjoyment in both." The moral affections which lead to the infliction of evil are occasionally as necessary as the benevolent affections. If vice exist, it must be loathed by us, or we may learn to imitate it. If an individual has injured another individual, there must be indignation to feel the wrong which has been done, and a need to avenge it. The malevolent affections, then, are evidently a part of virtue as long as vice exists; they are more accidental and occasional purposes of nature, not for her general and permanent interest in our welfare,... We are made malevolent, in a certain sense, and malevolence that may be said to be vicious when it operates for the terror of iniquity, that otherwise would flourish in unbridled darkness, through the world, but in open light, perpetuating its iniquities without shame or remorse, and perpetuating them with impunity. But, that even this vicious malevolence may not outlast the necessity for it, it is made painful for us to be malevolent even in itself.

What must determine as between these different views are clearly (1) consideration of what actually
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obtains in our experience of human nature; (2) how this stands related to the ideal, which must test its value; and (3) determination of consequences, based on the fact of the solidity of man's religious belief.


WILLIAM L. DAVIDSON.

HAWAII.—The Hawaiian group of islands lies in the Pacific Ocean between lat. 15° 54' and 28° 15' N., and long. 154° 50' and 160° 30' W., and is of purely volcanic origin. On the Island of Hawaii the twin volcanoes Mauna Loa and Kilauea are in constant activity, while the extinct crater of Haleakala, on the Island of Maui, is one of the largest in the world. The natives are of pure Polynesian stock, and are regarded as the extreme northwestern outpost of this family, the Islands having been colonized in three great migrations from the Samoan group. The language has undergone little change from that of Hawaii, but is influenced by a Tahitian, New Zealander, or Samoan with little difficulty.

On this, E. A. Warner writes as follows (Men, Past and Present, Cambridge, 1896, p. 653), and, also Wallis-Gordon, Anthropology, 1899, p. 139; 'Migrating as an unknown date eastwards from Malaysia (for further details see art. Eretokoot, vol. v., p. 653), the Indonesians appear to have first reached the coast of the east New Guinea, and from there, and still more to the west, quickly confirmed to their extent the voyage, accompanied all their subsequent migrations over the Pacific waters. Thus we have, in Tahiti, Men, 1896, 1897, 1898; in the old capital of Balai, in Baratonga, Aes, "the land under the wind;" in New Zealand, Hawaiki, "the land where one came the Most;" in the Marquesas, Hawaiki, "the lower regions of the dead," so to return of Hawaiki, "return to the land of thy forefathers," the words with the vikings in Indian sacrifice were speeded to the eastward; lastly, in Hawaii, the name of the chief island of the Hawaiki group.

In conformity with this, the native belief obtains that the soul of a Hawaiian leaves the Island of Hawaii, and is conveyed to Samoa, and in Samoa a similar story turns the soul towards New Zealand. In Hawaii, oral tradition itself clearly gives the details of the first landing of the Samoans on the island, and, with all the available dates can possibly be given, this migration is supposed to have taken place as early as the 2nd cent. A.D. A Samoan chieftain, having thus been逐 submitting to his victorious rival, and, enhancing his followers in his remaining war-canoes, set his matting sails for the unknown ocean. The Polynesian knowledge of astronomy is remarkable, and it enabled them to steer a straight course; but it has been surmised that a chain of islands existed which have since been submerged by volcanic disturbances, and that the fugitives were thus able to obtain fresh water and supplies; otherwise, the journey seems well-nigh a miracle.

The Hawaiian counted time by the generations of their principal chieftains, beginning with Wakes, who was the semi-mythical progenitor of all races, and the Calendar (Polynesian). Events were counted thus: 'So it was in the time of . . . .' giving the name of the ali'i, or high chief. The length of a generation was 10 years; 100 years of 100 years each. Fifteen generations from Wakes is the time of Nau- ulu, and fifteen generations more brings the chief Ma'anui, 1823 years ago.

The native Hawaiian is tall, well formed, very strong, and possessed of great endurance. He is an expert climber, swimmer, and sailor. His national sports are sledding and surfing, while the dance is considered the necessary accomplishment of both sexes. In colour he is a dark reddish-brown. The nose is clear-cut and wide of nostril, the lips large, but well chiselled, the hair straight, abundant, and black, and their industry, as well as their docility, is indicated to the same degree by their resemblance to the British.

In the families of very high chiefs (ali'i ali'i), the practice of incestuous marriage was common, and was regarded as sacred, the offspring of brother and sister being treated with more than royal honours. The son was never allowed to shine upon them; and, if the shadow of a low-born vassal fell across their threshold, the offence was punishable by death. The tabu stick—a staff surmounted by a ball wrapped in white tapa cloth—was placed by the hut, and warned the passer-by that the ground was the possession of kings or priests, and must not be profaned upon pain of death. The tabu was strictly enforced, and is one of the most widely known institutions of the Islands. The royal colour was yellow; the next in rank was red. The king's badge of office was a feather cloak, made from yellow birds, fastened under the wings of the o, and worn with infinite skill and care into a web of coco-nut fibre. The lot, or wreath, was also of the precious yellow feathers. The red feathers of the vaka made wreaths and decorations for the nobility of the second order, though kings by no means disdained them. A few scarlet feather helmets are still preserved, which have almost the shape of the Greek helmet, but are larger and without the nose-guard. The hālau, or royal staff, was of wood, or wood and bone, topped by a tuft of brown, veined feathers. It was carried as a staff, or like the mass of European royalty. At a royal funeral, the hālau bearer never left the corpse until it was finally given in charge of the friend designated to give the final rites and concealment.

The greatest importance was attached to aristocratic birth. Kauai, the island where the first migration landed, claiming the greatest purity of blood. Upon coming of age, the children of a chief, boys and girls alike, were required to appear before the elders assembled in council, and there to recite their genealogy and the deeds of their ancestors. In this oral fashion, the history of each great family and the history of the race were preserved with surprising accuracy and wealth of detail. The neophyte's recitation often took two whole days to repeat; and, if he failed to be letter-perfect, he was remanded, to appear the following year before the historians to the tribe. Such a disgrace seldom occurred, for the child began his lesson in earliest infancy, and pride of race induced ardent study. At the close of the ceremony a feast was held; and the youth, now supposed to have reached maturity, received gifts, was permitted to enter the councils of the elders and to give advice, and was released from many of the burdens services devolving upon children. At this time the novice selected his own manakau, or household god, or was permitted to wear sacred clothes.

The natvres were never cannibals, as has been erroneously believed. Tradition tells of the coming of a tribe of exiles, probably natives in war-canoes, who took possession of a flat island in the north coast of Oahu; when the inhabitants discovered their custom of eating human flesh, they fell upon the little colony and exterminated it.

There being no metals in the Islands, wood was
used for weapons—clubs, spears, shields, etc.—and for such simple implements as were used in cultivating the 'aro' (a lily root), their chief food staple.

A peculiar feature of the King's warroads was the large shield which was carried under the arm, and which was used as a parry and a weapon. The shield was made of the stouter parts of the trunk of the fern, and was about two feet wide and one foot high. It was carried by a chain. The shield was used only in battle, and was not carried in the ordinary processions.

When, upon Captain Cook's first voyage, the natives learned the possibilities and powers of metal, it became the one object of desire; and it was owing to the theft of nails from the long-boat, upon Cook's return journey, that a sailor killed a native, bringing about the fight in which the explorer lost his life.

The moral code of the community was remarkable, owing to the importance of the woman. Marriage was dissoluble by mutual consent. In the families of chiefs, if the wife insisted upon a separation, the husband was bound to return her in all honour to her nearest of kin, together with the marriage portion she had brought, or its equivalent. Except for its aesthetic value, marriage apparently had no sacred aspect; but a wedding was, of course, an excuse for prolonged revels. The kava, the only fermented drink of the primitive people, was but slightly intoxicating; but of this day they drank large quantities, further excitement being supplied by hulas and the music of wooden drums and gourd rattles. Funerals were always attended by feasts and prolonged ceremonies.

The natives differ as to the propriety attending these feasts, some admitting that the utmost licence formerly existed, others denying the tradition. It is, therefore, probable that the customs varied in the different tribes. The body of a chief must not on any account fall into the hands of his enemies, nor be exposed to the ground. A chief, ensuring power over the soul; hence extraordinary precautions were taken. The flesh was cut from the skeleton and destroyed. The remains were then wrapped in mats, a few of the choicest treasures of the deceased were added, and the body, packed in a wooden casket, or hidden in a canoe bow, was carefully concealed by the closest surviving friend. Tradition tells of one devoted follower entrusted with his chief's body, who ground the bones to powder, which he mixed with the poi and served at the feast to the assembled warriors, thus ensuring his master's future safety. To make fish-hooks of the bones of a rival chieftain was the greatest insult one tribe could offer another; hence, between enemies every effort was made to learn the whereabouts of a grave, and put its contents to base use. Among the people it was, and still is, the custom to place the dead man, wrapped in tapa and matting, in the bow of his canoe, which is cut in half, and carried to one of the numerous cliff-caves. At present the custom is falling into disuse, owing to the desecration of graves by foreigners, who seem unable to feel respect for the dead, unless they are interred after their own custom.

With the exception of the hula, lava-built temples, the Hawaiians erected no permanent structures. Their houses were of palm or grass built to poles, with finely woven matting for floors and curtains, the Island of Niihau being famous for its weavers. The door must face no other opening, the belief being that, if such be the case, 'what goes out must immediately depart,' meaning that no rest or permanent residence is possible in a dwelling thus constructed. A raised platform, covered by a mat, served as the bed.

Very little privacy was maintained. The house was preferably built over or near a beneficent ha'aka, or household divinity, which might be personified by a stone, a tree, a bush, or any natural object. Any one might throw a stone, or the stones, or place a short of the protection of a spirit. Chiefs owned their own ha'aka, sometimes curiously painted logs, in which some resemblance to an animal or man could be traced; the sword became the hereditary treasure of the tribe into whose custody it was adopted. It was troublesome in legends for several generations, when it disappeared, having been buried with the chief who possessed it at the time.

The favour of the sea being most necessary to the community, it was invoked through Uku-pano, the shark-god, who, with his followers, could drive the fish to or from the shores, giving or withholding the daily food of the native. The red fish were the perquisite of royalty; but, if they ran within the reefs in great numbers, it was considered an omen of death in the family of the chief. The last recorded run preceded the death of Kalakaua, which occurred in San Francisco, 20th Jan. 1891, and which had been predicted by the natives upon the appearance of the fish several weeks before the event. Uku-pano is credited with occasionally adopting a human child, to whom he gives a portion of the grace which he has the ability to change into a shark at will. These sea-children possess the ravenous mien and dangerous temper of the god. The mark which Uku-pano leaves on the body is not the orifice below the shoulder-blades, garnished with teeth. The phenomenon is said to have appeared recently. Alagio, the sky-god, received little attention except among the cloud-diviners.

In ancient times the sick and aged were made away with. This fact has often been denied; but statements continually occurring in the native folk-lore make it more than probable, though the Hawaiian is kindly, gentle, hospitable, and given to generosity and self-sacrifice. Great importance is attached to the idea that the chief who has the privilege of wearing his malo, or matting loin-clothes, woven as beautifully as linen, is considered highly. Gifts of hair were highly considered, and were painted fine and worn with the white-tooth charm, shaped like an inverted question-mark, called pua'a. There is implicit belief that articles closely associated with a person retain something of the spirit of their owner.

The soul after death was supposed to journey to Kanai, and to leap from a cliff into the sea, descending until it fell into the under world, whose sky is the bottom of the ocean, there to lead an aimless and shadowy existence under the supervision of Milu—god of the under world, but spirits, particularly those of chiefs and hali'akau, or witch doctors, continued to haunt the earth, and the Hawaiians lived in terror of these visitations. Victims slain in human sacrifice reappeared and haunted the site of any temple fallen into ruins. These apparitions were always heralded by the rolling of poko, or temple drums. The ghosts set upon and immolated any man who chanced to cross their path. Evil spirits play a far greater part in the religion of the people than beneficial influences, good fortune, happiness being the direct gift of some particular local or household deity. The chief gods (aha) actually take a secondary rank to the ha'aka, or house-hold gods, who are the direct objects of prayer, in times of volatilities, who completely overmasters all others with her fiery presence.

The legends concerning her are very numerous. She shows herself now as a beautiful girl, whose eye must immediately depart, appearing at a feast, dances so divinely that her identity is guessed; now as a beg, demanding imposition; now as a witch doctor, sucking the wakker. The most famous story is of her defeat in sledding, when, furious at being beaten in her favourite sport, she turned...
Pulu, the literal pig-headed demi-god with whom she was contending, into a lava hill, together with all the onlookers. Strangely shaped lava-house in the district of Puwea are pointed out as the abodes of the illustrious members of that Coastland party. The sport resembles king-hunting, the stake boards being formed by walls of earth that have been turned, and highly polished; the smooth outlines of a steep hill is all the surface required.

Péélé always resented the penetration of any of her numerous disguises, and dealt out volcanic vengeance with savage impartiality. Fine spun lava, shedding from the molten throat of Kilauea, is known as Péélé's hair, and three small, extinct craters, leading from the ocean to the lake of fire, are known as Péélé's footsteps. When she rose, like Aphrodite, from the sea, she sought a permanent resting-place, but her first three steps mark descent into the earth, and the sea entered, forming a pool. At last, when the fourth foot step formed Kilauea, fire sprang about her feet, and the goddess had found her home. Péélé was supposed to be parted to the house of Kamehameha I. (born A.D. 1758), the first chiefman to bring all the isles under one rule. When, in 1861, the town of Hilo was threatened by a vast lava-flows from Mauna Loa, the Princess Ruth, great-granddaughter of Kamehameha the Great, made a pilgrimage to the devastad districts, cast gifts into the river, and implored Péélé, in the name of the ancient friendship of her race, to return to her vengeance; within an hour the lava ceased to flow, the city was saved, and multitudes of natives who had escaped to the station returned to the ancient beliefs.

The temples, or heiau, were seldom dedicated to any one particular deity (they were temples where any one of the gods might publicly be invoked), two of them the Pe'i-god, and a house of Pu'ukopono, being the exceptions. Heiau was an enclosure, usually oblong, formed by walls of lava rock. At the side, facing the entrance, was the altar. The house of the priest occupied one corner. Between the two, but situated in the centre of the square, was the case, or place of oracles, from which the prophecies were issued. Only the chief, or high-borne, might converse thus directly with the gods after suitable gifts had been made to the temple. The people had to sell to them the interpretation of the kahuna, who exercised a power only second to the chief. They claimed the power, known as aana, of praying to death any one who offended them. They could mine crops, cause storms, bring down pestilence, and interpret the will of the gods. They could cure all forms of sickness, hold communication with the dead, invoke the favour of the sea, and interpret the omens. The earliest traditions show that these oracles were taken chiefly from the clouds, the flight of birds, and the actions of fish. In later times, after the introduction of foreign animals, a black pig became indispensable to the diviner, both the condition of the vital organs when killed and his instinctive selection of some symbolic food being indications from which the future was predicted. Much also was to be learned of impending events by dissecting a fowl.

Bits of coloured cloth, or tapers, were supposed to concentrate influences. A kahuna employed to torment an enemy first sought to gain entrance to his hut, and there to hide some malefice charms. The next move was to obtain some portion of the victim—a nail-paring, a lock of hair, spittle, or anything intimately connected with his physical being, was procured and consigned to some isolated place, and there remained in continuous prayer and incantation, until the victim languished and died. In this case the doomed person suffered severely. If it was desired to inflict agony, a piece of cloth, containing earth from the doorstep and various charms, was beaten, stars drawn thereon, and disease and death and cures by reversing the method, though occasionally they administered some nostrums. Their influence continues to be strong among the natives, though every effort has been made to stamp out the Kahuna, and his practices.

The Pe'i-godness inhabited the two groves set aside for her; and her images, carved from the sacred trees, are supposed to have cost the life of their sculptors. Naturally all sacred groves and temples were protected by tabus.

The first attempt to collect and translate the more popular legends was made by King Kamehameha himself (Legends and Myths of Hawaii, New York, 1888), with the aid of one of the American missionaries. It has been claimed that in order to collect the stories, he departed from the traditional texts; but they are sufficiently close to the originals, in spite of their strange resemblance to the Greek hero-stories, to be seriously considered. The epic of the Hawaiian Helen is undoubtedly authentic, notwithstanding its analogy to the Trojan myth, carried out even to the taking of the city on the cliff by the rescuing party, according to the oracle that told them to besiege with moving walls. This was accomplished by the advance of the besiegers bearing wooden shields that touched each other, enabling them to press on under protection, and cleared out within to enable their bearers to scale the ramparts by their own weight.

The first Europeans to visit the Islands were shipwrecked Spaniards in 1527. In 1556 the group was officially discovered by Juan de Gaytan, on a voyage from the Moluccas to the Sandwich Islands, and received the name of Los Majos. In 1778, Kamehameha the Great was born on the Island of Hawaii. During this period continual intestinal wars distracted the people of the various Islands, until Kamehameha brought them under one government.

In 1778, Captain James Cook, commander of H.B.M. ships Resolution and Discovery, touched at Waimae, Kauai, whence he proceeded to Niihan, departing thence for the north. On his return in November, Cook sighted Maui, and, off Kona, entertained the chief on board the Discovery. On 11th Feb. 1779, Captain Cook was killed by the natives, in reprisal, the Hawaiian tradition tells, for an attempt to take an idol from a neighbouring heiau. On 26th May 1788 the English ships King George and Queen Charlotte touched Kona, and, in May of the same year, a French exploring expedition, under La Perouse, visited the island. In 1790, Kaiana-a-Ahuna accompanied an English captain on the ship Nootka to China. The relations with foreigners remained friendly until the wilful massacre of the natives at Oahu, Maui, by the American, Captain Meaford, of the Eleonora, resulted in a reprisal by the chieftain, Kamiamonou, in the capture of the tender of the Eleonora and the killing of all the crew, except an Englishman, Isaac Davis, and John Young, boatswain of the Eleonora. Davis became councilor, and received great consideration. In 1791, Kamehameha was proclaimed king of all the Islands. In 1792, Captain Van Rouver, with the Discovery and the Chatham, cast anchor at Kealakekua Bay, on his way north. On his return he presented the first live stock ever landed in Hawaii. He was well received by the natives upon his third visit in 1794; but in Jan. 1796, Captain Brown, of the Decoy, and Captain Gardner, of the Prince Leboo, with some of their men, were killed in Honolulu harbor.

Several revolts against the power of Kamehameha were suppressed. In 1816 the Russians arrived, entrenching themselves in the forts at Hauan and Waimae, and in 1818 they ejected them, stronghold at Honolulu. The Kuriok, commanded by Captain Kotzebue, the first battleship to enter that harbour, brought reinforcements to them
there. In the same year the national flag, designed by an Englishman, was adopted. In 1819, Kamehameha I. died and was succeeded by his son Kamehameha II., who broke away from traditions, and, in Oct. of that year, openly proclaimed the idea of an army. This departure, angering many of the lesser chiefs, resulted in a revolt, which, though at first successful, was suppressed by Liholiho several chieftains having received baptism, a reaction set in against the old religion, and, in 1820, a general destruction of idols and temples took place at the instigation of the Anglican missionaries. This large number of souls is believed to be of all classes and rank, and, if Egyptian representations of enemies' heads as a footstool are accurate, the heads of many heads may be found here. It is not unlikely that the head is a symbol of immortality, and thus one of the oldest religious ideas.

Though the Hawaiians are now adventurously Christianized, the old beliefs persist. It is difficult, however, to say anything certain about the ceremonies, though traces of the kahuna are to be found in every walk of life. Their gods they take lightly, but the priests are a serious matter. Evil ghosts take the place of devils, and are under the control of the witch-doctor, who may direct their destructive influence upon whom he will. Healing, happiness, and even life itself can be given or taken at the will of the Kahuna.

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AZEM. — See HIR AZEM.

HEAD. — 1. Importance of the head. — Innumerable rites performed on or in connexion with the head show the importance which is universally attached to it. As the uppermost member of the body, which contains the organs of sight, hearing, taste, and smell, it is naturally much honoured; while, as containing such a vital organ as the brain, which, when it is connected with the process of thought mainly at comparatively late stages of civilization, it is regarded as a seat of life or of the soul. The head, with its many apertures—nose, mouth, ears, sutures of skull—is a chief spirit-enter, either for a divine spirit or a god (as in the process of inspiration) or for evil spirits. In either case it must be carefully guarded. Hence among many savages and also in the higher culture the head is regarded as peculiarly sacred, and is the subject of many tabus. When a Maori touched his head, it seems as if he put his fingers to his nose and snuffed up the sanctity adhering to them from the touch. In Tahiti, Burns, Melanesia, etc., this sacredness of the head makes it taboo to


the touch of woman, or it must never be below any place where it was adopted. In 1819, Kamehameha I. died and was succeeded by his son Kamehameha II., who broke away from traditions, and, in Oct. of that year, openly proclaimed the idea of an army. This departure, angering many of the lesser chiefs, resulted in a revolt, which, though at first successful, was suppressed by Liholiho several chieftains having received baptism, a reaction set in against the old religion, and, in 1820, a general destruction of idols and temples took place at the instigation of the Anglican missionaries. This large number of souls is believed to be of all classes and rank, and, if Egyptian representations of enemies' heads as a footstool are accurate, the heads of many heads may be found here. It is not unlikely that the head is a symbol of immortality, and thus one of the oldest religious ideas.

Though the Hawaiians are now adventurously Christianized, the old beliefs persist. It is difficult, however, to say anything certain about the ceremonies, though traces of the kahuna are to be found in every walk of life. Their gods they take lightly, but the priests are a serious matter. Evil ghosts take the place of devils, and are under the control of the witch-doctor, who may direct their destructive influence upon whom he will. Healing, happiness, and even life itself can be given or taken at the will of the Kahuna.

LITERATURE.—Many of the older explorers and missionaries in the South Seas are still the authority. As to Hawaiian, Cook, Tovey, London, 1773-84; and W. Ellis, Polynesian Researches, go. 1833; the most important of this material is collected in T. W. and G. Garland, Anthology of the Hawaiian, London, 1843; H. E. Hill, Travels in the Sandwich and Society Islands, 1826; J. Renn, Ka Moana, a History of Hawaian Affairs, Paris, 1848; W. H. Grover, Notes on the History and Culture of Hawaii, 1894; S. Culin, Hawaiian Games, in Amer. Antiq, ser. I. 1899, 245-247; and J. R. Ward, 'Lahiki,' a Legend of the Hawaiian Islands, in J. P. XII. 1909, 246-247; E. Tregear, The 'Creation Song' of Hawaii, in Journal of the Polynesian Soc. 1903, 36-46; A. Krämer, Hawaiians, Osttimorians, and Sumbans, Stuttgart, 1898; D. Logan, Hist. of the Hawaiian Islands, their Resources and People, Chicago, 1877; T. G. Thurston, Hawaiian Folk Tales, 1877; H. H. Graden, Hawaiian Myths of Love and Death, New York, 1888; R. B. Emerson, University of Hawaii: the Sacred Songs of the Hula (Bull. 339), University of Hawaii, Honolulu, 1903; and the Bulletin of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum of Polynesian Ethnohistory and Natural History at Honolulu, 1906.

AZEM. — See HIR AZEM.

HEAD. — 1. Importance of the head. — Innumerable rites performed on or in connexion with the head show the importance which is universally attached to it. As the uppermost member of the body, which contains the organs of sight, hearing, taste, and smell, it is naturally much honoured; while, as containing such a vital organ as the brain, which, when it is connected with the process of thought mainly at comparatively late stages of civilization, it is regarded as a seat of life or of the soul. The head, with its many apertures—nose, mouth, ears, sutures of skull—is a chief spirit-enter, either for a divine spirit or a god (as in the process of inspiration) or for evil spirits. In either case it must be carefully guarded. Hence among many savages and also in the higher culture the head is regarded as peculiarly sacred, and is the subject of many tabus. When a Maori touched his head, it seems as if he put his fingers to his nose and snuffed up the sanctity adhering to them from the touch. In Tahiti, Burns, Melanesia, etc., this sacredness of the head makes it taboo to
on the head to absorb its virtues, by the Digger Indians; and rubbing the head with the brains of a dead man who was wise gives success in war, according to the Maidu. Rubbing the head with the blood of a sacrificial offering, probably to identify one’s self as in possession of its virtues, occurs among the tribes of Muhammad’s time. The Romans at the Lupercalia, and the Lacon. The same application of sacrificial blood is also used as a charm among the Jews and among the Jews of Algiers. The so-called ‘Blessing of Lamasism is poured out into the hands of the living, and often both hands, and poured on the head with it, after which the Lama places the ‘Vase of Plenty’ or a piece of gold on the lowest head of each, repeating a spell. The head is then touched with other sacred objects. Where blood is rubbed into a man’s hair, it is sometimes drawn from ears on the head (see I. W. I. iv. 431). Similarly, in Samoa, if a man found a dead eagle, or if he committed transgression, he beat his forehead till it bled, and at ritual combats where the heads were beaten with clubs, the blood was an offering in angry.

2. Heads of deities, etc., with nimbus.—Here, again, as illustrating the importance of the head as the chief member of a god as of a man, it is often represented with rays shooting out in all directions, or with a circular disk behind or surrounding it. These were undoubtedly suggested by the sun and its rays, and were intended to typify the Divine power shining and radiating from the head. Hindu divinities have often such a nimbus, of a more or less elaborately shaped form, in Greek and Roman art it is also given to deities, especially those representing sun and moon, and Tенtonic and Slavic deities have often rays or stars around their heads. Mitra has a double nimbus. The rays of Buddha are also given to emperors and kings, to Oriental heroes or saints, etc. Buddhist art in India and Tibet shows the head with a nimbus. But it is in Christian art that the nimbus is most widespread. It is of different forms, usually circular, but occasionally triangular. It is found, or in any case, a series of rays emanates from the head. The field of the nimbus is ornamental or plain; and it surrounds the heads of the three Persons of the Trinity, the three gods, saints, prophets, living persons, allegorical figures, etc. In the case of the Divine Persons, the nimbus is usually cruciform, this being properly distinctive of them.3

3. Many-headed gods, etc.—The custom of representing gods with several heads, like that of representing them with several hands, is probably the result of the current importance of the conception of many members of this natural that in a god they should be multiplied. Nowhere is this more common in art and myth than in India. Nine headed deities, saints, prophets, living persons, allegorical figures, etc. In the case of the Divine Persons, the nimbus is usually cruciform, this being properly distinctive of them.3

Tibetan Buddhist divinities are occasionally many-headed, like Padmapani with eleven heads—probably a borrowing from Indian art. Such monstrous forms do not occur among Torres Strait islanders, though they are sometimes given to heroes.3 Monuments, giants, dwarfs, and dragons in myth and Marchen often possess many heads, which cause considerable trouble to the heroes who fight them. The Greek Geryon had three heads, Hydra nine, Briareus fifty, and the giants of Norse mythology have three, six, or nine hundred. In Marchen the usual numbers are three and seven.

In Christian representations of the Trinity the Godhead is often depicted as a being with three blended heads, or three faces appearing on one head with four, three, or two eyes. Satan is also occasionally depicted with the divided form of the Trinity of evil—and with heads on chest, stomach, and knees.3

4. Men and deities with animals’ heads.—In various arts of ritual men often wear the heads of animals, usually those of sacrificial victims. Among savages these are often worn at sacred dances, e.g., before hunting. Thus, at the Mandan buffalo dance, each dancer wears the skull of a buffalo’s head with the horns attached, and imitates the movements of the animal, in order to procure good hunting. Similar customs were allowed among the Celts and Teutons. At the New Year festival, ritual sacrifices of men dressed in the heads and skins of animals took place, and these continued in Christian times, though forbidden by the Church. Figures of horse-headed men appear on old Gaulish coins, and these, as well as numerous Irish legends of Dagda, or goat-headed men, doubtless reflect animal customs.3 In modern European folk-festivals, dances are sometimes performed by men wearing antlers or skulls of deer, etc., and these may be traced to older ritual customs. Among the Mandan.3 In all such customs there had originally been some idea of assimilating the wearer of the head to the animal, and in some instances this was connected with totemism. The same purpose was served where a mask representing an animal’s head was worn, as among many savage tribes.

Where earlier worshipful animals tended to become anthropomorphized, or where a divinity was blended with a worshipful animal, there was often a fusion of the two in myth or artistic representation. The god had some part of him in animal form, and very often possessed an animal’s head. Probably in all religions this has existed to a greater or less extent. Some, however, were able to shake themselves entirely free of such monstrous forms, though they may still be found associated with demoniac beings; in others they continued to play an important part, as, e.g., in the Egyptian religion.

In India, Ganesa has an elephant’s head, and in China a god called the ‘Divine Horseman’ has a human body with a bull’s head. In Greece, where such compound forms generally came to be distanced, traces of them were still to be found. The Phrygian Demeter had a horse’s head, and in Archaic excavations have revealed representations of female priests with heads of sheep or cows.3 Figures of Pan with a goat’s head, of Apollo with a ram’s head, and others are also known. But it is in Egypt that this method of representing the gods was most conserved from pre-historic times onwards. Some of these inevitably have animal’s heads, others only occasionally (see ETYMSK ABSONUM, v. p. 345).3

In some instances a divinity is represented wearing an animal head-dress, and sometimes also the skin of the animal—a custom perhaps connected with the practice of placing on the head and skin of a sacrificial victim on the image of a god,
HEAD

as well as with the assimilation of a god and a worshipful animal.

Conversely, human-headed divinities or genii with animal bodies occur sporadically—e.g., in Babylon the fish-god Oannes (Es), winged bulls with human heads, etc.; in Egypt the Sphinx; with the Tahitians, the Tahiwi was represented as a hawk with a human head.

5 The head as trophy or cult-object.—(a) Trophy. -As the head is the most prominent part of the body, the use of a trophy by an enemy thus claims victory over his enemy; at the same time he is able to bring back a proof of his prowess, and, as a result, the greater number of heads he can show, the more he is honoured as a valiant man, and the higher respect and status does he obtain. The practice is thus analogous to the cutting off of an enemy’s head (see HAND, § 6 (c)).

The Babylonians and Assyrians not only left dead enemies unburied, but, as a further method of insult and hurl to their graves their heads; and this practice is frequently referred to in the inscriptions or is portrayed on monuments; e.g., L. G. Watkin, Asia Minor 1904. It is also known that in the day of battle was cutting off a head from the enemies of the gods. Thus we find that even in Rome there was a custom of cutting off the heads of defeated enemies (see Seaver, G. W. A. R. 1903). Among the Egyptians the practice was also followed. The heads of the gods were cut off and brought to Gise (I. 299); David cut off Goliath’s head and brought it back to Saul; the Philistines cut off Samson’s head, and the sons of Asahel cut off Ish-bosheth, bringing it to David (1 Sam. 17. 51; 2 Sam. 21. 16; 2 Sam. 11. 19). The heads of the Akk’s 70 sons were struck off and placed in two heaps (2 Sam. 21. 19). In later times this custom was observed by the Assyrians. Among the Persians, the heads of defeated enemies were cut off and placed in heaps, and thus the head of the enemies of a god is shown in the lists of the gods and offered to them or to ancestral spirits. When the skull of an enemy was cut off and brought to the king, he would offer it to the gods and offer it to them or to ancestral spirits. When the skull of an enemy was cut off and brought to the king, he would offer it to the gods and offer it to them or to ancestral spirits.

6 Preservation of trophies. -These trophies served a more permanent purpose than that of immediate tokens of victory, as some care is taken to preserve them, and they are usually placed on the walls of houses of worship, or in some more or less sacred place. They are a standing witness to the prowess of individual or tribe.

Herodotus (iv. 108) relates of the Tauri that they impaled the heads of shipwrecked persons and fixed those of enemies on a long pole above the roof of their house. Among the Celts, townships and palaces were filled with these ghastly trophies, over doors, on walls, or as a sort of banner. The Teutons and Gauls, in particular, preserved the heads of those whose heads were cut off or thrown down the walls of churches, or in some other sacred place. It is well known that in the religious ceremonies of the ancient Greeks and Romans, the heads of deities were carried in procession, and that these were preserved in sanctuaries and in the temples of the gods. The heads of those who were slain in battle, or who were captured, were often preserved in the temples of the gods, and were carried in procession from place to place. The heads of those who were slain in battle, or who were captured, were often preserved in the temples of the gods, and were carried in procession from place to place.

(b) Various parts of the head sometimes take its place as trophies, e.g., the ears; after the battle of Ligniatus nine sacks were filled with the ears of the slain. 4 Jaw-bones or even whole months were also used as trophies, e.g., in the case of two men who were killed in battle, the head of one of them being cut off and fixed on a pole, the head of the other being cut off and fixed on another pole, and so on. The heads of the Chinese. 5 The Tucap wore the mouth of the slain as a bracelet. 6 Noses served the same purpose, and were worn with ears as necklets among the Arabs. 7 Montegi, in their proces 8 In the case of the few Hebrews, Ashantis, and other African tribes.

In most of these cases the heads or parts of the head are sent to the chief or king or displayed before him as a sign of prowess, or as a symbol of victory. But they are occasionally dedicated to a divinity. This is suggested by the Bab. and Egypt. instances cited above, and it is also found among the Celts, who cut off the heads of their enemies and placed them on the walls of their houses, and among the Greeks, who cut off the heads of their enemies and placed them on the walls of their temples. The heads of the latter were preserved in sanctuaries and in the temples of the gods, and were carried in procession from place to place.

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The Dayaks believe that those whose heads are alleged to be the slaves of their captors in the next world—an idea which is strongly held by the Lhoose of India, who cut heads off after a battle.1 Again, heads are taken by the Dayaks after a death, because it is supposed that a man of consequence cannot be buried or that a dead relative will not rest until this is done in his name; or by the Formosans, because the spirits of ancestors are pleased to see the lute adorned with heads.2 The Sukis also take heads at the death of a chief, and in Celebes a chief's tomb is supplied with two heads of enemies or of slaves.3 This custom also obtained among the Celts, since skulls have been found buried with the dead.4 Sometimes in Borneo the spirit of the head is expected to persuade its former friends to come and be slain, and a prayer to this effect is addressed to it nightly, while in the Congo district the spirit of the head cut off in war is believed to haunt members of its family.5

(c) There can be no doubt that, whether in conjunction with preserving the skull or not, where the custom of eating the brain is found (e.g. among the Dayaks, in Luzon, in New Guinea, in New Ireland, in the Torres Straits Islands), or of eating a mass of food in which a head has been cooked (as among the Batonga and the Garos), this has also an animistic basis. It is usually expressly stated that it is done to acquire the courage or wisdom of the dead man. In some cases it is enough to eat some part of the head—the eye (Sandwich Islands, N. Zealand, Marquesas Islands) or the tongue (Torres Straits, ancient Karmanians)—to acquire these qualities. The same purpose underlies the practice of using the skull of an enemy as an occasional or usual drinking-vessel. The liquid is the medium through which the powers of the owner of the skull or his spirit are transferred.

This was done by the Gasts,9 Irish milk drunk from a skull restores to warriors their pristine strength;10 Scythians,11 the ancient Amha,12 Fujiwas, peoples of the Oga,13 Umbas (priest drinks beer from skull of king to be possessed by his spirit),14 Ksakysheps (because good qualities of mind come from the brain).15 A similar custom occurs sporadically in folk-medicine and in magic. In Germany other people's pigeons will come to your cot if you give your pigeon drink from a human skull.17 In the W. Highlands to drink from the skull of a suicide is a potent cure for certain ailments.18

(3) A distinction must be made between the practices already referred to, where an enemy's skull is concerned, and those connected with the heads of relatives or ancestors. Here also, however, the animistic basis is obvious, and it appears quite clearly from the Calabar custom of cutting off the head of a great chief, that it is kept for some time and then kept it secretly lest it and therefore the spirit of the chief should be stolen from the town, and from

4 J. A. Byah, Ethnologiae, Paris, 1931 i. 100.
6 Weeks, P. L., 1897.
8 Cass, 1774; J. A. I. L. 1872, i. 285.
9 J. A. Byah, Journ. xiv. 277.
10 LL, 1880, p. 238; E. III.(xxii), 95; Florus, i. 90.
11 J. A. I. L. 105.
12 Herod. iv. 66.
13 W. F. Smith, Journ. xxii. 96.
14 J. A. I. L. 1901, i. 115.
15 J. A. I. L. 1901, i. 115.
17 J. A. I. L. 1901, i. 115.
18 J. A. I. L. 1901, i. 115.
the Polynesian idea that the spirit acts from the skull and is a guardian of the family. 1 Whatever the method of burial, the preservation of the skull or head of dead relatives out of affection, or in order to have a good office to trade with them, or to gain their good offices because of their pleasure at the respect shown to them, or for actual cult purposes, was probably an expensive and is found in many parts of the world. It is met with mainly among the Melanesians and Polynesians, but it exists also in Africa and sporadically in Americas, chiefly in the southern part of the continent.

Bodies buried without heads were found at cranbourne Chas., dating from neolithic times, and these suggest separate preservation of the head. Elsewhere skulls have been found buried alone. 2 Herodotus reports that the scattered bones made bare and cleansed the head, and, having gilded it, treated it as sacred and accorded to it (iv, 50). In Egypt the myth of Osiris told how, after the disembarrassment of his body, his head was buried at Abydos or at Memphis. The sanctuary at Abydos was therefore holiest of all, and the symbol of the city was the coffins containing the head. This may point to some separate treatment of the head in early Egypt, especially if Egyptian civilization and religion were indigenous in Africa, where the head is often venerated. Before the rise of the custom of extracting the brains through the nose in mummification, the head was cut off for this purpose and filled with gesso, and a formula was recited to the head of one man being confused with that of another. Among some Arunta tribes, a chief is buried with his head above ground. After the flesh has decayed, the skull is cut off and cremated. Relics of Aurunah, preserved at a thirteenth century, were washed every Sunday, and the water carried to the sick and diseased, who derived benefit from it. Among the Krishna people, a man is buried in the exhibition of the head, the living were preserved in the temple of the gods, and some jaw-bones were placed there. 3 Among the Soa, N. Africa, the preservation of a skull preserves the spirit of the dead, and the accumulated skulls of a family tribe thus constitutes the spirit house.

The custom of the widow carrying the husband's skull as a memento or amulet is found among some African tribes, in New Guinea, and in New Caledonia. In New Caledonia the head was twisted off ten days after death, and the skull preserved, offerings of food being made to it during sickness. 4 In various parts of Melanesia it is believed that the dead man's spirit can be obtained, through his skull, for the benefit of the survivors. 5 These skulls are carefully kept, and food-offerings are made to them. 6 In the Solomon Islands the skull is preserved in a sanctuary, and is usually enclosed in a piece of wood fashioned in the form of a fish, or in a miniature war-club. Also the skull is full of native incantations, and through it the help of the spirit can be obtained, mainly by means of offerings. 7 In Tahiti the skull was preserved separately from the body, and was usually hung from the roof of the house. 8 In Nanumanga it was believed that the soul, when called on, came back to the place where the skull was kept to drive away disease, etc. Here the head was exhumed after burial. In Netherlands

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woman, or an animal's head eaten by an animal, causes conception. In an Eskimo tale a seal is caught in pieces by the hunter, but the head slips into the womb of his wife and the girl is regarded as a sign of fertility for a woman to tread on a human skull. Reference may also be made to the power which the decapitated heads of monsters have of growing on again. Birth from the head is sporadically found, e.g., in the Greek myth of Alcestis born from the head of Zeus, and in Hindu stories. In Polynesian myths the cocoon-tree is supposed to have originated from a human head or from the head of a coconut Octopus, and in the New Zealand Maori myth the incident of a tree sprouting from a buried human head occurs. In a Samoan myth, big originate from human heads flung into a cave by a cannibal chief. Various creation myths tell how part of the universe was made from this or that part of the head of a being or of a plant; while in a Chaldaian cosmogony preserved by Isidore the head of Bélu is cut off, the blood is mixed with earth, and from this man and animals are made.

d. Heads of animals.—These also have a distinctive place in custom and ritual, and from early special attention is paid to the head of a sacrificial animal. Among the Veddas, when game is obtained, the head and a portion of the flesh of each deer taken is cooked as an offering to Kande Yaka, and afterwards eaten by the community. The Wannaimrei of W. Africa place the head of the killed beast before the huts of the natives along with a little flesh. When the Dayaks offer fowls to the water-goddeses, they cut off the heads and throw them into the stream. Herodotus reports of sacrifices in Egypt that the heads of the living (or evil) were pronounced upon the head after it was cut off and then it was either sold to strangers or thrown into the river. No Egyptian would eat the head of any animal. This custom is confirmed by monumental evidence, and the head appears as an offering quite as often as any other part of the animal. Probably some sacrifice particular only is referred to by Herodotus. Among the Hebrew sacrifices occasional directions are given for the treatment of the head. That of the Passover lamb was to be eaten along with the flesh. In the case of the burnt-offering the head is mentioned as one of the parts which must be laid on the altar and burnt (Lev 1:1; 7:30). In the case of the sin-offering of ignorance, the head is one of the parts which are not sacrificed but taken outside the camp and burnt (Lev 4:30; cf. 7:2). Among the Teutons and Scandinavians, heads of sacrificed animals were sometimes the important part of the offering assigned to the gods; but, again, they were sometimes suspended on trees in the sacred grove and thus consecrated by the sacred smoke of the fire. Similar customs obtained among the Cela, and are referred to in Acts of Saints, who tried to combat the popular paganism in Gaul. Among these peoples, with whom the bear is an object of reverence—Alans (q.v.), tribes of northern Asia, some American Indian tribes—when one is killed in the hunt, its head has particular care bestowed upon it. Thus among the Oglala (q.v.) the head and skin are borne solemnly through a smoke offering, and the bear's head is placed on a platform, as shown by a picture in the book cited. Among the Hidatsa and Flathead the bear's head is placed on a platform on a pole, as shown by a picture in the book cited. Among the Ojibwa, the head is placed on a pole, as shown by a picture in the book cited. Among the Hidatsa and Flathead the bear's head is placed on a platform on a pole, as shown by a picture in the book cited. Among the Ojibwa, the head is placed on a platform on a pole, as shown by a picture in the book cited.
HAD

accredited with pious virtues. Offerings are set before it, and on the feast day, called the "Holy Day of the Dead," it is fed from every dish served at the feast.1

The Ainus set skulls of sinless bears in the place of honor in their huts, or fix them on poles and sacrifice to them, believing that the spirits of animals dwell in the skulls.2 The Oiakake hang the head on a tree.3 Among the African Indian tribes who surrender the bear's head is tied to a tree as a mark of respect, or on a post after being painted. Homage is paid to it, and it is expected to bring good luck to the hunters.4 Analogous customs are found elsewhere.

In Timor, skulls of turtles are hung under the house, and papers and objects fixed above the door.5 Among the Greeks and Romans it was customary to place the head of sacrificial victims, especially of the ox, above the door of the house in order to ward off evil. Such heads were found in Elam, Ur, Tell, and Nippur.6 The head of the October horse was cut off and defaced, and, after a fight for its possession, it was probably thrown over the wall of the city or on the roof of the house.7 Among the Scandinavians, Toulousans, and Alps the heads of sacrificial victims were fixed on trees or on houses in order to keep off evil influences, while the significance of this custom is found in many practices recently surveyed.8 In these regions, the heads fixed on houses must be traced to the carved heads or other animal heads on gables of medieval buildings in Germany, France, England, etc., regarding which occasional legends are told. Where an actual skull was fixed on the building, it may be that of an animal killed as a foundation sacrifice.9

It is thus obvious that the animal's head serves an analogous purpose to that of the human head, and that the similar custom with respect to both have their origin in similar ideas respecting the spirit acting through or from the head. This is apparent in the Baganda belief that in ghosts of slain buffaloes are dangerous. Hence the head is never brought into a garden of plantains, but eaten in the open country, and the skull placed in a specially built hut, where offerings are made to it, to induce the ghost to do no harm.10

In many cases magical rites are performed with animal's heads for different purposes, e.g., to cause a supernaturally good animal in question to fall to the hunter,11 to prevent disease spreading by burying the head in the grave of the deceased,12 or charms are made from animal's brains,13 or they are worn as dried ornaments.14

7. Rites connected with the head. — The importance of rites connected with the head is seen in the number of such rites connected with it or performed upon it. In the article HAND it has been seen how the laying on of hands takes place upon the head, while it is also upon the head that anointing and the anointing of sacred liquids usually take place (see ANOINTING).

(a) The head is often anointed at different occasions in life; and, whatever secondary purposed this or

2. Batchelor, p. 463.
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(c) The placing of ashes, dust, or earth on the head has been frequently recognized as a sign of abasement or of grief and mourning. Many African tribes, for instance, anf of an infan to wear ashes in approaching a superior. It is similarly used among Oriental peoples, and among the Hebrews it was a method of approaching God or a conqueror in humiliation, or as a token of excessive grief, and of mourning for the dead (Jos 7, 18; 2 S 13, 19; cf. Is 52, 11). The Egyptians also used it as a sign of mourning.

While this action shows humility, it thus helps to propitiate either deity or superior; and, though in mourning it is a natural act on the part of those who believe that insincerity is uncleanliness, mourning, etc., is a concomitant of grief, there may be some idea also of thereby propitiating the gods. The suggestion that the dust was taken from the grave or ashes from the funeral fire is common elsewhere.

(d) The covering of the head by certain persons at times, or habitually, is a matter of obligation, to omit which would be to incur ill-luck and danger. As things sacred are dangerous, and as the head is regarded as sacred, there are occasions when it might be harmful to the ritual act which is being performed or disrespectful to the divinity, to uncover. And, conversely, dangerous influences might fall on the sacred head at that particular moment. Shamans and priests frequently cover the head and the hand in performanccs ris hotel with the dead.

Among the Veddas the cloth which is held over a shaman's head, when his hair is being cut, also covers his head in the sacred acts. In certain? ritual acts in the magic rite of healing, the shaman has his head veiled. The priests of the East, when they enter a sacred place, because the gods covered the head with a h? white sacrificial cloth. The Roman priests, when sacrificing, covered the head and back of the head with the toga (vela capite). The custom was traced to the advice given by Helenus to Hecuba, but Plutarch suggests other origins—humility, the avoidance of hearing ill-conceived words, or a symbol of the soul hidden by the body. The Greeks also covered the head uncovred during the rites of the orich und the eternal. Scandinavians regard it as inoffensive to pray with the head uncovered. Jews also cover the head at prayer out of reverence. Ex 32, 13 (Jehovah hid his face, for he was afraid to look upon God), and the mantle, or turban, is placed over the head of the name of God. Among Christians the head is uncovered at prayer and in church, but women have the head covered, following St. Paul's Instructions (1 Co 11, 4), and as certain parts of the service the priest wears a biretia, and the bishop a mitre.

(e) The veil of the bride, which takes place among so many peoples, savage and civilized, may be traced to the idea of danger to the head, which was commonly adopted at the time of marriage. The ecclesiastical rite of the veil of virgins who dedicated themselves to the religious life ('taking the veil') was connected with the idea of avoiding marriage with Christ. Many in the early Church held that all unmarried women or virgins should wear a veil.1 Muslim and other women must always be veiled, as it would be immodest to let any one see the head or face, especially the former. Among Jews, though not now in Western countries, it was considered indecorous for a woman to be bare-headed. The custom of covering the face or head with a veil or with the mantle on occasion existed among the early Hebrews, with the same idea of indecorum (Ge 24, 60). The same rule has been followed in the Christian Church with regard to virgins almost from the earliest times, but it is dishonouring to his head for a man to pray covered, according to St. Paul (1 Co 11, 11). On the other hand, uncovering the head is often regarded as a token of respect, whether to divinities or superiors, just as it is an act of etiquette in the modern world. It is not easy to reconcile this with the former practice, unless the idea was that of exposing a part regarded as sacred before those who were sacred or superior.

Van Geenp (p. 260) regards covering the head as an act of separation from what is profane. This is undoubtedly one aspect of the custom, emphasized, e.g., in the Christian rite of marriage, where, at the benediction of the pair, a veil is held over their heads. Covering the head is also an occasional token of grief, or mourning.4 In some instances veils are struck, chaplets, and crowns are worn as protective of the head from evil influences. See D. Davies, vol. p. 289.

(f) Distinctive marks are often made on the forehead by branding or painting, or they are symbolically signed with the hand. In India such marks are painted on the forehead; and, according to their form, they denote the sect to which a man belongs—Savitriis have a horizontal and Vaisnavites a vertical sign.5 Among the Buddhists of Eastern Tibet, Lamas pass through an ordeal of initiation in which six marks are scored in their crown with an iron lamp. A similar custom must have existed among the Semites, for in Is 20, 2, they have been scored according to a sacred sign, the Taw, placed on the foreheads of those who had not given themselves over to pagan cults, and who would thus be saved from slaughter in the day of destruction. Similarly in the Apocalypse the worshippers of the beast have his mark on their foreheads (or their hands), and they are doomed to drink of the wrath of the wine of God (Rev 13, 14-16; cf. 20, 4). On the other hand, the servants of God are 'sealed in their foreheads with the names of the Lamb and His Father' (7, 14).

In the Psalms of Solomon, the mark of the Lord is on the righteous to their salvation—probably on their foreheads, since 'the mark of destruction' is placed thereon (19, 10). Hebrew prophets apparently bore some distinctive mark on the face or hand (see 1 K 20, 4). In Christian baptism, from comparatively early times, the candidates were signed with the Cross on their foreheads at various stages of the service, e.g. in connexion with exorcism, and at confirmation the same sign was made with the thumb dipped in the consecrated oil. The whole conception of baptism implies a ' seal' or mark by which the faithful were known to God—baptism conferring a spiritual character— is connected with these ideas of an actual mark made on the forehead, as is obvious from the language used regarding it in early writings (see EX 18, 8, 28). In signing oneself with the protective sign of the Cross, sometimes called 'sealing,' it was usually traced on the forehead.

Many passages in the Apocalyptic Acts show that by this invisible 'seal' demons were expelled. But a later method was to make the sign by touching first the forehead, then the region of the heart, the left, and afterwards the right shoulder. In Christian usage the symbolic marking took the place of actual marking or branding. Similar marks were, however, still made by some Gnostic sects—e.g. the Carpocratians (branding or marking on the lobe of the ear). 1

3 J. E. Thus, II, 15.
5 See O. E. H. Gurney, 'The J judge and the Passover,' Gleaner, 1862, p. 15.
6 S. B. and R. P. N. E... of the Church, 1859, p. 327.
7 I. de Orig. sect. Gomar, xi.
8 J. S., 91, II, 91.
9 L. Procter, iii, 111.
12 C. Germain, Num. III, 277.
Denker, l. c 224 Leipzig, 1899), to decry a 'morning blush of the illumination.' For one thing, the significance of that absence is discounted altogether. It is clear that in the Odyssey, a product of the same stage of culture as the Iliad, the magic word is employed in the treatment of wounds (Od. xix. 457); and for another, the surgical art, just because the injury it deals with are potent to the eye, and may be healed by the skilled hand, occupied a distinct position within the sphere of medicine. This is seen even in the legal enactments of ancient Babylon, in which the healer of wounds is put alongside of the veterinary surgeon, the architect, and other artisans who in the Hellenic age are mentioned at all (see below). The absence of exorcism from the surgical practice of the Iliad could be regarded as a symptom of the icon's 'spirit of light' only if that were, in its references to disease, made no mention of magic remedies at all. In point of fact, however, the warriors who deals so rationally with the wounds inflicted by the presence sent by Apollo, and have recourse to supernatural means of healing — the consultation of priests, seers, and dream-readers (II. 1. 63), purifications, prayers, and sacrifices (445 F. C.). In the Odyssey likewise the illness of individuals is regarded as sent by the gods (v. 306, iv. 411), and from the gods alone is the remedy to be procured (v. 307). The prevalence of theurgic medicine in the Homeric age must therefore be recognized as a fact beyond question. Then in the ever-increasing employment of religious expedients against the onset of epidemics in later times, and the vogue enjoyed for centuries by temples of healing, show us how long the power of magic held its ground in the sphere of medicine. It is also a significant fact that Pindar, when enumerating the subjects which Asklepios learned from Cheiron (see below, I. A. 6), does not shrink from co-ordinating exorcism with his Divine internal medicine. Even Sophocles, whose view of trago, as expressed by Ajax (Aj. 885), is read by J. Hirschberg as a condemnation of the use of Asklepios, in Augenheilunde, Leipzig, 1906, p. 55; he might also have added Trachin. 1001), was actually the priest of the healing hero Aminos (II. B. 11), and, as such, successfully strove to secure the naturalization of Asklepios, the bestower of dream-oracles, in Athens. A very different problem is raised when we ask whether the predominance of the supernaturalistic element did not act as an obstacle to practical progress in religious medicine, or whether genuine medical knowledge might not develop even under such conditions. In order to answer this question, we must turn to the two civilised peoples who practised the healing art prior to the Greeks.

(c) To the Babylonians a science of medicine free from the occult was always a thing unknown. At the first glance, indeed, it might seem as if at a remote period popular beliefs were assimilated as mere superstition by certain outstanding rulers, but on a closer inspection this view proves to be fallacious. The ancient Semitic priests (city-king) of Lagash, Gudea, whose reign is now dated to 2150 B.C. (A. Ungnad) or 2350 B.C. (E. Mayer), certainly says, in his report about the building of the temple of Ningirsu, that he has 'expelled the dreadful sorcerers, the (what follows is unintelligible) from the city' (Statute B 3, 15 f., as in Thueau-Dangin, Die numm. u. akkad. Konigsnachr., Leipzig, 1907, p. 69, cf. Cylinder A, 15 f., p. 108). But to speak of him as on that account the founder of the formation of civilization in history (J. Jeremias, Meso u. Hurunans, Leipzig, 1908, p. 40, n. 3) is a miscomprehension. Gudea was, in fact, a priest, a rationalist. The inscriptions of his statues and cylinders record little else than his exertions in
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The Ebers Papyrus, compiled from other writings during the XVIIIth dynasty, and its nearly contemporaneous counterpart, the Hearst Medical Papyrus (ed. Reisner, 1905), frequently supplement the medical recipes by magic incantations, and while for his administrative proceedings he resorts to omons of various kinds, as also, according to Jastrow (Die Religion der Bab. u. Assyr., Gnesen, 1908-09, ii., 292), R. Oppenheim (Die altorientalische Religion unter ihrem Einflusse, Leipzig, 1907, p. 371 E.), infer that Egyptian medicine was at first empirically, and reduced to matter of the New Empire and under Babylonian influence. But is this not too bold a conclusion to draw from such scanty data? The gymnosophical text in question consists 3 only three columns, the Ebers Papyrus comprises one hundred and ten pages; in the latter, moreover, the incantations are met with specifically, and large portions of the text have none at all. Thus the absence of incantations from the Kahun fragment may be merely fortuitous. In a word, a people with no intense belief in the supernatural as the Egyptians—a people whose cult of the dead was completely permeated by magic even in the Ancient Empire—cultivated a purely rational medicine the present writer finds it impossible to estimate, such as serious to the necessities, of the health of the body, and to the treatment of diseases, in the case of the Egyptians.

We turn now to the question how far these two civilised peoples of antiquity, with their marked leaning towards the occult and the mysterious, had in truth progressed in the science and art of healing. Modern writers on medicine have shown that the Egyptian doctrine of the vessels (skeuism) was a real contribution to the knowledge of science, and that the Egyptian pharmacy furnished materials of considerable value. But the Babylonian medicine likewise, debased by the ritual of exorcisms and dependent upon other though it was, recognition, as has been shown by F. Kühler in his valuable Beiträge zur Kenntniss d. assyr.-bab. Medicin (Leipzig, 1904), the use of rational remedies, employs the injection (Kühler, p. 39, § 44) and the cataplasms (§ 39, 38, etc.), and gives directions as to diet (§ 7, 30, 69); and, according to Oeser (in Kühler, p. 66), the squatting position is prescribed for colic (§ 3, 11, 15) does in reality afford great relief.

In the Nile valley and in Mesopotamia, therefore, the healing art was a combination of the occult and the rational, and this peculiar system of medicine exercised an influence upon the Greeks at a very early period. The Egyptian doctrine of skeuism survived in the Greek theory of 'humours' (Schneider, op. cit. 325), the Egyptian pharmacy in that of Greek; and a striking illustration is found in the fact that, as demonstrated by Le Page Renouf (Exc. xi. 1878), the diagnosis of pregnancy in the 'Hipppocratic' treatise voj idox — probably written by a Cidian — is identical in language to that of the Brugsch Papyrus. How this Egyptian diagnosis made its way to the Cidian may be explained by the fact that, according to Diogenes Laertius (vii. 97), the Cidian mathematician and physician Eudoxos spent fifteen months with the medical priests of Heliopolis in the reign of Nektanebo (365-304 n.C.) and Eudoxos would certainly not be the first of the Greeks to avail himself of such an experience. The avenues by which Babylonian medicine reached the Greeks have not yet been definitely ascertained; but the present writer is convinced that the practice of incubation, i.e., sleeping in a temple as a means of healing, which is of great importance in the religious medicine of the Greeks, was an importation from Babylon. H. Magnus (Aeh. zur Gesch. d. Medicin, 1. Breislaw, 1902) § 6 E) maintains, it is true, that incubation was common in Egypt from the earliest times; but the present writer has not been able to discover any mention of it in ancient Egyptian sources. In all probability, the practice was introduced into Egypt through the medium of the Sarapis worship.
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founded by Ptolemy L. and was shortly thereafter transferred to the cult of Isis. Sarapis—the subject of much discussion—is, however, as C. F. Lehmann-Haupt has shown (II. A. 18), simply the god Eos of Euboea, for his customary name, the name of Sarapis ('king of the watery deep'), the supreme healing god of the Babylonians (Jastrow, op. cit. i. 286 ff.). In the sanctuary of Eos at Babylon—where the goddess was very venerated—the rite of incubation was performed on behalf of the dying Alexander by several of his generals. The theory that Mesopotamia was the cradle of incubation is warranted also by the fact that in that region dream-oracles were sought after for all emergencies, and especially for disease (Jastrow, i. 267 ff.), from the earliest times. Unfortunately, we have as yet no work dealing with the ritual prescribed; and this is all the more to be regretted in view of the important rôle played by dreams in reading. Jastrow's work has so far only reached the discussion of the oil-oracle; the still unpublished matter relating to dream-oracles for healing purposes is noted in Besold's Catalogue of the Konyunjak Collection, v. (1890) nos. 2410 ('omens, including medical presciptions') and 2413 ('omens derived from events which seem to occur in dreams'). The question of the relation among the Babylonians and Assyrians was an institution with well-defined rites is shown by an incidental reference in the annals of Assurbanipal (ed. Jansen, K. B. ii. (1881) 157). In the same connection also, the unvarying accordance of the sun-god, which, in his daily course, has lain down towards the end of the night, in order to obtain an oracle on the king's behalf (cf. ib. 301). The Greek practice of incubation, however, also, exhibits the two features here indicated, viz., incubation on behalf of another (cf. II. A. 15 and 17, and, moreover, the preference for a time towards morning, so-called 'material sustenance' (Philostr. Vita Apollon. ii. 36; cf. Artemidor. i. 7). Plutararch (Septem sep. cons. 15) tells us that incubation was an ancient Greek practice, and that the reverence of the Hellenes (Herod. iii. 239) to the Dodonian Selloi, the όρμοτάνα χαμαμεταν of Zeus, may be regarded as the earliest witness to it (so Weilker, Kleine Schriften, iii. (1850) 90, and Dümmler, Philol. i. (1897) 6). The naturalization of a Bab. practice in Greece at so early a period is not inconceivable, as another passage of the Hippokratische Onkia (269 b), shows dependence on Bab. cosmogony (F. Jansen, Karmologie der Babylonier, Strassburg, 1890, p. 244). Incubation would seem to have reached the Greeks by way of Lydia; thus, in Assurbanipal's annals (v. ii. 173), a dream which was sent by the god Asur to Goges is mentioned (cf. Jansen, in Thürmer, Pergamos, Leipzig, 1888, p. 413), while in the valley of the Meander there were several incubation-shrines of the subterranean gods, one of them being the Platonion, near Nysa, the ceremonies of which were a reflection of the Bab. practice (II. A. 17, below). Mention should also be made of the curious affinity between the Bab. harrusipcy (Jastrow, ii. 213 ff.) and the Etruscan—a correspondence dealt with most recently by G. Körte in Röm. Mitt. xx. (1905) 338 ff. in connexion with the bronze liver of Pisa (see ETRUSCAN RELIGION, vol. ii. pp. 533, 537). Here, again, we learn that we are but beginning to realize the complex influences which stemmed from Mesopotamia to the West.

If the religious medicine of the elder civilized peoples thus made its influence felt among the Greeks, the question arises whether its further development, after its settlement upon Greek soil, was essentially upon the same lines as before, i.e. whether the fusion of religion and medical empiricism can be traced also in the therapeutical practice of the Greek sanctuaries. While this, notwithstanding the ridicule poured upon incubation-shrines by Aristophanes in the Ploutos, and obviously also by the conceptions of the graeco-latins, has not been sufficiently taken for granted until lately, the discovery of the Epidaurian stela recording the miraculous cures (idiases) of Asklepion (as related about the end of the 4th cent. B.C.) has brought about a defection from this view, and the majority of modern investigators stigmatize these sanctuaries as 'hives of profanation and superstition'. The latest discussion of the question (S. Herrlich, 'Antike Wunderkuren', in Progr. des Humboldt-Gymnas. zu Berlin, 1911) comes eventually to the same negative result. The best writer, however, after renewed consideration of the subject, cannot but adhere, in essentials, to the earlier standpoint, as set forth in Pauly-Wissowa, ii. 1686 ff.

Arguing from the difference between the contents of the Epidaurian syma-stela and the condition of medical practice in the Imperial period (Kavvadias (in his Fes de l'Epidaure, Athens, 1903, p. 115, in the 'Ippaipos' of Xanthopoulos, 1900, p. 267 ff., in the Melange de Perrot, 1905, p. 42, and, finally, at the meeting in Athens, Comptes Rendus, 1905, p. 278 ff.) has come to the conclusion that in the Greek period the curative procedure of the Asklepia consisted entirely of miraculous acts of the god, a conclusion which, in the case of the syma, while in the Roman period, in consequence of the institution of dream-shrines, and the therapeutical method, an infusion of rationality. But the inference is by no means beyond dispute. To begin with, it would be strange indeed that the Asklepia of the most flourishing period of the Hellenic age should be able to resist the intrusion of rational procedure, while, in a period of growing superstition and craving for the miraculous, they should open their doors to naturalism. It is not a question of the theory on the Epidaurian syma, but exaggerates their importance. In Pauly-Wissowa (loc. cit.) the present writer had pointed out that the syma—according to which, e.g., persons with a vacant eye-socket incubate, and leave the shrine with a seeing eye—are not historical documents, but merely a compound of the Hellenic, miraculous minds, and that none of the individuals said to have been cured by the god can be historically traced. Wilhelm (Jahrb. d. österr. archiol. Instit. iii. (1900) 40) has certainly sought to identify Arystbe, an Epistor named in stela II. no. 31, with a Molossian chief of the period in which the syma were redacted, but in that case this particular syma would be severed from the group as a whole. The Greeks had, in point of fact, a great store of legends about the cures and resuscitations of Asklepios in the mythical age (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, ii. 1633 f.), and one of these miracles—the raising of Hippolytus to life—was extolled upon a stele bearing an epigram in the Epidaurian hieron (Paus. ii. 27. 4). Our redaction of the syma, then, really preserves the substance of these tales of the marvellous in a pseudo-historical form, its object being to convince the inquisitive that the immediate miraculous action of the god had not ceased with the mythical age. A frequently recurring feature of the syma is the statement that, when the sleeper awoke, his dreams were found to have already fulfilled; and here again the record follows a mythical pattern, as seen in Bellorophon's dream (Pindar, Olymp. xiii. 56). If, accordingly, the

This argument is advanced in opposition to the view of S. Herrlich (loc. cit. 20), though only by way of supporting the contention that the occult element maintains its supremacy also in the Roman period; otherwise Weilker, Kleine Schriften, iii. 78.
Epidaurus ismata belong to the class of mursucul- 
ous stories designed to incite passion, such as an- 
skin with all in religions, we cannot regard them 
as documents drawn up from the actual practice of 
the Asklepiads.1

The theory of Kavadas ignores the ma-
tic aspect of incubation; and so O. Rubensohn 
(Festscr. für Vahlen, Berlin, 1900, p. 13) takes 
the further step of asserting that in the Greek 
period the cult of Asklepios was not concerned 
with dream-oracles, but that those were intro- 
duced at first by the Sarapis-Iasis cult. In point of 
fact, however, Asklepios was known to the 
Greeks long before the worship of Sarapis 
reached them, and was based precisely on the 
prophetic significance of dreams (see below, II. A. 
74, 15, 27—30); and above, the reference to 
the Dodonian Selloi; cf. II. B. 1 and 3). A dis- 
tinction was made between 
\[\text{ὥς τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἤσσεινω}
\] 
(divine oracles given in dreams), and 
\[\text{ὄρκος ὄρκος}
\] 
(oracles of the soul itself in dreaming).

The author of the \textit{προφήτης} in the Corpus 

\textit{Hippocr.}, probably a Cnidian physician, 
believes in both kinds, but not of the former 
class (ch. 87 [v. 540, Littre]), as those had 
already been dealt with by experts,2 confining 
himself to the \textit{νάταρος} class, in which the soul reveals 
what will be good or evil for the body. Besides 
that, the author of dreams is recognized by 
the post-Hippocratic physician Herv- 
philos, the anatomist (Plut. de Pasc. Philos. v. 2). 
Even Democritus believes in dreams who reveal 
the inner state of the dreamer in forms (εἰκόνες) emanat- 
ing from themselves (Plut. id.; Sext. Empir., 
deo. 
Math. 384), and Aristotle acknowledged the ma-
tic effects of \textit{νάταρος} dreams (\textit{ὕπνοι} \textit{ὡς τοῦ ἱεροῦ} 
\[\text{μερισμάτων}
\] 
, p. 462 ff.), while the Stoics, again, regarded 
dreams of healing as manifestations of divine 
providence. In view of such favourable 
recognition on the part of the Stoics, it seems 
only right, and also of course, incumbent upon the 
official directors of the practice of incubation to do 
all they could to ascertain the divine will as 
disclosed in the dreams. Everything turned, therefore, on the correct inter- 
pretation. The special literature of the subject 
formulates two classes of revelations (Artemid. 
[i. 2]: (1) \textit{δήμως δεύμως ἔρμως}, \textit{dreams to be followed 
literally}—even there, however, interpretation had 
its limits whenever the literal application of 
the prescription threatened the patient’s life—
and (2) \textit{ὄρκος ὄρκος}, which indicates the 
remedy indirectly.3 As regards the latter, 
Artemidorus (iv. 22) deprecates all perversity of 
interpretation, and asserts that the \textit{νάταρος} of the 
gods, when given in enigmatic form, are 
nevertheless quite clear; thus the dream of a lamb 
sucking the breast of an invalid signifies an 
application of \textit{αὐξημένως}. Preposterous interpreta- 
tions were a characteristic feature of the Imperial 
period—\textit{e.g.}, a vision of the Athena Parthenos of 
Phidias was fantastically interpreted as signifying the 
application of an injection of Attic honey (Aristid. 
ii. 406 [Keil]).

Again, interpretation of dreams and a therapo- 
tical practice founded thereon are met with—to 
leave Asklepios out of account meanwhile—in the 
Plutonion near Nyma (II. A. 17, below), in the 
Dionysian dream-shrine at Amphiakleia (15), 
in the cult of the Dioskouros at Byzantion (14), 
and in the Amphiereion at Ormos (19). Now, it is 
quite impossible to understand why incubation, 
the characteristic feature of which, from its 
1 A very significant circumstance is that the supposed original 
work of Hippocrates, belonging to state i. no. 16 (Thesmodes), 
proves to be a fabrication in a pseudo-archaic script.

2 As, \textit{e.g.}, the prescribed bleeding to the amount of 100 pounds 
(Aristides, ii. 460 [Keil]).

3 As \textit{e.g.}, the prescribed bleeding to the amount of 100 pounds 
(Aristides, ii. 460 [Keil]).
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Westernmann, Biographis Gr., Brunswick, 1845, p. 450, is a blend of fact and fancy. His birthday is attested by a reliable source—a Cahn archive; while we may probably rely also upon the statement that, on the whole, the practices of the earlier age, in keeping with the higher state of its medical knowledge, and the less debased character of its religion, were superior to those of the later period. The later ages then, would be introduced by the death of his parents to migrate to Thebes, that he lived at Larissa, and eventually died and was buried there (cf. Asis. Gry. vii. 56). The nation of his origin is likewise pointed to that country, as it is not met with in any previous generation of the Asklepiadæ. There is nothing to show that he ever returned to his native place, and Hermog's enlisting treatises in Cos have not yielded a single fact regarding him. It would thus seem certain that he left the island for ever at an early age. The ancestors of a later day were manifestly at a loss to account for this. The Vita gives three distinct reasons, viz. (1) an injunction intimated in a dream (Soranos); (2) his desire to widen the horizon of his medical knowledge; and (3) his being accused of burning the Cudian library (so Andreas, perhaps physician in ordinary to Ptolemy II, whom Galen [cf. 720, Khun] stigmatizes as a wind-bag). The charge implied in the last-mentioned explanation is attributed by S. Rainach (art. 'Medicus,' in Darmenb-Saglio, 1814) to the jealousy of the priests of Asklepios but erroneously, as the relations between these and the Asklepiadæ (on which cf. Lefort, Mus. belge de phil. [1906], 151 ff.) were always of a friendly character. This conjecture could have arisen only from the antagonism between the Cudian and the Coan schools of medicine, as it was in reality meant to expand the lead of the latter as a plagiarist who availed himself of the professional literature of the former—a point which Testas obliterates by transferring the burning to the Coan library, though he to the later of non-religious medical literature (καὶ μὴ βεβηλοποίησας τοῦ τάξους τῶν εὐνόμων βιβλίων καὶ τοῦ βεβηλοποίησας). The statement of Andreas makes no mention whatever of the burning of the library, but it is a suggestion of these occurs in Varro, according to whom (Opi. PL. 29. 4) Hippocrates first copied the records of cures deposited in the Coan sanctuary by those restored to health, and then burned the temple. This is obviously nothing but an abortive attempt to interweave the anti-Coan version of Asklepios with the history of the origin of scientific medicine just noted. That the latter hypothesis, however, was not put forward wholly at a venture, but might find some support in a genuine practice of healing in the Asklepiadæ, is shown by the testimony of Apollodoros to the furtive practices of Asklepios, and the reference prescribed by the god in the fragment of a comedy in Aelian. fr. 100 (above, p. 543). The present writer would add a reference to an Athenian votive relief of the 4th cent. B.C. published by Ziesch (Ark. Mit. xli. [1892] 235, fig. 3), representing a patient stretched upon a στάδιον, and a surgeon engaged in treating him, while Asklepios, figured on a much larger scale than either, stands passively by (in the stationary type in Roscher, l. x, scheme 1.). Here, then, we have monumental evidence of the fact that the personage of the temple engaged in therapeutic practice under the sanction of the god.

It is thus impossible to deny that genuine medical treatment—directed, it is true, by oracles of healing—was practised in the Asklepiadæ of the Greek age. As regards the Cudian, we are not able meanwhile to judge, for investigation of the Greek period has so far yielded no original votive tablets dedicated by restored patients and dated, with the records of the prescribed remedies, such as are supplied for the Roman period in the pathological narratives of P. Grumius (Lebebe) and J. Apelles (Epidauros), but it is at least an allowable hypothesis that the curative methods of the earlier age, in keeping with the higher state of its medical knowledge and the less debased character of its religion, were superior to those of the later period. This would then be at its height, while practical medicine still maintained a close connexion with the occult, as in the Cudian medical school (cf. Gomperz, Gr. Descr. i. 250), and probably even more in that of Rhodes—the first to become extinct (Galen, x. 5 [Kühn]). The Cudian author of the treat 'Asklepios,' art. 37 (cf. 371) on the principle: 'Prayer is certainly very good, but one who calls upon the gods must himself also do his part' (ἐάν καὶ εὐτυχεὶς ἄλλωσιν τοῦ ἄνθρωπος ταύτῃ τετραδίκερα). Some of his interpretations of dreams are such as we might ascribe to an Asklepiad priest, as, e.g., ch. 88 (abbreviated): 'If in a dream one fights in opposition to the doings of the day, it signifies some bodily disaster, and this is to be counteracted by emetics, disting, bodily movements, exerting the voice, and [last, though not least] by prayer.' We seldom meet with the case where the priest function is discharged by a physician. Three instances are given in Paulus-Wissowa, ii. 1855: a fourth is probably to be found in Kallipho, the father of Democritus, who himself was a student of Asklepios in C犍kut (aus. cit. Δημοκρίτου) and, as the healing art was then hereditary in families, probably also, like his son, a physician. But we cannot say whether the priest was such unless we suppose the vocation of interpreting dreams. In the Pistonion near Naus, dream-reading was the function of the ἀναφυταὶ τοῦ θεοῦ (cf. 38). We must doubtless assume that persons specially versed in this art were to be found in all dream-shrines. It was only natural that these adepts should have tried to discover the meaning of the divine utterances, with vouchers vouchsafed by the god. And in finding these meanings they were in no way guilty of a 'pious fraud!' (Herrigli, op. cit. 18), but were rather the victims of self-delusion. The priests themselves, the Delphic inquirers, the priests and also the Delphic priests in their task of moulding the incoherent utterances of the Pythia into intelligible sentences (cf. the critical estimate of this function in Schömann, Griech. Alterth., Berlin, 1897, ii. 318). The facts thus adduced seem to the present writer to justify the view that the gods of the Greeks, as among the Babylonians and Egyptians of an earlier age, religious medicine did not dispense with rational remedies. That practical modes of treatment were associated with miracle, 'faith's favourite child,' is shown not only by the craving for marvels which ran riot in the Egyptian medicine, but also by the legend narrating the founding of the Asklepiadæ of Naupaktos (Paus. x. 39. 18) and the Iasulos Tiberinaus (Ovid, Metam. xv. 660 ff., etc.). We may also suppose that, alike in the waking state and during incubation, cures were not infrequently wrought quite apart from the oracular adjourn and solely by means of suggestions, and then exalted as the miraculous works of the deity. We shall not pursue the subject further here, as we are meanwhile concerned only to follow the traces of rational therapeutics within the sphere of religious medicine. From the former alone is there any real passage to the altogether rational conception of θεοπάθεια in the Asklepiad cult, with regard to whom the reader is referred to the section on the 'rational value of much treatment' (cf. 36 ii. 2). Her radiant figure appears as something out of keeping with the mystical and, in essence, non-Hellenic, divinity that surrounds the practice of healing the sick.

II. HEALING GODS AND HEROES.—A. GODS.—

The following list touches only incidentally on the deities of childbirth.

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The belief in gods implies also belief in their sway over health and disease; and, accordingly, in all manner of troubles, but especially in the case of local ills, the physician, or diviner, sought help from the deities. Originally, however, there existed no belief in special deities of healing. In Od. v. 397 the references is quite general — the gods looked after, or helped, in his troubles. Every deity, or group of deities, such as Apollo, Asklepios, Eileithyia, etc., are not to be interpreted off-hand in a medical sense, for, as will appear from the following synopses, they have usually quite a different meaning and reference to the general, but taken for granted that at the outset the sufferer appealed simply to his family or tribal deity. It might seem to have been the most natural course to seek Apollo, the ancient god of healing, but we may probably find an explanation of his special function in his having become a son of Apollo, the god of medicine. But, nevertheless, his local personalized, the snake-collared rod, remains to this day the specific symbol of medicine.

1. Zeus. — Zeus, the sovereign of the Greek pantheon, is the supreme master of sickness (Od. ix. 411), seldom appears as a healing god. His common epithet, Ἴνης (gen. Thess. Louv. i. 2. 4, 19), is the plural of Ἴνα, and it is only rarely used in a medical sense. The name of Zeus, which means “ruler” (cf. O. Weinrich, Athene Heilungswunder, Griechen, 1899, p. 41), and Ἴνα (Ath. Mitt. xxvii. [1891] 223), does not have the same meaning as the healing god. In the Persian pantheon, and in the Iliad, these deities are depicted as the discoverers of medicine and the heroes, in the Persians, and the gods of battle and victory, erected to him and Athena Soteira in the Parnassus, to celebrate the restoration of Athens under Conon (H. Brunn, Gesch. d. gr. Kunstgesch. 4, Stuttgart, 1888, i. 720), just as the Zeus Soter and Artemis Soteira of Megalopolis signalize the achievement of Epaminondas (Paus. viii. 30. 10). The list of good old gods of the titles Ἐλευσιος, Ἀυγεύς, Οἴνος, Τυρφᾶς (cf. O. Weinrich, Athene Heilungswunder, Griechen, 1899, p. 41), and Ἴνα (Ath. Mitt. xxvii. [1891] 223), whether the title Ἰατρός (in Rhodes [Heusich.]) bears a particular reference to Zeus as the queller of plague is a moot point (see below). The stone on which Osiris was delivered from his madness was called Ζεῦς Ἰατρός, e.g. Ζεῦς Ἰατρός (Paus. iii. 22. 1); and we light at length upon the physician in Egypt, dux, and in the Ζεῦς Ἰατρός of the same, who were dedicated to the god. In the Ps. of Sophocles, Ἰατρός (I. 150-155, and those in Melos (7) [Panofka, Hell. Gr. [Gr. xvi. 4, 253], though we cannot at Thessaly

1 The Zeus Asklepios at Leporium (Paus. v. 5. 8), which Asklepios is supposed to have founded, is not the Asklepios of Asklepios, but of the Asklepios of the Asklepios of the Asklepios of Leporium (Curtius, Ptolema. ii. [1867] 17).

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joint cult need not be earlier than the time of Skopas himself (Dümmler, in Pauly-Wissowa, ii. 1975). Nor, finally, does the statue of the Eileithyia — in the position of a parturient woman — in the temple of Eileithyia at Tegae, and popularly known as Δαυὴ ἕν τὸνσαυμ, (Weikel, op. cit. iii. 185), afford any evidence for the Tegean cult of Athena. The title θεότηται under which Athena (together with Zeus and Hera) was worshipped, but this to Steph. Byz. (= τονθεότητα, in Lebes) may be understood quite generally as referring to the divine hand held protectively over the hour. A slight uncertainty about the cult moved the site from Epeiros under a new name as θεότητα εὐτέρος by Lycercus (Plut. Lyc. xi. 2: Para. iii. 18 2) has undoubtedly a medical connotation. Gruppe (op. cit. 1904) quite unwarrantably infers the existence of inoculation in the cult of Athena from Pind. Ol. xii. 56 (Bellef. ron) and Para. ix. 34 1 (Iodama).

3.9. Helios — The links which connect Helios with his health and medicine are fewer than the affinity between the ideas of light and life might lead us to expect. As he punishes by inflicting blindness (Str. rh. iii. 266), he is the restorer of sight to Orion (Stesich. fr. 39) and is therefore invoked by Polybestr (Enr. Hesb. 1067). His cult yields no evidence here; the invocation of the Zoster, fr. 13 (Bergk) concerning him. A battle-song, while his title Soler in Megalopolis belongs to the age of sycariotism (Para. vii. 31 4). It is worth remembering, that like Asklepios (schoel. Aristoph. Plout. 707) speaks of the Hellenic lampadeta as the wife of Asklepios, a detail which, as the present writer thinks (Roscher, i. 1469), goes back to Hesychius and Medes, the daughter of Helios, and Agamele and Medes, his grand-daughters, are sorceresses skilled in herbs; and the Hellenic Panthea likewise was proficient in the medical sciences of the Hellenic doctors. Such panaceas were dressed up as Asklepios and Herakles, and the panthea, the wise women, cf. Weikel, op. cit. iii. 20 ff.

4. Poseidon — Posidon's only link with healing is his being worshipped as θαρύν among the Ttians (Clem. Alex. Protrept. 26). It is very curious that in the θεοὶ ὀφθέοι the warrior-physicians in Marschall and the satyrians, who are everywhere else regarded as Asklepiads, are spoken of as sons of Poseidon. The verse in question is in a corrupt state: θεοὶ ὀφθέοι ὀφθέοι ὁπλωτεῶν, ὑγιεσὲς—Weikel (Op. Cycl. ii. Bonn. 1945) 326 — proposes the emendation: ὑγιεσὲ ὀφθέοι παντεῖα. Wilmowsit (Jepilo, Berlin, 1886, p. 47), however, in view of the local cult of Poseidon at Tanos, maintains the view of their descent from that deity, and the present writer expressed agreement therewith in Pauly-Wissowa, ii. 1888. But the question has been discussed at length by Leofér (Nagheel θανá de Phil. x. 1905 216 ff), who decides against Wilmowsit and in favour of Weikel; and rightly so, as the scholia to θι. xi. 511 cite the Portheis, not with reference to the genealogy of the two warriors, but in order to establish the medical proficiency of each. Moreover, a corruptly transmitted version does not warrant the conclusion that he has the constant tradition of their descent from Asklepios. To Leofér's arguments might be added the testimony of Aristox. (78 D) : Their connexion with Asklepios is affirmed throughout the whole world. 2 This identification was wrongly read into Or. 352 by Gravis and Zonotos, whose view was adopted by Strab. 763: ci Lib., Aristot. 3: Leipzig, 1909, p. 176; Lobeck, Aristotelis henem. Tannr. ist., 59 1844 1851 142.

5. Aristos — Aristos was an ancient Thesalian deity akin in character to Zeus and Apollo (Paus. θυσ. lix. 64), and was worshipped in Coös as θεός and θεότης (Weikel, op. cit. iii. 185). Having been reduced to the rank of hero by the people (Epeios), he becomes the son of Apollo and Cyrene the Latian nymph, and the pupil of Cheiron (Apoll. Rhod. ii. 510). Various benefits in the sphere of husbandry, and also — as a gift of the Muse — the arts of medicine and divination, were ascribed to him (40. 512). He was said to have taught medicine and the healing of wounds to the beneficent influence of Staurus by expiatory sacrifices and the cleansing of weapons (Thesph. de Vent. 14). Phebe calls him the son of Faion (schoel. Apoll. Rhod. iii. 167), but this is to be understood here as a designation of Apollo, and not as the eponym of the Panes (Gruppe).

6. Cheiron. — Cheiron, the representative of magic healing, is found in the local deity of the herbarious Mt. Pelion, viz. the Codrim Cheiron, the representative of pharmacognosy, which forms and transforms from the sphere of the occult to rational therapeutics. His name has been traced to ϑείος, either as the 'hand' skilled in art (Weikel, Κ. Α. Ε σ. i. 3; H. Usener, Gottheiten, Bonn. 1896, p. 167; Weikel, in Pauly-Wissowa, iii. 2302), or as the 'hand' applied to the sick with magic effect (Weineich, op. cit. 158). Tradition speaks more distinctly of his pharmaceutical than of his surgical achievements; in 11. iv. 219 and x. 822, Asklepios and Achilles respectively receive from him ἡμαὶ ὄψιν for relieving pain or staunching wounds. One of the very few tools of the warrior-surgeons in the Iliad, as being free from the accessories of magic, is an inheritance from Cheiron. In a tribe dwelling near Mt. Pelion, and claiming Cheiron as an ancestor, the hero — so the tale goes — handed down from father to son as a mystery (Dinach. fr. 60. 19), and the Mystagania of the Iliad, as being free from the accessories of magic, is an inheritance from Cheiron. A tribe dwelling near Mt. Pelion, and claiming Cheiron as an ancestor, the hero — so the tale goes — handed down from father to son as a mystery (Dinach. fr. 60. 19), and the Mystagania of the Iliad, as being free from the accessories of magic, is an inheritance from Cheiron.
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3. Apollo.—Apollo is a very intricate figure, and the various explanations of his name have not as yet furnished the key to his original character. This is true even of the most recent attempt—that of Usener (op. cit. 308), who recognizes the 'deus pulsator malorum' in an assumed primary form 'hypo-apollo' (Hypo-apollo), as yet no connexion with medicine, though he is certainly the sender and stayer of pestilence (II. i. 43 ff.), and the chant of entreaty addressed to him is called a 

'sermon' (I. 479), which is simply the name of the physician of the gods just dealt with. This may be formally accounted for by the fact that the river thebais is called 

'apollo', and the uncer- tain meaning of the word renders it difficult to discover the material ground of the usage. If the word signifies 'cleanser' (Skr. sarvarājan; Pictet, in Kuhn's Zeitschr., v. (1885) 40), its employment as an invocation to the queller of pestilence would be satisfactorily explained. As an epithet of Apollo it occurs also in the 

'Hymn to Apollo Pythian' 94 (Ifraon), subsequently the form used was simply (Hypa-) 

'haude, or 

'Hauade'. At first, and for centuries, the expedients used to counteract pestilence were purely theoretical, consisting of a 

'mucron, lepto- ', or 

'harpephore 

(N. i. 52), sacrifice, and peace (I. 447 ff.); instances for a later period are given by Welcker (Kt. Sohr. iii. 33 ff., 'Beuchen von Apollo'). The Ideas in the Empedoclean universe that Hypaia became a half-dried lake is notable as an early example of a rational remedy (Diod. Lact. viii. 2, 70, and coins of Selinus in B. V. Head, 

'Hesiod, Thesmophoria', Oxford, 1891, p. 9. The con- ception of Apollo as the god of pestilence probably rests on the solar aspect of his character. He was worshipped at Lampsacus specifically as 

'Hapton' (Masch. 

'hunt. s. 17. 15). In this relation he is the one who punishes—the death-god; and here his sister Ar- emis is associated with him (Niohids, Coronia). On the other hand his benign influence, especially in connection with 

'hymns' (also at 

'Lydis, 

'Mastic, 

'Pseud., iii., Berlin, 1845, no. 972), in Delos, and at Mileto (Strabo, 656), which 

'Callistus' 

'contemptus', 

'terminus' (in Basess (Paus. viii. 3. 4), 'A神kēsos (in Athens 

'state of Calamia, Paus. i. 3. 4), where, instead of the great plague, we should think of some earlier epidemic); 

'Artemis in Elis, Paus. vi. 24. 6), and 

'tenarr' (in a Clarian oracle (Weinreich, op. cit. 

'p. 160). But the Paian was also a chant of battle 

'Iliad' (ii. 338; Thucyd. vi. 32, etc.), and thus Apollo acquires a sphere of action far transcending the domain of pestilence—that, namely, of the averter of evil in general, as implied in the titles 

'Aronapora (Aristot. 

'Fyg. 161; CIG 464) and 

'Zarpi (ref. in RE 

'i. 68). The epithet 

'Arks (Soph. 

'Fed. 

'i. 1006) is not, as the Bickes thought, a derivative of 

'Arks, but is taken from the refrain of the Paian in its longer form, 

'ton 

'Pau. (i. 154), and has therefore as wide a connotation as the latter. Now, though the more extensive sphere of 'deliverer' might very readily have been contracted to the narrower one of 'physician,' our available evidence of the process is but scanty. The Delphic god, it is true, delivers oracles for 

'symptom' (op. cit. 150); but, as regards his being consulted in any particular case of disease, the present writer can recall only the instance of Alyatas (Herod. i. 19), and the 'arrousis' prescription (an amulet of worms from a she-goat's head) given by the Pythia for epilepsy (Alex. of 

'Altayl, 568 (Fuselmann)). The reason why Apollo was also a god of medicine is found in the fact that Asklepios was conjoined with him at a relatively early period (cf. 20 below), and the healing function could accordingly be delegated to the latter. But the Epidauros 

'seismata, Apollo, as the sovereign authority, is named first—though he does not intervene in the actual cure; while Asklepios—as a departmental chief, to speak—occupies the place in the 'Hippocratic' oath: 


'Ασκληπειον (cf. 

'Asklepios, etc.).

A cult confined to 'Asklepios' is found only in the Miletian colonies round (RE ii. 54; Farnell, COS iv. 355 and 409), and here the worship of Asklepios sank completely into the background, only the Asklepieion known to the present writer being that of Panticapaeon (Strabo, 74). Apollo is sometimes called 'Iapot' in the poets (Aristoph. Aves, 584; Plout. 11). His title 

'tirapauros in Arch. 

'Rom. 62 relates to the case of Orestes, and thus denotes, not the physi- cian, but the 

'athetos. Late writers speak of Apollo as the founder of medicine, but as having handed it over to Asklepios for its further develop- ment (Diod. Sic. v. 74; Philostr. Vit. Ap. iii. 44). Isolated indications of his medical activity are found in the cult of the 

'Kleode (Paus. iv. 54. 7; cf. RE ii. 51), 

'teoreidw (Laconia; cf. Str. 

'Αρχα, 1884, p. 81 ff.; BCH ix. (1885) 243), and 

'Unadi (Cyprus; Comment. in Rom. Montemvri, Berlin, 1877, p. 692). As a guest at the 

'altar' (see below), 'Asklepios' was likewise regarded as a god of healing.

88. Maleata.—The name 'Maleata' is, as regards its form, a geographic or ethnological adjective, and needs to be supplemented by a 

'nomon prooprion. Farnell (op. cit. iv. 238 f.) would accordingly supply the name 'Apollo' in all cases where 'Maleata' is used by itself to designate the deity invoked, as, e.g., in two archaic votive inscriptions from Laconia (IJA 57, 59). This view, however, is in conflict with the fact that Maleata and Apollo are mentioned side by side in the sacrificial rubric found in the Pirene (CIL ii. 1651), of which Farnell gives a somewhat forced explanation. It will therefore be more in place to recognize, as Wilamowitz (Jegyl. 96 ff. does), in Maleata a deity originally distinct from Apollo. The identification of the two is attested as regards 

'Sparta (Paus. iii. 12. 8); 

'Asklepios Malata, 

'the Epidaurian 

'hiria (ib. ii. 27. 7, and several inscriptions, IG iv. 332, etc.), and the Asklepion of Trikka (IG iv. 360, 29). If this identification was a later development, it was probably effected in Epidauros, where Asklepios would form the connecting link. Gruppe (op. cit. 189. 3) is hardly successful in explaining (op. cit. 338; 

'opoulos; 

'πολις . . . πολις) Apollo Malata as the 'gentile Apollo,' or in locating his place of origin, as also that of Asklepios, at Gortyna in Crete.

p. Artemis.—For the function of Artemis as a death-goddess associated with Apollo, cf. the preceding; in this capacity her special victims are females (J. xxi. 453, vi. 426, 428; etc.). Gruppe, (op. cit. 1299, 1273. 4) regards her as having been the source of psychical and nervous disorders. The other aspect of this activity is her having been the restorer of those so afflicted, as, e.g., Orestes (Ther. frg. 97), and the Pristis (Baccyl. x. 96.) In gratitude for the cure of the latter, their father erected in her honour, as Hapat and as 

'Kaphe, temples in Luni (Callim. Ecfr. 224), a point so far borne out by the ordinary myth of the Pristis (Pausanias), which relates that 

'the maidens were cured by 

'Malata, etc. (see above); and in the Artemision of Luni, Luni is the 

'only healing-shrine assigned by tradition to the goddess (cf. the Report of excavations in Oesterr. 

'Lndern, 1906. 1907). The same Pristis found in this inscription several dedications to Hapat, p. 81 ff.). Her connexion with healing fountains, however, is attested by the epithet 

'Gyaspasia (Mithileis [CIG 2172, etc.], Cyzicus (Arist. i. 2031), and Rhodos (Leon. and 

'Panellus of the ancient Artemision of Ephesus
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contained votive models of limbs in gold, silver, and ivory (Musacchi, op. cit. Ephesos, London, 1908, pp. 223, 238). Cf. also her title 'Epesko (4th. Milt. xxxviii. [1912] 7 ff.). Her obstetric function is indicated by the titles Aptyela (Camb. Soc. 1835, 323) and (2) Episkopos (especially in Boeotia); cf. Wernicke, in KE ii. 1347, 10, who, however, wrongly regards ‘Epesko as the hypostate of Artemis, while it was really an epithet of Hera, and, as personified (Preller-Robert, i. 511 ff.), still remains closely connected with her. Similarly, Mylitta (Bab. M. Azizollou, 1871), which brings to mind the epithet ‘H.' (cf. Schrader, KAT, p. 423, 7). The Heb. yeshedeth (Osele, in Neunberger-Pagel, i. 70) is merely an artificial form designed to explain Epesko.

10. Healing Nymphs.—(a) As presiding over medicinal springs: (1) the Twicer (Paus. vi. 22, 7), Liasios (Misn. ap. Athenaeus, 608), or Liasios (Strabo, 366)—connected with ‘Epesko—nymphs of a healing fountain in Elis, and forming a tetrad, viz. Pegaia, Kalliaphis, Synallaxis (probably a peionym of the Pegasos), Kura (recovery), and Iasia (cf. Hom. v. 16. 5. and 16); (2) the Anigridan nymphs, as named from the warm sulphur-springs on the lower Anigra in Tripolybia (Strabo, 346; Paus. x. 8. 10, and 82), and having to do especially with skin-troubles—here we should note the combination of theurgy (prayer and vow) with rational remedies (bathing in a mineral spring).

(b) The sacred springs of Ischia (IG Sic. et Ital. 929 ff.), the votive offering of a physician.

(c) We have here numerous instances of the case where the refreshing properties of ordinary natural springs gave rise to the cult of local nymphs, generally in connexion with the worship of Zeus or of his localizing god. In the Orphic worship at Orpitos (19 below).

II. Pan.—Pan, the Arcadian mountain and forest spirit, like his Italic counterpart Faunus, possessed mantic powers. He had an oracle in the Lykian (schoel. Theoc. l. 121), and another in the Asklepieion, with the nymph Erate as his ‘Erate (Paus. vii. 37. 12). He received the title ‘Erate in Troezen, because he stayed a peiiste of Orpitos on the feast of Echinos, but he moved here also in the waking state (Kohleb, Epigr. gr., Berlin, 1878, p. 303). In the Asklepieion at Sicyon, the porch was flanked by figures of Pan and Artemis (Paus. ii. 10. 2). With reference to the healing powers of Pan Ephialtai in the mid-day sleep, see Recher, iii. 1400. The epithet ‘H. is applied to him only in Orph. hymn. xi. 1. In conjunction with nymphs, Acheles, and Kephisos, he represents the hygie of Nature at the altar of Pan (19 below).

12. Hermes.—In the case of Hermes divine traces of the healing function are scanty. The titles Soter (Amorgos; 4th. Milt. i. [1876] 332) and Alexiakos (Aristoph. Fug. 425) are applied to him in quite a general sense. With reference to the epithet of ‘Erate (Pi. xvi. 185, Od. xxiv. 10, Hes. fr. 28 [Rasch]) is disputed (cf. Etyms. Magn., s. v.); if derived from ‘Erate (schoel. 1. to Pi. xvi. 185 explains it by ‘Erestoris), it would be a specifically medical epithet, but this is scarcely conceivable with so ancient a designation; perhaps the wordEpistates, in the guise of evil (‘Erestis). Hermes, Kriophoros was worshipped in Tanagra as the queller of pestilence, and in commemoration of his good services a youth carried a ram round the walls at Tanagra (Paus. xii. 10. 2). With reference to the votary action of Hermes survives in this custom, and accordingly the beautiful conception of the 'good shepherd' derives its origin from a cathartic rite.

Hermes is the god of sleep in general (Preller-Robert, i. 404), though it cannot be proved that insomnium had a place in his cult. As the god of the penitent, he was also the guardian of health; and it was perhaps on this account that Hygieia was in some sources represented as his wife—a detail which Cornut. 18 too artificially explains by reference to his eloquence.

13. Herakles.—'Born to avert the curse from gods and men' (Hes. Sch. 27), Herakles is preeminently the Alexiakos. In schol. Arist. Thea. 601 the image of Alexiakos, by Ageladas, in the demos of Melite is associated with the great plague, instead of with the pestilence of 390 B.C. (Preller, Arch. Münchenn, Berlin, 1856, i. 39) or the Persian invasion (Studniczka, Rom. Milt. ii. [1887] 91. 21). The shorter form 'Alexis was current in Coe (Arist. I. 60); in Delos and Aegina he was worshipped as ‘Apollyneides (BCH vi. [1882] 342, xvi. [1891] 671). Herakles Soter is found in tetradcrhmos in Thasos (Head, Hist. Num., p. 268, fig. 164), and in Hythrotai, and has a share in the Orphic altar (19 below). The ‘Erestis ‘H. was named after him (Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 7; schoel. Nic. Th. 628; Dic. iii. 49). 14. The Dioscoroi:—the widely diffused cult of the Dioscoroi as Soteres is sometimes connected with navigation (Horn. hymn. 33, Theoc. xxii. 6), sometimes with success in war (as, e.g., in Hom. Hes. xvi. 8), and has a share in the palace of Cronus collapsed (Callim. op. Suid. s. v. ‘Dioskoroi). The healing of Phormio the Corinthian at Sparta by one of the Dioscoroi (Theopompos op. Suid. s. v. ‘Dioscoroi) is also the cure of Telephus by Achilles. The Dioscoroi engaged in a regular practice of healing in their temple at Byzantium (PTEG v. 149, 15). The means adopted seems to be incubation combined with interpretation of dreams. Dounier (de Incub. 76 ff.) concludes from schoel. Paris. ii. 56 that this was the case both in Athens and Phocis (Paus. xii. 30. 3), and that at Byzantium, and, further, that in both localities their function was inherited by Kosmas and Damian, physicians and martyrs. Cf., however, below, p. 506, note 4. 15. Dionysos.—Apart from the epithets of general signification ‘Elastos or ‘Elastos, Paus. ii. 31. 5. 27. 2; IG iv. 177; and Hes. Eur. Lek. fr. 480, Dindorf: 'Pean of Philodamus,' BCH xix. (1896) 301, xxii. (1898) 513 is applied to Dionysos, he was worshipped specially as ‘Elastos or ‘Tyndyl by the epistates of the Pythia (Athenaeus, 22 and 86; Quast. cons. iii. 2). As Besithis tos he presided over the dream-Oracle at Amphikleia, where his priest, as ‘Elastos, icip in ‘Elaston, i.e. just as the Pythia did (Paus. x. 28. 11). It is thus clear that in this sanctuary the priests were concerned with incubation and dream-reading, as well as with the Plutonium near Nysa (cf. below). As regards the healing power of Dionysos conveyed by touching (‘Iatrews ‘Elastos in Orph. hymn. 50. 7), see Weinreich, op. cit. p. 27. 16. Demeter.—As ‘Erestis, she was worshipped as ‘Eporeps, was proficient in the magic of the nursery (Horn. hymn. iv. 227 ff.; elótraç, v. 228, a brilliant emendation by Tü Bergk, Gr. Literaturgesch. Berlin, 1872-82, i. 9. T. 26), and in imagination of the cante action of Hermes survives in this custom, and accordingly the beautiful conception of the 'good shepherd' derives its origin from a cathartic rite.
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In Patera she had a ἀγροναστή, in which, however, she did not prescribe remedies, but simply revealed whether the sick would die or recover (Paus. vi. 21, 19). To this is a proof of her astral activity (Pyller-Boelter, l. c. 764, 2) is unwarranted, as this passage deals only with rules for dream-reading, while in Ὁμήρος, Ἀχιλλεια, 40, she has the recognized honor of the god. Peace, law, riches, and health. To connect the device ῥύτρα found beside the beautiful head on Metapontine coins (reproduced in Roscher, l. c. 279), from the Coin. of the Brit. Mus. with Demeter (Sallet), again, is prejudiced by the youthfulness of the head. In the medical domain, accordingly, nothing says that she, as Demeter, is correctly adjudicated. For the female breasts upon marble blocks from her temple in Cnidus, see C. T. Newton and R. E. Pullan, Discoveries at Halieis, London, 1882-83, i. p. 20.

17. Hades-Pihto—The dream-oracle in the Plutonion near Nyx on the upper Meander (Plutonion, 1. c. 153) is of great importance in the history of Gr. religious medicine. Here ἄνθρωπος τῶν ἱπτης incubated on behalf of the sick in a cave filled with earthy vapors, where the incurable was treated in the dreams received in the ecstatic trance. In many cases they let the patients themselves sleep in the cave for a few days without food, but even if an invalid was favored with a dream, the priest still acted as σύμβολο and ἀνεῖλεν. In the Plutonion, therefore, the task of interpreting dreams devolved exclusively, and that of incubation generally, upon the priests. Such, however, was exactly the characteristic feature of the Bab. dream-shrine, which, as we saw above (p. 34), was to be pur the of the Gr. institution. Higher up the Meander valley, near Hierapolis, was another Plutonion, having a cave pervaded by even more potent exhalations, which only the gods and the initiates (Strabo, 803). Whether incubation was resorted to here as well as Strabo does not definitely say, but Pausanias (x. 22, 12) states that dream-shrines of the sacerdotal deities were to be found in several cities of the Meander valley. From an inscription of the Imperial period (in Henze, Μεσόκομοι τῆς Μιλησίας, 1. c. 156), the Greek, οἱ καθισματικοί, is the inscription, which, it is true, is, being reduced in epic poetry to the level of heroes, but maintaining their divine dignity in the cultus. Amphiaras, as a result of his being confined to a locality, never gained any extensive sphere of influence, while the beneficent hand of Asclepius reached as far as did the influence of Greek and Roman deities.

19. Amphiaras—The Greek epic makes Amphiaras a hero of Thibet-Argive legend, and a descendant of the seer Melampus (below, ch. 5), but even as such his original divine (chthonic) status finds expression in the circumstance that he was at death translated to the under world (Pind. Nem. ix. 34). He presided over the sanctuary of Oropus. The high regard accorded to this dream-shrine is shown by its having been consulted by Creuses and Mardonius (Herod. i. 46, 25, vili. 184). The curative procedure of this Amphiaras of Oropus, which, from the number of these two statues, it is, true, was as bitterly satirized by Aristophanes in his Amphiaras (presented 414 a.c.) as was that of the Asclepius in his Ploutos (408 and 398 B.C.), formed the central feature in the activities of the sanctuary. The code of regulations (IG vii. 235) fixes the client's fee at one and a half drachmas, and makes mention of a leontomachos with two separate apartments beside the altar. An incubation-hall of later date, situated at the theatre (P in Dürbach's map, reproduced in RE i. 1886) was similar in design to the θεσπόντος of Epidaurus. The visitor, after a period of fasting—'in order to receive the oracle with a clear soul' (Philostr. Vit. Apoll. ii. 37)—and the sacrifice of a ram, prepared himself for the initiation of the god by abstaining from the food of the animal sacrificed (Paus. i. 34, 4, 5). We thus see that Amphiaras performed his cure, not by direct miracles during incubation, but by citation of the Epidaurian sanoitos, but by means of dream- oracles, which were, of course, submitted to the judgment of the dream-reader. An important factor in the treatment of invalids had been the separate apartments for men and women (IG vii. 4255)—which is often referred to from the days of Aristophanes and Xenophon (Ἀριστοφάνεια). The fountain of Amphiaras, to the south of the altar.
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(F in map), was investigated by the physicians Erasistratos and Euenos (Athenaea, 48)—a fact which indicates that this was used for therapeutic purposes and not, as Pausanias says, only as a receptacle for thank-offerings of gold and silver coin. Many other healing shrines are mentioned in IG vii. 203, 67 ff., and 3498.

The great altar (Δ) according to Pausanias, contained five μαῖα — by which almost everything connected with healing in Attic religion was brought into relation with Amphiaros. The third μαῖα—the principal division—belonged to the god himself, to his son Amphipholis, together with Hermes (as θησεύς θεώτης [1]) and Bœotia (probably as the domestic goddess of Amphiaros). The σάββατα were associated with goddesses with the other names as follows: Helene, Zeux, and Apollo Paion (cf. the Delphic oracle in Demosth. Mid. 53) with the first; heroines and heroines with the second; Aphrodite (CLi ill. 136; θησεύς τῆς Άργου), Panacea Iasae Hygieia (representing the Attic Asklepieion), and Athena Paionia (Kerameikos), with the fourth; and nymphs, Pan, Acheloos, and Kephisos (cf. το γας) above the fifth. It is quite certain that Iaso was here regarded as a goddess (cf. the present writer's observations [Roescher, ill. 1488] in opposition to Usener). Aristophanes, in his frequent references of her as a child, the daughter of the Oropian deity, but in the Ploutos as the daughter of Asklepios; and as such she appears also upon a relief from the Asklepieion (AIA. Mit. xvIII. [1196] 345). Hygieia was first found in connexion with Amphiaros in inscriptions of the 1st cent. B.C. (IG vii. 372. 412), and was therefore at that period no longer a mere goddess, but a joint-possessor of the healing god. The existing and Magna Graecia had a subsidiary institution at Rhhamnous (Mela, ii. 3. 5); and excavations (Δαμων, 1891, p. 116), which have yielded a relief representing Amphiaros (standing upon the sick).

Alexida, the daughter of Amphiaros, is associated with the medical function by her very name (Ἀλεξίς, 'expellers'), were regarded as healers of epidemics (Plut. Quaest. Gr. 23).

Σακλιπέιον.—Considerations of space render it impossible here to treat of Asklepios in such detail as is due to the chief god of healing among the Greeks. The writer must, therefore, be content to summarize some of the more salient points, and for the rest to refer to his more exhaustive article in Roescher, ‘Asklepios’ (1884), ‘Hygieia’ (1889), and ‘Panacea’ (1902), and also the art., ‘Asklepios’, in RE. ii. 1986, 1842 ff., and ‘Iphieno’ (cf. 1906) 180 ff. The 181 localities connected with the cult of Asklepios (6, ii. 1865 ff.) are only a selection from among the 410 which the writer had at his disposal, and which form a still more effective testimony to the enormous expansion of the cult.

1. The origin and earliest spread of the cult, and the intrusion of Apollo.—The earliest history of the cult has been distorted under Delphic influence, but may be reconstructed from the extant fragments. The name ‘Asklepios’ was traced by the Epidaurian writer Iasilos (3rd cent. B.C.) to Αἴγλα (Ἄγλα) (IG iv. 960, line 51). Von Wille- movits (Iapoll. 93), combining this word with the Αἴγλα, proposed the primitive form Αἴγλωνια. Gruppe (op. cit. 1424 ff.) agrees with this, but believes that we have in Asklepios the continuation of two distinct personages, one a light-god, Asklepios (‘light-radiance’), connected with Apollo, and belonging originally to Gortyn, in Crete, the other an earth-god in the form of a snake (the characteristic feature of the name, from ἀρδέας, which became fused with the light-god in Boeotia and Phokia. The present writer cannot accept these theories, and, refraining from etymological experiments, would only emphasize the great migration days among the adherents of Asklepios. This is indicated, indeed, by the facts that the leading symbol of Asklepios was the snake, that incubation was a characteristic feature of his worship, that a residue of the chthonic ritual (θάνατος) survived at Tithane, an ancient centre of his cult, and, finally, that he had a double in Trophonios, there as and oracle-deity of Lebadeia, who was once identical with Asklepios, but was detached from him at an early date, when the physician deity had not yet been individualised. According to the thoroughgoing investigations of O. Müller (Orchomenos, 3, Breslau, 1844, p. 183 ff.), the original home of Asklepios was Thessaly, the devotees of his cult being the Thessalian, who in the tradition handed down by the separating theologians (Cic. de Nat. Deor. 112. 22 [57]; Joh. Lydus, de Mens. 4, 90), according to which his parents were Isychyra, the son of Echinos, and Koronis, the daughter of Philegys, is of great importance, as it points to a period when Asklepios had no connexion with Apollo. His surrender of a divine for a heroic rank was effected by epic poetry. Thus in Homer he is merely the ‘blameless physician’ (II. iv. 194), the disciple of Cheiron (218), and the only one who is mentioned by Homer (Iliad x. 456, 520, 2337, 2392). He was also a companion of the Thracian Munchus, Teiresias et teresidhes (202), with whom passages of later origin associate a brother named Podaleirios (II. 732, 13. 833). On Homer's authority the Asklepieion was founded by Cheiron at the ancient of all (Apollo. op. strabo, 437), and the river Lethe was the birthplace of Asklepios (oracle in Euseb. Prep. Evang. 11. 14. 6). But Pheidias and Le快速 were also coupled with him, his primitive habitations, as his education under Cheiron was associated with that region, while his place of birth was located by an Τέος in the Delphic champaign near Mt. Pelion. His earliest migration from Thessaly was southwards to the Minyan Northern Boeotia, and here Trophonios was worshiped in Lebadeia, and Asklepios in Mycenae, Hytios, Theseus, and Thise (RE ii. 1663). He was still a stranger to Southern and Western Boeotia, as also to Attica, to which his cult came from Epidaurus only in 420 B.C. On the other hand, he had at an early date gained a permanent footing in Phokis, which honoured him universally as its archon (cf. RE. 92. 12). It was in Phokis, indeed, that the worshippers of Asklepios came into collision with the Apollinian circle at a period when, in consequence of the Dorian migration, the cult of Apollo had forcibly established itself in Delphi. The traditional implacable hostility of the Philegysans towards the Delphic sanctuary indicates the violence of the conflict, which, however, ended in the triumph of Apollo.

A sweeping transformation of Minyan beliefs now ensued in favour of the intruder. Apollo becomes the father of Asklepios, Koronis the god's faithful mistresse, Isychyra the violator of his rights, but the offspring is taken into favour, so that he may henceforth act as the beneficent physician of mankind under the patronage of the Delphic god; then, as he made bold to infringe the cosmic order by restoring the dead to life, he fell a victim to the bolt of Zeus. Such is the substance of an Νεος (Res. fr. 125-126) (Kühnen) and the succeeding age (cf. RE ii. 1646) until the rising prestige of the Epidaurian hieros led to revision of the Asklepius myth which had the ascension of Delphi. In this new form of the saga the connexion of Asklepios with Thessaly, and the guilt and punishment of his mother—a Wack the explanation of the name, from ἀρδέας, which became fused with the light-god in Boeotia and Phokia. The present
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(8 of above). In the άιερον the latter beget Aesklepios by Aigle, daughter of an 'Epidauros' Philæras, and named Koronis, from her beauty, and makes him joint-possessor of the sanctuary. Such is the version given in the poems of Ibyllos in the first half of the 3rd cent. B.C. (cf. Ibyl. 29, 84; Paus. ii. 11. 7; IG iv. 950). A somewhat closer correspondence with the Εσε is shown by the Epidaurosian form of the myth in Pausanias (ii. 28. 7); here Koronis, being with child by Apollo, comes with Philæras from Thesee to Epidauros, and upon the 'myrtle-mountain' brings forth in secret the son who fills the world with his fame as soon as he reaches maturity (cf. RE ii. 667, n. 4; Arethusa). This version likewise won the sanction of Delphi.

Aesklepios, however, notwithstanding his having been thus forcibly given upon the Apollinian circle, maintained his independence in his own cult. This appears most distinctly from the type assigned to him in art, which, in contrast to the representation of the son of Leto, exhibits him as the fatherly friend of men, the παράκλητος (Herodas); hence the flippant jest of the sarcophagus on the tomb of the Envoy from Cos, at Pergamum, which suggests that the cult of Korysia in Titane (Paus. ii. 11. 7)—a worship in conflict with the standpoint of the Εσε—should also be noted.

The Εσε, therefore, is an epithet of Zeus that comprises two groups, which must be kept distinct. (1) Η τετράχορον. Here we have his consort Epione, a personification of the 'mildness' which popular etymology found in his name (Arethusa); he is often called to schol. II. iv. 195 (ις Μεσος), she was of Cretan origin, but, on grounds of mythical chronology, we should probably regard her as a Musée here. Epione is a fully dealt with in RE vi. 186-190. The first of his descendants are the two 'excellent surgeons' affiliated to him by poetic poetry, viz. Macheon and Podaleirios. The former was a native of Cos, and attributed to the worship of a few Greek Aesklepios, as, e.g., in Cos, at Pergamum, and doubtless also at Mytilene (cf. RE ii. 1860). Podaleirios is almost unknown in European Greece, but in Caria he is the ancestor of a famous family of Aesklepiades, and, according to v. Wilamowitz (Jegyl. 51), was originally a Carian hero. In the 4th cent. B.C. he was enshrined as a healing oracle among the Delians. The assertion that the two brothers were the sons of Poseidon (frag. of the Fortunata) was negated above (4); the fragment in question is nevertheless of interest as the earliest Greek record of the separation of surgery (Macheon) and internal medicine (Podaleirios). A legend of Byzas (Steph. Byz. s. a. Φωσκος) relates that, when the king's daughter had fallen headlong, Podaleirios restored her by bleeding.

The outstanding iatric figure of the group is Panakeia, a personification of the popular notion of the miraculous all-healing herbs already mentioned in connexion with Chiron and Heracles. As the daughter of Aesculapius he represents this omnipotence in the sphere of healing (on the centres of her cult, and her presumably Rhodian origin, cf. Roscher, i. 1496, n. 1). In the ancient oath of the physicians she alone—as a healer—is contrasted with Hygieia; subsequently she was associated with a sister named Iaso (Hermipp., Aitol. xxii. 40). The cult of the 'hard-working, with the addition of Akesa, we find a triad of female healers (Athenian relief, reproduced in Roscher, i. 1490; inse. from Pireus, CIL ii. 1651; the Peans of Ptelemais and Athens). The medical return of Aesklepios is composed by the daemonian Sphoakos (schol. Plut. 701). Akesa (Epidauros, Paus. ii. 11. 7), and Telephoros (Pergamum): the last-named is viewed in very different lights (Wecker, Göttlerba. ii. [1860]; Paus. ii. 1490; Pind. P. 283 ff.)—most recently as an incubation spirit by Ziehen (Att. Mitt. xviii. [1892] 241). The hymn in CIL iii. 171 identifies him with Akesa; Pausanias (ii. 11. 7) does likewise, but at the same time identifies him also with Eumachia (see below, under 2). Incubation is represented by Hymnos in Sicyon (Paus. ii. 10. 2), Athens (Ath. Mitt. ii. [1877] 242, 4), and Epidauros (Blinkenberg, 16. xiv. [1889] 390). (3) The personifications of health andutility. The leader of this group is the maiden Hygieia, who by many recent writers is wrongly regarded as a healing goddess. The name has a history in part independent of the Aesklepiac cult. It is found c. 500 B.C. as an epithet of the goddess of the Athenian citadel (cf. above, 2). The hymn of Lucianos (Pap. Att. ii. 593) makes reference to a maternal Hygieia, existing side by side with the 'Queen of the august Iphion of Apollo,' but does not connect her with Aesklepios. It is clear also, from Cornut. 16, that in some places a Hygieia was associated with Hermes (cf. above, 1). Finally, a maidenly figure designated Hygieia is found among the personifications of Enciae (Eunomia, Harmonia, Tyche) on vase-paintings (Jaun, Archdol. Beitrage, 216; A. Z. 1879, p. 86), and beside a youth named Klytios on the vase of Meidias (Inghirami, Mon. Etrusc., Fiesole, 92-97, v. 2, pl. xii.). But, while the representation of an abstract conception might be employed in many ways, the creation of a figure in the cultus is a different matter. Usener (Götternamen, 169), opposes, however, that an independent goddess designated Hygieia was known in Athens long before the settlement of Aesklepios there (420 B.C.)—a theory which the present writer refuses in Roscher, i. 1496. In the point in question the medium in which the worship of the goddess of health first emerged, there are good reasons for believing that this was the Aesklepiac cult. That Hygieia reached Athens in company with Aesklepios in 430 B.C. is an ascertained fact (cf. the final revision of the relative inscription, Ἐφαγ. 29998, 1901, p. 98). If she did not come from Epidauros (where her connexion with the 4th cent. B.C. is now attested by IG iv. 1299), she must have been brought from some other Aesklepiion in the Peloponnesus—Titane perhaps; her ancient worship there is discussed in Roscher, i. 2776. As the guardian of health, she forms a real contrast to the medical return of Aesklepios, and accordingly she does not appear in the healing scene of the Paeans; while, again, in the well-known Paean, a recension of which (4th cent. B.C.) was recently discovered in Erythrae, she is, for the sake of emphasis, put last of all. The sick might approach her with petitions, the restored with thanksgiving; her name in itself signifies the stewardship of the supreme blessing of life. But this blessing was not merely a thing to be regarded by healing, but rather—what was of more importance for national life—a thing to be safeguarded and strengthened by rational conduct. Not only, with this idea had a natural attraction for the race that instituted the athletic contest and the gymnasia. That it was familiar also to the followers of Aesklepios is shown by a curious story: a youth with the addition of Akesa, we find a triad of female healers (Athenian relief, reproduced in Roscher, i. 1490;
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The fact that Aigle becomes a daughter of Asklepios seems to be due to the affinity between the idea of healing and flight and that of Poseidon, the patron of Asklepios, who is depicted at Olympia. The statue of Asklepios and his son, both of which are shown on the same column, was discovered at Olympia in 1877 (Roescher, l. 2782).

The ancient practice of torture was also a form of healing, and the lion was considered to be the symbol of Asklepios. The statue of a lion was discovered at Olympia in 1877 (Roescher, l. 2782).

The fact that Asklepios was also associated with the god of wine, Dionysus, is evident from the inscription on the column at Olympia. The statue of Asklepios and Dionysus, both of which are shown on the same column, was discovered at Olympia in 1877 (Roescher, l. 2782).

The ancient practice of torture was also a form of healing, and the lion was considered to be the symbol of Asklepios. The statue of a lion was discovered at Olympia in 1877 (Roescher, l. 2782).
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In the version given in the Heisiodic Catalogue, fr. 28, 29 (Richt.). According to Theophr. Hist. Plant. ix. 10, 4, Melampsous treated their case with the άδερφα τον, which is consequently also called melampodion. Rhodes (Psyche, Freiburg, 1894, p. 333, 3) holds that this remedy was purely cathartic; but it may quite well be regarded as thereafter, and, as a counterpart to the pανακες of Cleon and others. There was a cult of Melampsous at Aegina, but there was no practice of the kind with which it is connected (Paus. i. 44. 5). According to Imhoof-Blumer, and Gardener ('Numismatic Commentary on Paus.' JBS vi. (1885) 58), the circular building upon a coin of that locality may be a representation of the temple.

6. Apis.—According to Eich. Suppl. 315 ff., Apis, the eponym of founder of Apis (Argolis), and the λαρδός των ουρίων Ασίων, came from Naupakos, and freed the land from monsters δέατα του κάθος (cathartia pharmakeia). He was subsequently represented (Porph. de Astr. iii. 16) identified with the Egyptian Aiaca (cf. Werner, op. cit. ii. 230).

7. The descendants of the Asklepiad Macchon (A. 20, ii. (1)).—This group is composed partly of originally local spirits or heroes, as, e.g., his sons Nikoimachos and Gorgos, who in the time of Pausanias (iv. 3. 3) were still active as healing heroes—especially for paralysis—at Phare in Messenia (cf. Paus. l. 636; RE xi. 1688), and partly those whose sole function it was to found Asklepieia, such as Sphyros in Argos, Polemokrates in the Thyateia, and Alexandor in Titane (Paus. v. 26), though in the latter locality the founded was according to school. Arist. Plout. 704, was Alexenor, the son of Asklepion. On the family of Asklepions which traced its descent from Neocles and Philoctete, Aristotle belonged—and on the Asklepieia of Rhodes, Cnidus, and Cos who sprung from Dodoneia, see RE ii. 1684.

8. Melipada Hemibates, daughter of Staphylus, and, in her beauty, hailed by his brothers at Astabos (Thracian Chersonese) much frequented by invalids; she had also an obstetric function (Diod. Sic. v. 62, 63).

9. Daron, ο Φαρ πος των τοναχων εχθρων among the Macedonians (Hesych, s.v. Δαρων). G. Curtius ('Griech. Myth.', 1897, no. 310) connects the name with Daron, the Thracian tribe of the Δαρωνα. To the latter pertains also the interesting Macedonian large silver coin with the legend Δαρωνας (Daron), which denotes, not a tribe, but a knight, a national quality (Gäbler, Zeitschr. für Numismat. xx. (1897) 290).

10. Eurostos: Ναυαριος ο Φαροβορης on the Bosporus (reference in Usener, op. cit. 171. 64, to Dionys. Peript. 115). 

Copious examples are furnished by Attica:

11. Amynos.—The 'healing hero Alkon,' whose existence had been ascribed solely upon the ground of a textual emendation in Ph. Sophoc. 11, proposed by Meineke, may now, in view of the findings of A. Körte in Ath. Mitt. xxi. (1896) 811 ff., be set aside, and his place given to Amynos, a hero who had a sanctuary on the western declivity of the Akropolis even before the cult of Asklepios came to Athens, and whose service Soxophiles acted as priest. In this capacity the poet gave the Epidaurian deity a hospitable reception, and was in consequence summoned Δίκης, and honoured with not less favours (cf. Usener, op. cit. 171. 64, to the sanctuary of Amynos, cf. Körte's earlier art. 'Bezirk eines Hellenottos,' in Ath. Mitt. xvi. (1893) 213 ff., with pi. xi. (a large leg with prominently marked muscles, which was wearing the unadorned beardless hair and a beard man on a smaller scale—probably the person healed.

12. The άδερφα τον in the vicinity of the Theseeion


(Deemoth. Or. xix. 244, xvii. 129; CIL ii. 1, nos. 403, 404 (δε δετία)....

13. Toxaris, as a άδερφα τον, specially concerned with fevers (Lucian, Syph. 102). He is not a fabrication of Lucian (Syph.), but the object of an actual hero-cult (Denecke, in Roesler, i. 2483 f. 1.


15. A άδερφα τον οικια Ορειχαλκοι (Oreikhalcoi) in Beroia (Becker, op. cit. 1928).

Reference may be made, by way of appendix, to healing statues and figures representing persons who in their lifetime had nothing to do with medicine, and yet were invested with miraculous powers, as, e.g., the statues of the Olympic victor Theseus in Thasos (Paus. vii. 11. 3; Lucian, Deor. Conv. 12), that of the pancratrist Pyladas at Olympia (Paus. vi. 61, Lucian, loc. cit.) that of a άδερφα τον οικια Ορειχαλκοι in the Troad (Athenag., 26), those of Alexander (Paris) and Pereginos in Parnum (Athenag., 28), and that of the Corinthian general Pellicus in the private possession of Enukrates (Lucian, Philopseudeu. 18 ff.). On these, see Weinreich, op. cit. 127 ff.

LITTERATURE.—This is indicated in the text.

E. THÄMER.

HEALTH AND GODS OF HEALING (Roman).—I. IN THE INDIGENOUS RELIGION. —In the sphere of medicine there is a religious element in the Roman character manifested itself in a partiality for supernatural, and a disparagement of rational, modes of healing. The fact that, in spite of the Roman tendency to deity special and unique occurrences and conditions, we find no distinctive gods of disease among the deities of the Indigentia (see the alphabetical list by P. R., in Roesler, ii. 188 ff.) is in reality an indication of the favourable conditions of health prevailing in the ancient agricultural State. Moreover, there were originally many deities of healing among the Divi indigentes, the gods of the State religion; and the Romans, like the Greeks of primitive times, were content to rely upon the evil-averting powers of the indigenous deities generally. Thus Mars, the god of war, is en- treated in the Carmen Arvalis (CIL ii. 230) to avert pestilence: 'Let no plague come upon the people; be content, O fierce Mars!'; and in the ancient prayer in Cato, de Agric. Cult. 141 (the dictum of which, however, according to R. Bietzenstein, in 1922, has been modified by the redactor), the same deity is invoked not only to prevent bad weather, failure of crops, etc., but, in particular, 'uti tu morbus visos invisoque defensora aversusque; uti tu ... pastores pecusque salva servas duxque bonam salutem valetudinemque mibi domo familiaque nostrae.'

With these prayers should be compared the shorter supplication in de Agric. Cult. 134 (to Janus and Jupiter) and 130 (addressed quite generally to all the gods: 'a' deus, si deas est'). The ancient Italian Salus, again, is not a goddess of health or healing, but the personification of the general welfare (cf. G. Wissowa, Religion u. Kultur d. Romer, Munich, 1912, p. 132 ff). She was, no doubt, confounded with the Greek Hygieia in later linguistic usage, but this can hardly have been the case in the official religion. In the frequently mentioned 'augurium salutis' (the leading reference is in Dio. Cass. xxx. 82. 24, where salutis is improperly rendered as σωτηρία, instead of άδερφα), the word is not a proper name at all, but simply an appellative. The attempt of Böttiger ('Medizinische Betrachtungen, in Kleine Schriften, i. (1837) 127 ff.) to connect the 'augurium salutis' with the snake-feeding Hygieia is altogether fallacious. The ancient Latin godess Streitus is regarded by Preller ('Rom. Myth.',...
HEALTH AND GODS OF HEALING (Roman)

Berlin, 1883, i. 234) as a deity of healing, but only on the ground of an untenable etymology in Augustine, de Civ. Dei, iv. 6. 8., 'stemma fasicum'; the sterno ('twigs of trees') given as New Year's presents, however, were made use of, quite generally, as symbols of prosperity (cf. Plant. Stat. 2 B).

On the other hand, the ancient Carma, shown by Wisowsa (op. cit. 236) to have been a goddess of the under world, has a distinct connexion with matters of health. According to Macrob. Sat. i. 12. 31, she presides over vitalibus humanis, and is associated with ut leculor et corda quaque sunt intrinsecum mortua salva sunt. From the late poetic treatment of Carma by Ovid (Fasti, vi. 101-106) it would appear at least that she practised the beneficent magic arts of which the presumptive posthumous praises himself in the Hymn to Demeter (see above, p. 458 f.). The Strega who thirst for children's blood she exorcises by touching the doorstep three times with a twig of arboreus, sprinkling the threshold with water, holding the entrails of a pig, two months old (Fasti, vi. 101: 'cor pro corde, pro fibris fibris' — a representative spell; cf. Riese, 'Aberglaube,' in Pauly-W., xxii. 33 (c)), and, finally, placing a hawthorn-branch in the window as a prophylactic. The peculiar deities of woman's life—Juno as Lucina, Diana Opifera in Nemi, and the host of local goddesses, as also the Roma, Magna Mater, etc., named in the Indigentates—can only be alluded to here.

A specific goddess of disease is found in Febris, whose personification bears forcible witness to the antiquity of the fever-plague in the plains of temple of the Tiber. Belief in disease-deities was, no doubt, quite common among the Babylonians (see above, p. 541), and the Egyptians seem to have had a 'special god of fever' (Pep. Ebers, ed. Josima, pp. 87, 93—unless the reference be rather to a god of inflammations); these, however, were hostile beings, whom the exorcism was directed by spells. The Roman Febris, on the other hand, was well disposed towards man, and prospered the remedies used for the disease. That these remedies were magical in their nature is shown by the 'remedia quae corpuscoribus aegrorum adnexae fuerunt' (Valerius Maximus, ii. 5. 6), obviously annullae for reducing fever, which after use were dedicated to Febris. There was an ancient sanctuary of Febris on the Palatine Hill, and two of later origin on the Quirinal and the Esquiline respectively. In later times this deity assumed the specialized forms of Febris Tortiana and Febris Quatiana (CIL viii. 996, xii. 3129). Magic remedies for both kinds of fever are given in Plin. HN xvii. 46.

Among the Dom Nominae of Italian origin there were two who are clearly associated with healing. (1) One of these was Fortuna, an ancient Latin goddess whose cult has been established in Rome by Servius Tullius. The chief seats of her worship were Antium and Freneste, in the latter of which she had, as Prima genetrix, an ancient oracle for sortilege. The cult of Primigenia did not reach Rome until 190 B.C. She was not, like the Greek Tyche, the goddess of fate who rules over all things, but was personified in innumerable special forms. Thus, 'Fortuna huius diei,' 'Fortuna aequora,' 'Fortuna publica' and 'private,' 'Fortuna Collegi Fabrum,' 'Fortuna balnearum,' and the like (Wisowsa, op. cit. 292), including 'Fortuna salutis' (CIL vii. 194, 201, 202), which may have quite a general reference, but as found in the votive inscription of Godesberg (CIL vii. 2994) is certainly connected with healing: 'Fortunis salutaribus [note the pl.] Aesculapio Hygisis.'—(2) The Etruscan, originally Falerian, Minerva (Wisowsa, op. cit. 241 f.) had a temple on the Capitoline Hill even prior to the institution of its triple Capitoline triad (Fortuna, p. 257, z. v. 'Quinquatra'). As the goddess of the handicrafts and the arts she was, in particular, the patroness of physicians; in the second century a.D. Stad Rom, Jena, 1846, p. 133), with which fact, it is true, the remark of Cicero in de Div. ii. 108 ('sine medicis medicinam dubit Minerva') is strangely at variance. There was also a temple of Minerva Medica upon the Esquiline (Wisowsa, 265, n. 1). A sanctuary of Minervae Medicae Caudicae (near Placentia) is often referred to in inscriptions (CIL ii. 1292-1310); here she prescribed medicines, healed diseases of the ear, and even condoned to restore the growth of the ear.

So much for the indigenous gods and those taken from the neighbouring peoples—deities who were worshipped in old-fashioned Roman or, it might be, in Italian forms, and, above all, in forms borrowed from the Etruscan religion.

II. GREEK INFLUENCES.—These in the end affected the Hellenization of the Roman religion. Of the gods thus borrowed from the Greeks, however, only a few are connected with our subject.

1. Apollo.—The Sibylinae Books, which cannot be dissociated from the worship of Apollo, began, so far as we know, to make their influence felt in Rome in 496 B.C. It is certain that these books, as also the Roma, Magna Mater, etc., named in the Indigentates—can only be alluded to here.

A specific goddess of disease is found in Febris, whose personification bears forcible witness to the antiquity of the fever-plague in the plains of temple of the Tiber. Belief in disease-deities was, no doubt, quite common among the Babylonians (see above, p. 541), and the Egyptians seem to have had a 'special god of fever' (Pep. Ebers, ed. Josima, pp. 87, 93—unless the reference be rather to a god of inflammations); these, however, were hostile beings, whom the exorcism was directed by spells. The Roman Febris, on the other hand, was well disposed towards man, and prospered the remedies used for the disease. That these remedies were magical in their nature is shown by the 'remedia quae corpuscoribus aegrorum adnexae fuerunt' (Valerius Maximus, ii. 5. 6), obviously annullae for reducing fever, which after use were dedicated to Febris. There was an ancient sanctuary of Febris on the Palatine Hill, and two of later origin on the Quirinal and the Esquiline respectively. In later times this deity assumed the specialized forms of Febris Tortiana and Febris Quatiana (CIL viii. 996, xii. 3129). Magic remedies for both kinds of fever are given in Plin. HN xvii. 46.

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HEALTH AND GODS OF HEALING (Roman)

certain M. Ulpius Honoratus to Asculapius and Hygeia, "pro salute sua suorumque et L. Juli Secundus medicus, qui suram mei diligentius egit sedcundum doce," is of special interest as showing the co-operation of physician and deity. A Greek parallel to this is found in a dedication to Asklepios in Kibyra: here the person of Asklepios is engraving the god to the Tyche of the city, and to Dionysios, the doctor who had treated him (Wien Acad. Abh., xxx. [1893] 104). The Medeian inscriptions of the Insula Tiberina date from the age of the Antonines, and are a redaction of four narratives of healing (CIG 6980); an interpretation will be found in D. Deubner, de Insocr. Leipzig, 1900, p. 44 ff. We read in these that oracles were bestowed in dreams, and practically applied, but the directions given are of a purely theurgical character. A rival of interest in the cult of the god of healing in the reign of Antoninus Pius is indicated by the latter's memorial coin bearing a representation of the legendary foundation of his temple (H. Cohen, Med. temp. Paris, 1880-85, i. 271, fig. 17; cf. also the reliefs in Röm. Mediz., i. [1886], plates 6 and 7).

Of the diversified figures in the retinue of the Epidaurian god (see above, p. 551), Hygeia alone appears in Rome. She was there also called 'Valeutudo,' and is first mentioned in connexion with the year 180 B.C. (Livy, xl. 57), 'where the 'Salus' conjoined with Asculapius must, of course, be meant for Hygeia;' while she is referred to as Salus also in Ter. Acyria, 536. Conversely, the temple of the early Roman Salus is erroneously called aidee 'Tyanae' by Plutarch (Cato Major, 10). The confusion is explained by the affinity of the terms salus and valesudo. From the Roman Salus, however, the daughter of Asculapius is explicitly distinguished in CIL vi. 184 (Chester) as 'Salus ejus;' other inscriptions usually call the latter 'Hygeia' (CIL vi. 17-19, and 30573—the last dating from the reign of Antoninus Pius). It is true that in the temple erected by Marcus Aurelius and L. Verus in honour of the divine father and daughter in Lambessa (Numidia) we again find the dedication 'Asculapius et Salutis' (CIL vii. 25790). But the proper Latin designation of the daughter of Asculapius, as regards both her name and her character, is Valesudo (CIL viii. 7970), and the goddess is so designated on a dedicary of Acilius (see procod., col. note 2), as the name 'Valesudo' which is there attached to a female figure attending to the representation here referred only to Hygeia; compare also CIL v. 6415 (Paria): 'Aesculapium Bonam Valeutinum Martem'; and viii. 9810 (Mauretania): 'Bona Valeutinum sacrum.'

A pre-Hellenic goddess 'Valeutudo' occurs (CIL xv. 3812, 3152).

The diffusion of the Asculapian cult through the vast Roman Empire cannot be traced, but reference may be made to a remarkable representation of the god in a military type. He appears thus on several reliefs from Byzia (Jalabert, in Mélanges de la faculté orientale, Beirü, 1. [1906], pl. i. 1 and 2, pl. ii. 3-5: 'Aesculap en officier romain'). This is to be explained by reference to the worship of the emperor. The Cenome St. Alburnum, C. W. King, Antiqua Gemini et Ringa, London, 1872, ii. 9 depicts an emperor (probably Constantine) in warlike attire, and bearing the eagle of Jupiter

1 Hygeia had a rival in Bona Dea, a Greek goddess worshipped in Rome; and in the East, in Asia Minor, on the Aegean Island of Aegina, and in Rome identified with Fauna. Bona Dea (Wisseau, op. cit. 210). Bona Dea, in her temple on the Aventine, which was restored by Livius, seems to have exercised the functions of a healing goddess, inasmuch as her devotees stored in this temple 'some genus herbarum atque medicamen medicas' (Macrob. Sat. i. 18, 23). Wisseau (218, n. 1) associates with her the inscriptions CIL vii. 20065 and 202747: 'Dea Bona Valesudo'; but, on the other hand, the Bona Dea there referred to may be an epithet of the daughter of Asculapius.
and the snake-entwined aedoa. King wrongly interprets the latter symbol in a Christian sense ('the old serpent' overcome by Constantine). But in reality we find here a symbol of the Serpent, the python, used as the emblem of a Christian  order of the men of the Christian Church. This is the type used in the Greek mystery religions, and these symbols are found throughout the world, symbolizing the dualism in the human psyche.

**Concluding note on Cato the Censor:—Did the Romans, who, as we know, assumed at first a suspicious and antithetical attitude towards Greek rationalism and science, frame a popular medicine of their own for ordinary needs, in addition to their general supplications to the gods? And was Cato, the opponent of Greek culture, and especially of the Greek physicians (Plin. HN xxix. 14; Plut. Cato Major, 23), a champion of such indigenous medicine? That he was versed in medical matters is shown by his having inserted rules of health in his Panegyrica ad M. Avienum (Plin. vii. 171, xxvii. 290; Plut. loc. cit. 33; Friesian, vi. 84), and by the portions of his extant works de Agri Cultu, which deal with medical dietetics. It is a common opinion that he derived his knowledge of such things from the medical practice of the Italian peninsula (W. S. Thomas, loc. cit., 1883, § 55; Jordan, in Freiler, ii. 243, n. 3; F. Minser, Beiträge zur Quellenkritik der Naturgesch. des P. Plinius, Berlin, 1896, pp. 320-330; Die primitive Heilkunde des sabinischen Bauern), and the curious spells recommended for dislocations (de Agri Cult. 180) possibly come from a similar source. But the 'antipathy' of the Roman mind seems to have been of the same order as that of the modern mind against footsoreness (180) is an exotic feature. What to sources, again, shall we trace the long excursus (156-7) dealing with the dietetic and therapeutical properties of the various kinds of cabbages? The Brasica Pythogenea (157.1) cannot well have belonged to the pharmacopoeia of the Sabine peasants, and the Greek name Sulphon is used only in this section (157.7), while in ch. 116 Cato employs the Lat. term lasceripsicum. Finally, his remark that the assimilation of food tends to prevent perspiration of the body (157.11) is not a peculiarly Egyptian/journal of research with medical dietetics, but a monograph on the various kinds of cabbage, and showed in that work the great importance of the species for therapeutics and dietetics (Plin. HN xx. 78). And that this Cato work was directly or indirectly, Cato's source for chs. 156-3 does not appear from Cato's partiality for the cabbage tribe, but also from the curious prescription (157.14) recommending Brasica 'serraticas' with water for fistula, and with honey for sore—precisely the same directions having been given by Chrysippus (in Plin. HN xx. 78). It is quite possible, too, that the Commentarius (Plin. loc. cit.), or theὈποτόμον ανθρώπων (Plut. Cato Major, 23), according to which Cato was wont to treat himself and his family in sickness, may have been simply that work of Chrysippus. The Cato school of physicians fostered the relations between medicine and ἄθεωτος (see above, p. 544), and was on that account more acceptable to the religious sentiment of the Roman people than were the Hippocrates with their purely scientific methods. But it is certainly a curious circumstance that the chief opponent of Hellenism in Rome should thus turn out to have been the adherent of a mere Greek.
HEART

Among the Hebrews, traces of the same idea of the heart as the seat of emotion are to be found (Pr 7:26, Lc 23:29, Ps 16:10 [read 'liver' for 'glory']). But an advance had been made, and generally in the OT, the heart is at once the source and the symbol of life in its various aspects. This is well seen in Pr 4:8, 'keep thy heart with all diligence, for out of it are the sources of life.' The heart is the seat of emotion (so the expression of the head) and emotional life, including thought, memory, perception, will, imagination, joy, sorrow, anger, etc. (Ps 33:14, Gn 55:22, Dv 25:4, Ex 15:8, Ps 31:18, 1 K 8:56). Hence such phrases as 'men of heart,' (=men of understanding, Job 34:25, 3 Th 1:12; cf. Ps 10:4, 'void of heart,' = 'out of heart' (=forgotten, Ps 31:28). The heart is also the seat of religious feeling (2 Ch 17:7, Ps 37:27, Jer 24:30, 32:4, 11:11, 1 K 8:2, etc.); hence change of heart, a clear heart, or a heart of flesh instead of a heart of stone ( Ezek 11:10, Ps 51:10) signifies newness of life and character, and purity of conscience. Most of these usages are found in the NT (cf. Mt 5:12-18, 15, Lk 22:28, Jn 6:14, 15, 16:28, etc.), but St. Paul has particularly developed some of them, and with him the heart is the organ of belief as well as of disobedience and impenitence (Ro 2:18), and the immediate receptacle in human life of God's light and knowledge and love (2 Co 4:6, Ro 5:6; cf. Eph 1:18, 'the eyes of your heart being opened'). There also is the idea of 'the eye of the heart' (Eph 3:16).

Among the various usages, whether literal or metaphorical, have passed into religious speech, while in the majority of languages the word 'heart' has most of the meanings ascribed to it by the Greeks.

For the Arab meaning of 'heart' as = 'life,' see QARAS, vol. i. p. 671.

Among the Greeks and Romans the heart took the place of the liver as the seat of life, soul, intellect, and emotion. Even Aristotle regards the heart as the centre to which all sensory impressions were transmitted, though Plato assigns the mortal soul which governs the intellect and emotions to the heart, making the brain the seat of the immortal soul, and the liver the seat of the lower soul and source of sensual desires. (Eck 119, 111, Ps 51:10) signifies newness of life and character, and purity of conscience. Most of these usages are found in the NT (cf. Mt 5:12-18, 15, Lk 22:28, Jn 6:14, 15, 16:28, etc.), but St. Paul has particularly developed some of them, and with him the heart is the organ of belief as well as of disobedience and impenitence (Ro 2:18), and the immediate receptacle in human life of God's light and knowledge and love (2 Co 4:6, Ro 5:6; cf. Eph 1:18, 'the eyes of your heart being opened').

The importance of the heart as the seat of life is well illustrated by numerous Mārāden, like the Norse tale of 'The Giant who had no heart in his body,' in which a giant or some other personage secretes his heart, or, in other tales, his life or soul, in some exterior object, and until it is found and destroyed he is deathless. But it is also illustrated by other tales in which the heart, restored to a dead body, reanimates it. The oldest of these is the Egyptian story of 'The Two Brothers,' in which Bata hides his heart in a tree. His wife causes the tree to be cut down, and he dies; but his brother, having discovered the heart, makes a small bird of it, paints it, and he revives. Similar tales are found among the Bantas, Hottentots, Australians, Samoys, Indians, and others; but in the Hottentot instance the heart of the dead is preserved as the seat of life and emotion are to Plato, Timon, 60ff.

E. E. Payson, Hist. of the New World called America, Oxford, 1858, i. 698.


Prance to have a Feast with a special Mase and Office. But it was not till 1878 that this was permitted to the Church as a whole. In 1889 this Feast was made a 'double of the first class.' It is held on the Feast of the octave of Corpus Christi. Many confraternities and even States are devoted to the Sacred Heart, and innumerable churches have been specially dedicated under this title. The devotion to the Sacred Heart of Mary is of an analogous kind, though in her case the love which is symbolized by the heart is her love to God and her Son, which this devotion seeks to make the faithful imitate. The cult may also be traced back to the 12th cent., but Papal recognition in a partial form did not occur until 1799. In 1856 an office and mass were appointed by the Congregation of Rites, but these were not imposed on the whole Church, nor has any universal Feast yet been granted. 1

2. Eating the heart. —Since the heart is regarded as the seat of life, soul, and wisdom, as well as of courage and of similar virtues desired by the sage, the heart of a slain man, usually an enemy, is often eaten in order that his life, soul, courage, etc., may pass over into the eater and benefit him, as in the case of cannibalism, which is a form. Feasts of cannibalism (q.v.), exist not only where the actual eating of bodies takes place, but also where this wider form of cannibalism does not exist. It is considered sometimes with the eating of other parts which are also supposed to contain similar virtues, e.g. the liver.

In order to obtain cannon the Kamilaroi ate the heart and liver of a bison, while among the tribes of N.W. Australia the heart of the great hunters or warriors was eaten in order to acquire their cunning or courage. 2 Young men among the Eskimos of Bering Strait, when they kill an enemy for the first time, eat a portion of his heart. 3 In Africa the custom is universal among the tribes, and always with the same symbolic and magical intention, whatever other qualities may be ascribed to the heart. It is unnecessary to give references, since every work on native customs mentions this act. A similar custom is practised among the Toda. 4 Another custom connected with a similar idea is the custom of eating the heart (see CANNIBALISM, etc.); 5 in the Yoruba tribes of the west, good Ogun took the heart of sacrificial victims, dried them, then made them into powder, and mixed them with rum, and sold them to those who desired courage. 6 The custom of eating the heart was also widespread among the American Indians, and was sometimes mixed with sacrificial of a human victim. When the Pawnees made the periodic sacrifice of a Sioux chief, the chief was wounded near heart and devoured it. 7 Here there was doubtless the intention of satiating whatever peculiar proponent the victim was. 8

Traces of these customs occur in folk-lore. In the Mahabharat, Gwyn forced Kilydi to eat his own father's heart; this resulted in the latter's madness. 9 The Wends believe that the heart of a maiden or infant brewed in herbs will cure disease or inspire love. Hence graves are often violated to obtain the heart of a corpse. 10 Possibly the old German belief that 'a dying man's heart could pass into a living man, who would then show twice as much pluck,' 11 is derived from this savage custom. 12 The belief that witches removed and ate the hearts of men while still living, thereby causing their death soon after, may also be traced to the same one. 13 Heart disease is common in Africa: 14 Among the Ainu and other tribes of Northern Asia who sacrifice the bear, its heart is eaten, but the Gilyaks will not allow a woman to taste it. 15 In ancient times the hearts of such animals or birds as were believed to possess prophetic powers—wolf, hawk, crow—were eaten by those who wished to obtain such powers or to have their power of divination increased. 16 Traces of these customs are also found in Norse saga. 17 Ingjaldr, until then timid, became very fierce through eating a wolf's heart. Siegfried, having eaten the heart of the dragon, learned the language of the birds. Wise-women are said to have eaten, as their special food, the hearts of all animals slain. 18 In Syria and Asia Minor, eating the heart of a live pigeon is a remedy for heart-disease. 19

3. The heart in sacrificial rites. —The heart, as a vital centre, is often the object of special care in sacrifices, whether of animal or human victims. It is either offered separately, or, having been removed from the body, is offered with it or with selected parts of it. The Ainus, at the sacrifice of the sacred bear, sometimes placed its heart before it to assure it that it was still alive. 20 Among some of the Veddas, when an animal is killed, its heart is removed, and offered to Vedi Yaka, the spirit who is supposed to help them in killing game. 21 In the island of Sumba the hearts and livers of victims are offered with rice to the ghosts of the dead, and then eaten by the offerers. 22 The ancient Mexicans, when a human victim was offered, usually cut open the breast and tore out the pulsating heart, which was offered either separately or with the body, on the altar of the gods. Among the Egyptians, when the animal victim was slain and cut up, its heart was offered on the altar with the other parts, and the heart as an offering is often depicted on the monuments. 23 At the rite of 'Opening the Mouth' in connexion with the ritual of death, a bull was sacrificed, Its heart was torn out and offered to the deceased, and then the relatives ate it raw. 24 A curious custom is referred to in a Bab. atonement rite for a sick man. The body of a sucking pig was placed at the patient's head, its heart removed and placed above his heart, apparently as a substitute for it as containing the life— 'Give the pig in his stead . . . . Let the heart be as . . . .' 25

2 L. Fison and A. H. Howitt, Kurnihori and Kurmi, Melbourne, 1905.
4 Toml. C. X. (1901) 228.
5 T. K. Bowditch, Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee, London, 1815, p. 300.
6 Ellis, Fors-class-speaking People, 62.
7 De Stael, Amour de la prop. de la foi, (1843) 277.
8 J. R. Burns, China Heavens, London, 1858, p. 561.
9 P. F. L. iii. (1890) 187.
10 Grimm, 1878 f.
12 L. Fison and A. H. Howitt, Kurnihori and Kurmi, Melbourne, 1905.
14 Toml. C. X. (1901) 228.
15 T. K. Bowditch, Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee, London, 1815, p. 300.
16 Thomas, Fors-class-speaking People, 62.
17 De Stael, Amour de la prop. de la foi, (1843) 277.
18 J. R. Burns, China Heavens, London, 1858, p. 561.
19 P. F. L. iii. (1890) 187.
20 Grimm, 1878 f.
22 Forpphyl, de A. ii. 40; Pflüger, H.W. xxx 10.
23 Grimm, 1900; L. W. Parry, J.F. xvi. (1901) 434.
24 P. F. L. iii. (1901) 191.
26 G. and B. H. Beilamann, The Veddas, Cambridge, 1911, p. 177;
29 Bridges, l. 176.
HEARTH, HEARTH-GODS

With regard to sacrificial offerings among the Teutons, Grimm is of opinion that among the nobler parts assigned to the gods the heart was one. It was also the case among the Romans, with whom, in addition, the parts burned in fire as an offering to the gods, included the heart.

Analogous to the separate treatment of the heart in sacrifice is the custom of separating it in death and burial rites. The myths of the reliefs of Celts—one of these bearing the heart—differ as different places, the heart at Athisbais, may point to some earlier custom of separate heart-burial in Egypt. But the usual custom was to remove the heart and deposit it in a thymele, in a vase under the charge of Tammuzet, or binding it on the leg. In order to retain the heart in the future life and provide for the soul, the four chapters of the Book of the Dead were recited and written on amulets, some in the shape of a heart. The 30th chapter was written on a scarab, which was placed over the place of the heart, its words being recited by the deceased at the weighing of the heart. There were also formulae for recasting the heart or preventing its being stolen.

In Christian custom the separate burial of the heart, sometimes in sacred ground, has now and then occurred. Bruce's heart is supposed to have been buried in Jerusalem; that of Livingstone was interred under a tree near where he died.

4. The heart in magic.—Like other important parts of the human body, the heart, as a seat of life, gave its form to heart-shaped amulets, which were worn to repel evil influences. This custom already existed among the Etruscans and Romans, making the heart the usual form of a heart-shaped amulet, and heart amulets are often found in Egyptian graves. Such amulets are still worn in Southern Europe—in Spain, Italy, and Portugal—usually as a charm against the evil eye; and they were also known in Scotland as 'witch-brooches.' Here also the custom of 'casting the heart' was known. On the head of a stick was placed a heart-shaped amulet, and this, with a band and a pair of scissors set in the form of a cross. On this rested a wooden cup of water, into which wolfram lead was poured. Search was then made for heart-shaped fragments, and this, even when sewn in a piece of cloth, was worn by the patient. An animal's heart was sometimes carried as an amulet for luck or to ward off evil influences. In Germany it was thought that an owl's heart gave luck in play, while to have a wolf's heart about the person would prevent one's being eaten by a wolf. In Moscow it was thought that 'the heart of a black cat dried and steeped in honey, and worn either at the beginning of the month or with the waning moon, would cause the wearer to become invisible.' The heart of a parrot was also held to be efficacious. The smoke of the heart and liver of a fish with the ashes of perfumes drives away the evil spirit. In Africa, fetishes often contain the heart of an animal.

5. The heart of an animal was also useful to counteract disease or repel the evil influences of witchcraft. The heart of the living, when torn out and hung on the fireplace or placed in the hearth where the heart and part of the liver and lungs of one of the stricken animals were cut out and hung over the fireplace or placed in the hearth. Sometimes, as in Sussex and Germany, the heart of an animal overlooked by a witch was stuck full of pins and roasted. The witch was then visited with misfortune, or, being tortured in the heart, came and confessed.

In Dorset a bullock's heart hung in the chimney was supposed to keep off fairies, and in Lincoln an animal's heart full of pins concealed within the fabric or walls had great protective virtue. In these and similar instances elsewhere, when the heart is stuck full of pins, there is probably an intention of hurting witchcraft, which is likely to cause intense pain at the heart, of which he often dies.

LITERATURE.—This is cited in the footnotes.

3 J. A. MacCulloch.

HEARTH, HEARTH-GODS—The hearth is, technically, 'a piece of floor prepared to receive a fire.' The Eng. word 'hearth' and its synonyms in other languages are reminiscent of an early stage of culture, of one-roomed houses, in which one fire served for cooking and for warmth. Central in the primitive round hut, as in the neolithic huts of Italy, it was merely a part of the beaten-earth floor, a depression, or small, shallow pit. In this form the fire-place is an oven, such as is made in camping-gounds to-day by wild peoples. The use of pottery tended to replace this depressed hearth by a level or raised area. Meanwhile the original oven was lined with stone, brick, or tiles. In another development a movable receptacle or tureen was placed in the pit. From this came the brazier or chafing-dish, the portable grate employed for heating purposes, and the stationary grate itself. In early times the grate-form is often modified for either use. Sieve and grate are ventilated fire-pans, and as such differ from the closed oven. A third development, also denoted by the term 'hearth,' the hearth-stove or of iron, originally the level area round the fire. The evolution of heating- and cooking-apparatus and methods follows these three lines. The closed receptacles have such forms as the porcellanous hearth-stoves of northern Europe. This method is also that of the plate, and the modern radiator is an extension of the same principle to hot water. Similar was the Roman system of hot-air heating, involving the hollow brick wall. Cooking follows the two chief methods of the oven and the grill. One of the first developments of domestic architecture involved the removal of the fire to the side-wall or a corner of the room. Later, the multiplication of rooms split up the hearth; the original combined cooking and heating central hearth may be seen in the kitchen or fire and oven, a mere 'office,' the social sentiment of the 'fireside' being transferred to the chief of the living-rooms, and later vaguely distributed over the house as a whole.

At that stage of early culture which was marked by the organization of religion, the methods and sentiments of the domestic system were applied to the houses of the gods. The altar of burnt-offering is a magnified kitchen-hearth, the fire-altar a magnified heating brazier, luxury being shown in the scented fumes rather than in the comfort of its warmth.

Among primitive peoples who have not developed the permanent hut, and in their camping-gounds, continually changed, employ a mere shelter or wourley (Australian) of brushwood, the pit-oven.
and the camp-fire are distinct. The camp-fire here has the associations of the 'fireside'; the natives sleep close to it, and spend hours talking together in its vicinity. The embers are carefully guarded from extinction during the day. But, as the civilized hearth was for ages the centre of cooking and heating a primitive apparatus, and its form is evolved from the primitive oven, it is necessary to describe the latter.

To make his cooking-oven, the Australian native digs a hole in the ground, and makes it in a fire of wood. When this is burning well, stones are placed on it. The moment these are red-hot, the food to be cooked is placed on them; green leaves are used to prevent scorching. Grass is spread over the food, and water sprinkled. The mass is then tightly covered with earth. Throughout the South Seas this method is universal; in many cases the oven is permanent, and generally is of a more elaborate character than the Australian. The pit is about 2 feet in diameter, and varies from 6 inches to a foot in depth. Its walls and floor are built hard; in clay soil the texture soon becomes that of burnt brick. Charcoal as well as wood is used for the fire. Stones of the size of the fist are placed in a layer when the gathering round the fire; when they are red-hot, the woman-cook removes them and clears the embers out of the oven, in which the stones are now placed. A layer of green leaves on the stones is sprinkled with water; green leaves are also placed round the sides of the oven. The food being put in, mats are laid upon it; earth covers these, and the oven is sealed, in order to prevent any escape of steam. The principle is a sort of dry boiling.

The stage at which a fire-receptacle is placed in the family is illustrated by the modem Bedawin. The oven is a vessel sunk in the ground, above which is an iron plate, the tezim, 'hearth.' This is specially employed for cooking bread. The hot stones are used for cooking various food-stuffs. Both methods are common throughout the East.

The ancient Hebrews used the hearth-pit both for cooking and for warmth. Like the fire-place still used by many of the poor in Eastern Asia, it was in the centre of the room, and its smoke escaped through an opening in the roof. This method may be regarded as practically universal at a certain stage of culture. Early Greece and early Italy possessed it. The antefurn, or the atrium of the Romans was originally a dining-room and kitchen in one; it was developed from the necolithic round-hut. The early Greek μητρόος, or one-roomed house, which later was the hall, had the στέρια or τέρια in the centre of the floor. When the στέρια took the place of the μητρόος, the τέρια was possibly retained there, or may have been transferred to the dining-room, τράπεζα, since food-offerings were placed in it before meals. In the same way the Italian atrium lost both of its functions: the kitchen, συλίνα, received the cooking-fire; the living-rooms were warmed by braziers, foculi, until the hypocaust system was introduced. The associations of the foculi were preserved in theump which always burned before the Larcs, whose original place was on the hearth. A niche

was often retained by them for the side of the kitchen hearth. Both Greek and Latin houses of the well-to-do in the most highly developed periods possessed private ovens. Possibly this was, in some Greek instances, a room of the φάτνη type. This was not the case with the Roman lararium. The developed domestic cooking-store and heating was a structure of the masonry or brick, a foot above the floor. But it still retained the primitive fire-pit character, since a rim of masonry converted it into a receptacle.

An arch opening at one side served as a 'tender' for fuel.

In Teutonic lands the central hearth of the one-roomed house lasted among the poor into the later Middle Ages. Its previous universal employment cannot be understood unless we take into account the large size of the central hall in the houses of the well-to-do, and the differentiation of the one house-fire into hall-fire and kitchen-fire were here of early date. The introduction of the chimney involved the change of position to the side-wall of the room. Until the 16th cent. the fire-place was built without a recess; a hood, or louvre, above the hearth and containing the entrance of the fire, solved the problem of smoke. The large recess admitted of a circular gathering round the fire (the primitive gathering round the central hearth was circular), and such pieces of furniture as the 'settle' assisted the 'sentiment,' as they ministered to the comfort of the hearth.

The evolution of the fire-place among the Hebrews is similar to that among the Greeks and Latins. The hearth was the receptacle for heating the kitchen. In the houses of the rich the brazier or chafing-dish was used for warmth.

The Hindus have preserved longest the combination of kitchen and dining-room—a fact ultimately not unconnected with the climatic conditions of India. The portable clay fire-pan is the eastern brazier. The kitchen is divided into two unequal parts, the main serving for the culinary operations.

2. The hearth in religion. The conception of the hearth as the centre of the house and home lends itself to metaphor. A remarkable case is the employment in the modern science of optics of the Latin word for a 'hearth,' focus, to denote the central point at which rays of light converge. The use of the term as a verbal 'focus' for sentiments of domesticity and family solidarity is notable in the Latin phrase in a foco. In English 'hearth' and 'home' is representative of what is perhaps the strongest example of the association. 'Hearth' was also a synonym for 'home.'

Hearth-cults emphasise in some cases the combination of fire-place and fire, in others the fire, in others again the figures of divine beings brought into connexion with the hearth. Among the latter, the sacredness of both components is derived from ideas of family life. They thus appropriately meet at its material centre.

The original connotation of the Greek term τέρια seems to have been the hearth with its fire. (See the 'Greek' article below.)

The worship of Vesta by the Romans was purely public. It has the look of a revival from a Greco-Italic cult, if the goddess was not actually borrowed from Greece. (See the 'Roman' article below.)

The Scythians honoured Heatsia, whom they called Tadari, as chief of all deities (ταταρεία). In Indo-Iranian cults the sacred fire assumes greater importance than the hearth or altar, so far as personalisation is concerned. But the receptacle is sacred. Sacredness also attaches to the fire-place and cooking-apparatus of the modern Hindu

5 The modern four-legged plates for keeping food warm on the hearth are formed on the ancient foculi, which was also used for the purpose. Bronze foculi were found in great numbers at Pompeii.

6 R. Bongi, loc. cit.
7 Suet. De nat. deum, X 181 sqq.
9 ib.
HEARTH, HEARTH-GODS

(see FOOD), whose kitchen is usually his dining-room. Orthodox Brähmāns still maintain a special room for fire-sacrifices, the homa-kāla, on the ground-floor. From ancient custom distinguished two degrees of piety, the one being represented by the homa-
kāla. In ordinary circumstances the 'householder' was satisfied with a single hearth of burnt clay for his private use, and the other for public worship. Gimb. compares the 'homu' and 'panse' the hūsīnp or estigot, a spirt that dwells beneath the hearth, and is seen burning thence by the peasants' imagination. The repeatedly recurring spirits of the dead dwell beneath the hearth may be attributed to its central position in the primitive dwelling, and to its being sunk in the ground. In Homeric religion, communication is made with the under world by digging pits, as with the upper world by raising altars. Thus the two forms of hearth, the fire-pit and the raised fire-place, not only served as centres of family worship and of public cultus, but bring together the gods above and the gods below, differentiating them.

Among the Damara (Ovaherero) of South Africa there was a remarkable cult of the hearth.

"The chief's daughter," says Anderson, "is to the Damara what the Vestal was amongst the ancient Romans, for, besides attending to the sacrifice, it is her duty to keep up the 'holy fire.' Outside the chief's hut, where he is accustomed to sit in the daytime, a fire is always kept burning; but, in case of rain or bad weather, it is transferred to the hut of the priestess (sic); this is the chief's hut, which, according to the custom of changing the site of the village, precedes and son with a portion of the consecrated fire. Every possible care is taken to prevent it being extinguished. . . . A portion of each fire is also given to the headman of each lodge, who receives it from the chief of the hut. The duties of a Vestal then devolve on the daughter of the empress.

The girl is probably the daughter of the chief's favourite wife. Later accounts supplement this, while correcting it. The residence of the chief is the oyisero, the 'holy house,' corresponding to the fetish-houses of West Africa. In the course of this is kept perpetually burning the okwero, 'holy fire.' A usual phrase, corresponding to the Greek ἱερόν, is the 'place of the holy fire.' The fire is made by means of two sticks (see art. FIRE, FIRE-GODS), the one of which is the omakwe, and the other the oyisero. The omakwe represents the akwomo, 'ancestor deity;' the oyisero his wife. The symbol of male and female is as marked here as in the Aryan arsha sticks. When a death has occurred, the soul of the dead is vaguely identified with the 'ancestor deity.' We might put it that his personality is merged in the omakwe; thus a series of ancestors may be regarded as one individual. The 'embodiment' of the dead man's soul is not a stick but is simply vague, but really believed, just as is the embodiment in snakes which belongs to the creed of the Kafris. The oyisero is technically the principal house of the chief. A certain unmarried daughter, omakwe omakwe, has charge of the sacred fire, which must never be allowed to go out. She officiates in certain social ceremonies like a priestess. The chief himself is similarly a priest for his people. Her popular name is 'the big girl;' another title is 'Favourite.' With the ashes of the sacred fire she or her mother, 'the big woman,' paints the faces of the warriors before they set out on expeditions. Near the sacred fire is a stone seat for the use of the chief and the medicine-man. Often there is more than one holy fire in a village. Every head of a household also possesses one, at which he performs the ceremony of naming his children. This may also be performed at the oyisero. The chief himself is perhaps 'introduced' to the omakwe. The father takes it in his arms and announces the name. For the ceremony of circumcision, performed at the ages of 4 and 7, the meat (which is holy, seru) is cooked at the 'place of the holy fire.' A portion of it is kept in the holy house for some weeks. Ap.


3. Moeller-Williams, Brähmāns, and Blumenau, Johannesburg, 1919, p. 360.


HEARTH, HEARTH-GODS (Greek).—The reverence paid by the Greeks to the hearth (seris) appears from its personification in the goddess Hestia, who is first mentioned in Hesiod (Theog. 464) and the Homer hymns (Aphr. 91 f., and Hymn. xxiv. and xxv.), and in each Greek house. A fire was maintained in the house, or pronaios (originally the king's house), and the fire of Hestia, and permanent fire was kept sacred to Hestia, and was regarded as a symbol of the whole house. The common custom of preserving a sacred fire in a chief's house was wide-spread (see Frazer, in JPA xiv. 145 f., and GbP, "Magic Art," vol. ii. ch. 17) and in Greece, Frazer, in JPA xiv. 145 f.; Montier-Williams, Religion Life and Thought in Greece, London, 1873, p. 418. Montier-Williams, Hellenic and Egyptian, 447-451. Le 29, 1903. L. E. S. Kennedy, in HB, xvi. "Hearth."

SB 321, p. 212.
HEARTH, HEARTH-GODS (Roman)

as at Rome and elsewhere, it probably originated from the practical difficulty of re-kindling fire by the primitive method of rubbing two sticks together (see FIRE). It has also been suggested that the maintenance of the sacred fire at Rome was associated with the upkeep of a perpetual fire on earth; if the flame was extinguished, the sun might fail (A. B. Cook, in FL zv. [1804] 306 f.). In any case the custom had become so well established by an early period. At Athens and Delphi, if the sacred fire was extinguished, it was re-kindled from the sacred fire of the common hearths of these two cities tended by widows, who corresponded to the Vestal Virgins at Rome; but there was never a religious order of Vestals in Greece, and the great importance of these virgins has no analogy in Greek religion. The virginity of Hestia herself is, however, a noticeable feature in ritual and myth. The goddess took a vow of perpetual chastity (Homer, Iliad vi, 151), and sexual intercourse was forbidden in front of the hearth in private houses (Hes. Op. 733). At Sparta there was a priestess called Beeras whom the goddess (CIG i. 1253, etc.) bestowed on the goddess; but generally the public worship of Hestia was in the hands of man (cf. Aristotle, Pol. 13226). In some cities the house divinities in general seem to have been given place to a lamp (Theocr. as. 36; Atenenes 700 D); otherwise (as at Ellis [Paus. vi. 15. 9]) the ancient form of the hearth was retained. Certain houses became the meeting-place of the gay and the suppliant of the particular State, e.g. at Delphi and Delos. After the battle of Platea the Delphic oracle commanded that all fires, being polluted by barbarians, should be extinguished in the country, and new fire brought from the common hearth at Delphi (Plut. Arist. 20). From Delos sacred fire was carried by persons who ran round the hearth. At this festival, which was called Amphipompia, the child received its name (see Aristoph. Lys. 757; schol. on Plato, Theat. 160 E; S. Reinach, Cultes, mythes, at religions, i. [Paris, 1905] 187; ERE ii. 649). On the meaning of the word the passing down of the Eleusinian mysteries, see Farnell, CIG iii. [1907] 164.

Perhaps the chief importance of the hearth, both public and private, lay in the fact that it was an asylum of refuge. A priest who entered the house of another and sat at his hearth could claim protection (cf. Herod. i. 35; Esch. Ag. 187; Diod. v. 75; Strabo, xvi. 9). The hearth of a priest could not be entered but he could obtain protection, even from an enemy, by sitting at the hearth of Admetus, king of the Molossians, and taking the child of Admetus in his arms. Sometimes, however, the rights of asylum were violated; Thracians were dragged from the hearth in the Athenian senate-house, at which he had taken refuge (Xen. Helen. ii. 3. 52).

As the earth was commonly held to be the seat of the universe, we find that poets and philosophers identified the Earth-goddess with Hestia, the centre of the home (Preller-Robert, i. 427; J. E. Harrison, in JHS xix. [1899] 243). Just as there was no statue of Vesta in the temple at Rome, even in the time of Augustus, so in early times in Greece there had been no image of Hestia; the hearth, with its fire, was itself worshipped. Later, at Athens, there was an image of Hestia in the pryaneum (Paus. ii. 18. 6), but evidence for other cities is lacking. Pausanias notes (ii. 35. 1) that there was no image of Hestia in her temple at Hermione; sacrifice was made on an altar. Temples of the goddess were rare, as her chief sanctuary was the pryaneum of a Greek city.

In general art the Earth-goddess was represented under the form of a woman either seated or standing in a restful position, appropriate to a deity who, in Plato's myth, alone never leaves the house of the gods (Phaedr. 248b). The Greeks themselves derived her name from τήνα ("set"), though it is certainly cognate with Vesta, and may mean the 'bright' or 'shining' fire (Skrr. sin.).

HEARTH-GODS (Roman).—The fire-place, hearth, or focas was originally the centre of the Roman dwelling-house, both in a literal and in a figurative sense, and was situated in the pos-

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Later times such an oath was common, especially when the interests of the family were concerned (see Jebb on Soph. El. 881; Roscher, i. 2923). Prayer was also offered to the hearth (or to Hestia) on solemn occasions, as in returning home after a long absence (cf. Eur. Herc. Fur. 595), or when death was imminent (Eur. Alc. 162 f.). The Orphics prayed to Hestia for health and wealth, and for all moral and material well-being (The Hymn lxxiv.). The first libation of wine was regularly offered to Hestia in public and private feasts; hence the proverb de' bunam specie (Livy, viii. 42). At Olympia, the first sacrifice was in honour of Hestia, who took precedence even of Olympian Zeus (Paus. vii. 14. 5). In public sacrificial feasts the last as well as the first libation seems to have been poured to the goddess (Homer, Hymn xix. 4; Comnus, de Nat. Deor. 28). For other details of sacrifice, see Preuner, in Roscher, i. 2917.

In private life the hearth was the centre of the family. In Attica, a child when five days old was carried by persons who ran round the hearth. At this festival, which was called Amphipompia, the child received its name (see Aristoph. Lys. 757; schol. on Plato, Theat. 160 E; S. Reinach, Cultes, mythes, at religions, i. [Paris, 1905] 187; ERE ii. 649). On the meaning of the word the passing down of the Eleusinian mysteries, see Farnell, CIG iii. [1907] 164.

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HEARTE, HEARTH-GODS (Roman)

terior portion of the atrium, which served generally as a parlour and a public room, and was so named because its roof was blackened by the smoke rising from the hearth-fire. In this chamber the inmates took their meals, sitting at long tables, as was the practice also in rural districts at a later period, and portions of the food were ceremoniously offered as oblations. In later times the scraps that fell to the floor were similarly disposed of, or were set in little pans (patellae) upon the hearth.

In the house, accordingly, the hearth was supplied in every respect the place of the altar, and the frequently recurring phrase ara focis embrases the whole sphere of sacra publica privatae.

The importance of the hearth as the religious centre of the house appears very prominently in the ceremonial of marriage. Thus the bridal torch was kindled at the hearth-fire of the bride's home, and in the ceremony of marriage the bridegroom entered with a torch lit at his own hearth, while, again, the young wife had to lay an as upon her husband's hearth as a sacrificial gift, thereby, so to speak, purchasing a share in the religious fellowship of her new home. As mistress of the house, it was her special task to keep the hearth clean, and to keep it with garlands at the Kalenda, Nonae, and Ides, and a rooster being sacrificed in her absence devoted upon the stewardess (nino) as her representative.

The fact that the hearth was the shrine of the household deities of ancient and modern writers, proceeding upon the assumed identity of these with the ancestral spirits, have sought to explain by the hypothesis that in primitive times the dead were interred within the house, just beside the hearth. We have, however, no evidence that this was ever the practice in Rome; the reference of Serv. Aug. v. 64, vi. 192, 'apud maiores... inaequina sacra' is non existent.

In the re-organisation of the household in ancient times, the hearth was the seat of the tutelary spirit (Genius) of the master of the house, and it was thus obviously a mere theory, which the laying open of the ancient cemeteries in the Forum and on the Esquiline has in no way confirmed.

The household deities worshipped at the hearth are called penetes. The term penetes is derived from penetrum, the store-room of the atrium and close to the hearth; it is contended that this chamber was regarded by the Penetes, the person in charge of the house, as the centre and source of the house. Among the Penetes the chief place is held by Vesta, who is simply a divine personification of the hearth-fire, and, in fact, her name is actually used metonymically as equivalent to focus or ignis. But, in addition to Vesta, all the deities regarded by a particular household as the special guardians of its fortunes were worshipped as Penetes; and it is further believed that PNG

name was always maintained at a later period that the worship of the Lares became incorporated with the domestical hearth-cult. The worship of the Lar familiaris, originally localised at the comitium (p. art. CROSS-ROADS (Rom.), vol. iv. p. 335 f.), was gradually—and in reality for the sake of the household slaves, as is shown by the cultus of the Lares—included among the household deities. Thus the cultus of the Lares—a place beside that of Vesta and the Penetes at the domestic hearth. Hence in Flaustrus' the treasure entrusted to the keeping of the Lar familiaris is buried 'in medio focis', and, later, people even spoke of the 'focus Larum', while the food that was formerly presented to the Penetes came at length to be offered to the Lares. In the re-organisation of the household in ancient times, the hearth was the seat of the tutelary spirit (Genius) of the master of the house, and it was thus obviously a mere theory, which the laying open of the ancient cemeteries in the Forum and on the Esquiline has in no way confirmed.

Just as in the private house the hearth supplied the place of the altar, so we occasionally find focus or focum, either in addition to, or as substitutes for, the altar, in the sacrificial ritual of the State religion. These were sometimes used as ara temporaire, i.e., altars for temporary occasions, some sort of a kitchen-altar. See also, a similar usage, in the ritual of the Christian church.
HECATE'S SUPPERS

HEBREWS.—See ISRAEL.

HECATE'S SUPPERS. — Hecate's suppers ( seizing Bed ny, or, as they were sometimes called, Brasura, or Brasura) were the offerings laid at the cross-roads every month for Hecate. Their purpose was to placate not only this dread goddess of the lower world, as we learn from Plutarch (Moralia, 700 A), the Ærōphoroi, i.e. the ghosts of those who for some reason cannot rest even in their tomb, are seeking to return to earth in search of vengeance. An army of these invisible and malevolent beings follows in the wake of its leader and queen as they roam at large through the midnight hours.

In reality, these offerings are a specific variation of the primitive cult of the dead. And to a certain extent this specific variation is due to the fact that the cross-roads are the meeting places where the Hecate with whom we have to do is a composite deity. She was a moon-goddess, and possibly even a goddess of the dead, who with Hecate's club readily taken place long before the Ærōphoroi (594 ff.) of Aristophanes, in which occurs the first surviving reference to our subject. Hecate's suppers were naturally deposited at the cross-roads, for the trip was the one pre-eminent day of the moon, still remembered for an indefinite time, and to an indefinite extent. Hence, when the scholiast quoted above said "on the eve of the Ærōphoroi," he doubtless had in mind the thirteenth of the month according to the ancient calendar. It seems certain that then, partly no doubt because 'three' and all its multiples are peculiarly hallowed to Hecate, that the sacrifice still clung to the thirteenth, despite the fact that, when the calendar was reformed, the original reason for selecting that date ceased to exist. It is possible, of course, that the rite was also performed on the actual appearance of the new moon as well as on the traditional thirteenth, but this cannot be proved on the basis of evidence now available. A reference in the Hecate of Diphilus and a passage from Philochorus—both quoted by Athenaeus, 646—show that on the eve also of the full moon (the 15th of the month Mounychion [cf. C. A. Loucky, Agatharchides, Königsberg, 1859, p. 1062]) Hecate was remembered at the cross-roads with a cake surrounded by lighted torches, and known as an Amphiakias. This striking prototype of our birthday cake was also a regular article of diet.

As is usually the case with offerings to the dead, the regular ἄγαλμα τρηπεῖν on the thirteenth of the month consisted of food. The specific articles of food as far as they are mentioned, were: (1) παταλή, a kind of bread.

3. Πιλ. T. I. 21, 11: Πιλ. Κρατισ. 16: 
of leaf or cake, the shape and ingredients of which are not clear; (2) the μαυς, or meat; (3) κάθαρα, or garlic; (4) the τρύγος, or mullet; (5) φύλακας, a sacrificial cake described by Herodotus as 'the kind which the priests eat; (6) eggs; (7) cheese; (8) possibly the βασίλιας, a kind of cake, for which Solon in Athenæus, ix. 645 B, gives the recipe.

Certainly some, perhaps all, of the articles in this ceremonial bill of fare were thought to possess some peculiar virtue or association commending them to Hecate and her attendants. Ancient and widespread, for example, is the belief that the cock is the herald of the sun, and that all vagrant ghosts must obey its summons and return to their place. Possibly this is one of the reasons why eggs are so regularly associated with the cult of the dead. In most cases, however, it is likely that the choice of a given article for a given sacrifice is the result, not the cause, of the properties and associations ascribed to it. The belief, for instance, that garlic was sovereign against vampires was probably the result, instead of the original reason for its use in this service. So, too, the evident fact that the τρύγος or mullet, was sacred to Hecate is sufficiently explained by religious conservatism. Various authorities quoted by Herodotus give reasons for it, but these were evidently second thoughts, and due to later theorizing.

However, this may be, the food thus offered was meant to be propitiation—to avert the φυλακας, the easily roused wrath of Hecate and the ghosts. Hence, if Roescher is correct, the title of Ecuelle given her by Callimachus really embodies the worshippers' fervent prayer on these occasions:

'With the regular ἐκτύρνω δῶρα just described above, Hecate was appeased at the house and household. All three were connected with the purificatory and expiatory sacrifices to Hecate that were performed at regular intervals in the house and household. They were, therefore, left at the cross-roads for Hecate, and, as was usually the case with offerings made to spirtes present and easily angered but inviable, the worshippers retired 

In its general sense καθαρὰ means garbage, trash, offal, or offal of any kind. In this connection, to the sacrifice in Ammon at Ammon (p. 76) and in Ammon (p. 76), καθαρὰ (καθαρὰ καὶ ἄνωθεν), as Didymus says in Herodotus, e.g. τὸ καθαρά means all those portions of the sacrifice for the house which were not actually used in the ceremonial. Such, for instance, would be the καθαρὰ (Athenæus, i. 49 E), the blood and water. Though merely καθαρὰ, they were sacred to Hecate, and were deposited at the cross-roads.

The καθαρὰ, on the other hand, appear to have been whatever was left of the sacrifices themselves after the ceremonial in and about the house had been completed. Among the articles probably belonging to this class are eggs, and especially the body of the dog used in the sacrifice. Dogs, as is well known, were very important in these ceremonies, and played a very important part in these ceremonial house-cleansings among both the Greeks and the Romans. Before they were sacrificed, for example, they appear to have been touched by every member of the family. This process, the χειροποιημένο, seems to indicate that on such occasions this oldest of the domestic animals acted as the φύλακας, the scavengo of the entire house.

Another important detail in this ritual, as to all similar rituals the world over, is evidently alluded to by Pliny (Hist. Nat. 30, 54), but carried only by the scholar of Hecateus, L. A. K. (Kirchhoff). This was the fumigation of the house. After this was done, the censor, which was always of baked clay, was deposited at the cross-roads. In other words, in this particular ceremony the καθαρὰ, the only thing surviving, was the censor itself, and it was therefore treated accordingly.

We have already noted how the censor was identified with the infernal house-cleansing, because of the scholar's own words: καθαρὰς τις οἰκίας, ἀργυροσκυλίας, purifying the house with a censor of baked clay. In another sense, of what was actually burned in the censor, the fumigation operation was too familiar to require it. A somewhat different interpretation of these words, however, has had its advocates. Three were burned, treated only by the scholar of Hecateus, L. A. K. (Kirchhoff). This was the fumigation of the house. After this was done, the censor, which was always of baked clay, was deposited at the cross-roads. In other words, in this particular ceremony the καθαρὰς, the only thing surviving, was the censor itself, and it was therefore treated accordingly.

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was especially dreaded in the case of all offerings to dead men. For the priest himself, with the worshipper retired before the altar, he would have been afraid that the spirit would be angry if he appeared to be looking at them. Hecate was supposed to frequent the cross-roads, be guilty of passing over sacred ground, and to punish him with madness, or with some ailments. For all this he was supposed to be the primary cause. Indeed, a curious passage in Petronius, 134, shows that merely stepping accidentally upon the σαβάζαρα (purifying stone) of the cross-roads was considered dangerous. The superstitious man, says Theophrastus (Char. xvi.), 'if he ever observes any one feasting on the garlic at the cross-roads, will go away, pour water over his head, and, summoning the priests, bid them carry a squash or a puppy up to him for purification.'

In spite, however, of the supposed peril involved, as well as of the fact that they were proverbially foul and unpalatable, Hecate's suppers were frequently eaten by some one else. The most common motive, of course, was poverty. Our first reference to it is found in Aristophanes, Plutes, 594, where Penia claims that wealth always has the best of it. Chremyllus counters with the statement that 'Hecate can tell us whether it's better for the Cyclops or the Cyclopes to be poor or hungry. She says that well-to-do or rich people send her a supper every month; whereas poor people, which is the cross, has hardly been put down.' A truly Aristophanic argument! But it was taken literally by the scholastic, and hence apparently the quite impossible statement, still to be found occasionally in modern commentaries and handbooks, that Hecate's suppers were 'meals set out at the cross-roads every month by the rich for the benefit of the poor.' The Cynic philosophy of the cross-roads was considered dangerous and prohibitive, and Hecate's suppers, or pretended to have done so, and reference to the practice was evidently a literary commonplace especially characteristic of their writings. We should expect it of a school whose doctrine of a return to nature led them to scoff at all conventionalities—religious or otherwise—and to see the life and manners of the lowest stratum of society. Sometimes Hecate's suppers were taken merely in a spirit of bravado. Such was the case with the gang of Athenian 'Apostles' whom Demosthenes attacks in his speech against Conon (iv. 19).

Nevertheless, Hecate was deeply rooted in the hearts of the people. Of all the ancient cults none has exhibited a greater vitality. As late as the 11th cent. the Church was still trying to break up the practice of leaving offerings at the crossroads. Even now, not all have forgotten that the cross-roads are uncanny, and that dogs can see things invisible to human eyes. Hecate herself led the famous witch ride of the Middle Ages, while in Germany the Wild Huntsman, and in Touraine the heroic figure of Foulques Nerra, that great ancestor of the Plantagenets who still roams through the darkness with his immortal host, are a clear indication that Hecate and her goblin crew are not only disguised, but outworn.

Hedonism. —Hedonism (from Gr. ἡδονή, pleasure) properly denotes the creed or theory that pleasure is or should be the sole end and aim of human action or conduct, and that to

all good or well-being is ultimately reducible. The theory may be, for historical reasons, held in a variety of forms. In the first place, we must distinguish what is known as Psychological Hedonism (the theory that every man either always or normally seeks pleasure with a view to attainment of pleasure) from Ethical Hedonism (the doctrine that it is right and reasonable for men so to act and so to 'ought' to aim at securing for himself or for mankind the greatest possible sum of pleasure or balance of pleasures over pains). It is possible to be a psychological hedonist without adopting hedonism as an ethical maxim; indeed, as has frequently been urged, unqualified psychological hedonism leaves no room for ethical injunctions; for, if everybody always in fact acts as his own greatest pleasure, it is superficial and meaninglessness to tell him that he ought to do so. On the other hand, ethical hedonism may be held by persons who do not accept psychological hedonism; which, in truth, is now either abandoned by hedonistic moralists or maintained with drastic reservations.

1. Historically, ethical is older than psychological hedonism, and was first explicitly pronounced by Aristippus of Cyrene, a disciple of the Cynics and founder of the Cyrenaic school (see Cynics), who held that pleasure is the highest good, and that it should be one's aim to secure at every moment as much as possible. It is a simple and unassailed form of hedonism which is combated by the Platonio Socrates in Plato's Philebus. A more discriminating theory, formulated by Epicurus (who introduced the observation that all creatures, rational and irrational, aim at pleasure), is criticized and rejected by Aristotle (Eth. Nic. x. ii.). A generation later, the doctrine that pleasure is not the highest good but the mean, 'good for gods and men' was preached by Epicurus who, however, unlike the Cyrenaics, insisted (a) that pleasures of the mind and of friendship and intercourse are greater and of more value than bodily pleasures; and (b) that the perfection of pleasure and the most desirable state is 'freedom from pain and care' (ariefideia). This negative type or conception of pleasure, though never formally repudiated by the disciples of Epicurus, was, as their critics were not slow to remark, very far from being retained in practice as a standard of conduct by adherents of the School; nor was it easily reconciled with other sayings of the founder. The Roman poet Lucretius expounded the Epicurean philosophy with extraordinary earnestness and literary power; and it became very popular in the Greco-Roman world. But it naturally found no favour with the Christian Fathers or the Schoolmen. It was alien to the spirit of the New Testament (cf. ETHOS [Christian]).

2. In the 17th cent., hedonism was revived by Hobbes (p. 2.), who, identifying pleasure with desire, was apparently the first to combine the view that there is no good other than pleasure with the psychological position that men in fact always seek it. Locke (p. 2.), while adopting and developing the latter, i.e. the psychological tenet, rejected hedonism as an ethical method, and founded his standard of conduct in obedience to the commandments of God—an obedience motivated by prospect of 'the different state of perfect happiness or misery that attends all men after this life, and on their behaviour here.' (Essay, i. 21, § 60). A hundred years later, Paley expresses the same view in even more uncompromising terms: 'Private happiness is our motive, the Will of God our aim: (Phil. ii. ch. 3). In the 18th cent., the main opposition to the 'selfish' philosophy came from the school of Shaftesbury, Hutcheson, and Hume,
who asserted the naturalness and pleasure-bringing power of ‘sympathy.’ Here it may be well also to note that from the days of Plato and Aristotle onwards, society, by and with ‘pleasure’ as its object of pursuit, the somewhat vaguely related concept of ‘the profitable’ or ‘advantageous’ (τὸ ἀμφότερον, utile) had been recognized—often by English moralists under the name of ‘interest.’ But in a general way it signified deferred, or diffused, pleasure, had been taken for granted by many writers; otherwise it stood apart. 

A new chapter in the history of hedonism opens with Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832), the apostle of purely mundane hedonistic utilitarianism. Disdaining the dualistic multiplicity of means and denying all qualitative differences in pleasure, he furthermore blended in one panegyric the praises of ‘pleasure’ and ‘utility,’ and made it clear that the latter consists wholly in balance of the former after deduction of necessary ‘pains.’ But he at the same time universalised his hedonism by importing into it the non-hedonistic axiom, ‘everybody to count for one and nobody for more than one’ (see Utilitarianism). Since the days of Bentham, the doctrine and the axiom have frequently if it could hardly say, otherwise. Pleasure-seeking and equitable distribution are apt to pull contrary ways. If one tries to spread pleasure everywhere, the layer of delight becomes so thin that nobody is delighted. Practically, under hedonism, not everybody, but a certain fraction of the community, gains the pleasure. It may be one class, or ‘the classes,’ to the exclusion of the masses; or, in a democratic age, it may be numerous masterful individuals, or groups of individuals, who ‘like’ one another, to the exclusion of those who fail, or do not try to, ingratiate themselves with the dominant type. Hedonism, it is true, would seek to remedy or obviate this unsatisfactory result by providing for the multiplication of means and opportunities of pleasure. And in this undertaking the philosophers have the enthusiastic support of the unphilosophical populace, no enterprise being more dear to them than the discovery or invention of a new or improved source of pleasure. But, although pleasure is doubtless more widely distributed as a result of increased production, there is little or no evidence of its being more evenly distributed. As a matter of fact, Bentham’s successors have not concerned themselves greatly about the axiom of everybody. Rather have they, in their endeavours, by accepting and developing the doctrine of ‘sympathy,’ to magnify the values of social and group pleasure. Moreover, J. S. Mill (1806-73), by recognizing qualitative differences in pleasure, further ennobled the ethics of hedonism, but at the cost of its fundamental hypothesis; for, if some pleasures are higher, and therefore better, than others, there must be something good besides pleasure to constitute the difference. Mill was no psychological; and, while his eloquent advocacy of ‘utilitarianism’ did much to propagate a hedonistic view of ethics, his attempted inference of ethical from psychological hedonism has been often and effectively refuted. The psychology of hedonism founded an able and a thoroughly expounding exposition in A. Bain (p. 1871-1803), who held that pleasure or avoidance of pain is always the object of desire and the aim of action, excepting in so far as men are abnormally under the influence of a ‘fixed idea.’ This important exception virtually conceals all that is commonly urged by opponents of psychology.

Refutation of ethical hedonism is a larger matter. Nor is it practicable to summarize the arguments that have been advanced against it. They all rest ultimately on a conviction, of which it would appear) some men are, and others are not, conscious—that good, or ‘what ought to be,’ is something sui generis, and not the same as what is pleasurable to me or to anybody; or at least that the ethical value of what I like, or of what anybody or everybody likes, is to be determined by, and does not determine, what is good or right. The hedonist accounted for this belief, or sentiment of consciousness, an illusion. To the intuitionalist it is a fact, real and ultimate, and a disproof of hedonism.

Within the camp of the hedonists, egoism may be said to be now discredited—on paper, at all events. This already appears in H. Sidgwick’s Methods of Ethics (1874), in which Egoism, Utilitarianism (Universalistic Hedonism), and Intuitionism are severally examined and compared, an endeavour being made, in conclusion, to transcend the antithesis between the two last.

It would be out of place here to discuss the effects of the wide and increasing acceptance of hedonism as a philosophy of life. But it is permissible to remark that observation of those effects tends entirely to controvert the view, once prevalent, that the conflict of theories is mainly academic, and that there is practical value in the belief that no person is so good as to conduct is good and admirable. There is not and cannot be any such agreement. The victory of hedonism means a transmutation of all ethical judgments.

The incompatibility of hedonism with the biological principle of evolution is convincingly shown in W. Sorley’s Ethics of Naturalism (London, 1894).

Lecture 5—The Page and the Name. J. M. Schuller.

HEGEL. I. Life. Within Hegel’s dates (1770-1831) fell the most eventful epoch in modern history since the Reformation. In literature, philosophy, and politics, humanity was enriched and adorned with a galaxy of men of brilliant and dazzling geniws. While Hegel’s place amongst the men of this period, his own personal life was quite uneventful. He gave himself exclusively to the task of the philosopher—that of severe concentrated reflection and historical movements. The mental aloofness which this required left neither time nor place for practical participation in the changes that were occurring around him; and he never sought directly to influence the current of events. The rapid succession of political and social crises only interrupted the current of his own tenor of life. Rather, they have endeavoured, by accepting and developing the doctrine of ‘sympathy,’ to magnify the value of social and group pleasure. Moreover, J. S. Mill (1806-73), by recognizing qualitative differences in pleasure, further ennobled the ethics of hedonism, but at the cost of its fundamental hypothesis; for, if some pleasures are higher, and therefore better, than others, there must be something good besides pleasure to constitute the difference. Mill was no psychological; and, while his eloquent advocacy of ‘utilitarianism’ did much to propagate a hedonistic view of ethics, his attempted inference of ethical from psychological hedonism has been often and effectively refuted. The psychology of hedonism founded an able and a thoroughly expository exposition in A. Bain (p. 1871-1803), who held that pleasure or avoidance of pain is always the object of desire and the aim of action, excepting in so far as men are abnormally under the influence of a ‘fixed idea.’ This important exception virtually conceals all that is commonly urged by opponents of psychology.

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The incompatibility of hedonism with the biological principle of evolution is convincingly shown in W. Sorley’s Ethics of Naturalism (London, 1894).
tions, and left school with a sound classical training and considerable miscellaneous knowledge. His mind developed by the time his achievements were always the result of hard work and inexhaustible patience. To the end of his life the path from thought to expression, whether in speech or writing, was more or less blocked; his utterances were always awkward, and even his gestures were clumsy and angular. These peculiarities were not overcome with advance of years; on the contrary, the advance in his mental development seemed to increase the difficulty in finding the appropriate expression for his ideas.

At eighteen (1786), he entered the theological seminary at Tübingen as a ducal bursar, and here he remained till 1788. He graduated master of philosophy in 1790 with a scholastic dissertation 1 On the limits of human duties, assuming that the soul is immortal 2; and passed the examination for clerical orders in 1789 by an academic thesis on what seemed an insignificant topic in Church history —the calamities affecting the Church of Würtemberg. At Tübingen his abilities seem to have made no great impression on his teachers or on his fellow-students. He spent the next seven years as a private tutor, partly in Switzerland (1788–95), and partly at Frankfort (1797–1800). From the fragments of his early writings collected by his biographers it appears that from early youth there was little doubt that this was the formative period in his intellectual life. His tutorships left for him an avocation for his own work; he read widely, made himself master of the new philosophy, and through his friend Schelling came directly into touch with the leaders of the young faculty of which he had been a member. When the philosophy of the new philosophy ended, he emerged from obscurity with an unusually well-equipped intellect, re-entered academic life at Jena in October 1801 as lecturer, and on October 30 he received a position in the faculty of philosophy. After a brief adhesion to the views of Fichte, he came into line with the early philosophy of Schelling, with whom he edited the Journal für Philosophie (1802–03). He definitely broke away from Schelling about 1803 and took up his own independent position in his first work, the Phänomenologie des Geistes, which was given as a course of lectures to his students in 1806 and appeared in published form in 1807. He was appointed extraordinary professor in February 1806, and received his first and last salary of 100 thalers in July 1806. Hegel began to feel life at Jena University too narrow, and his eyes turned to Heidelberg. For a few years after 1806 he drifted from university circles. He took up the editorship of the Bamberger Zeitung in 1807 and remained there till 1808. In the autumn of 1806 he was appointed Rector of Nürnberg Gymnasium, where he remained till 1818. In the autumn of 1811 he married Marie von Tucher. While in Nürnberg he drew up for his pupils his first draft of the Encyclopædia of Philosophy, afterwards published as the Propädeutik; here, too, he composed and published his Logik, which occupied him from 1812 until 1816, when he moved to Heidelberg as Professor of Philosophy. In 1817 he appeared with the first edition of his Encyclopædia, which was published for the students attending his lectures. In December 1817, at the instigation of Solger, overtures were made to him to hold the chair of Education, Altenstein, which led to his migration to Berlin in Jan. 1818 to occupy the chair of Philosophy. Hegel was happily treated by the Prussian minister, who gave a salary of 2000 thalers and 1000 thalers for removal expenses, and anything further he might require to make him comfortable. He remained here till his death in 1831. The chair in Berlin was the summit of his academic career, and constituted him the acknowledged leader of philosophical thought in Germany. His work prospered, his influence with his students grew, and a spiritual force became predominant, and his circle of friends made life happy and complete.

He was appointed Rector of the University in 1830; otherwise the record of his life within the University is the record of the successive courses of lectures on the different parts of his system, as this gradually grew and took shape under his unremitting revision. He published Naturrecht und Staatswissenschaft im Grundrisse, otherwise called Philosophie des Rechts, in 1820, the second edition of the Encyclopädie in 1827, and the third edition in 1830. None of his other lectures in Berlin were published till after his death, when the courses on History, Religion, and Art were edited and produced by his pupils. His death took place on 14th Nov. 1831. He was seized with cholera in one of its most dangerous forms, and died very suddenly after a short illness. He was buried, at his own request, beside Fichte and close to the grave of Solger, his friend.

Throughout his life Hegel showed no outstanding distinction of personality of any kind. He never seems to have gone through any intense intellectual conflict, he had no period of storm and stress, and had no quarrel with persons, passions, or principles. He was a life without misfortune, without adventure, without a great friendship, without the elevation of a great love or the tyranny of a great ambition. Science was the whole of the energy of his mind. He had in an unusual degree that supreme intellectual detachment, combined with complete and intense concentration, which marks the philosopher pur sang. In private life he was sociable, and on terms of friendship with a few simple and genial people—a natural being without personal affectations, despising all pose, and with none of the self-consciousness which makes a man prey to the flattery of success or to the morbidness of failure. He was always reconciled to life as he found it, accepting without demur the institutions and even the fashions of his social environment, meeting the serious demands of the day with sober good sense, and the trivialities with good-humoured irony; a good citizen, a good patriot, a good churchman, a man of unbending rectitude and unwavering consistency of purpose.

2. The historical sources of Hegel's philosophy.

It is characteristic of most philosophers to support their own theory by assuming a hostile attitude towards their predecessors, more especially their immediate predecessors in the common task. Sometimes the hostility is open, sometimes veiled in indifferance; at times the attitude is critical, at other times neglectful or even grudging; but the more comprehensive the new system, the more does it usually claim acceptance at the expense of those who have gone before. This resistance to acknowledge intellectual ancestors seems to find its justification in the belief in independence, which may be necessary to maintain complete freedom of thought, and devotion to objective truth, but contrasts curiously with the trust in tradition and respect for the past as characteristic of religion and social life. It makes every philosopher an intellectual Melchizedek, and the company of philosophers a pure democracy contemptuous of forefathers and priests of Education, Altenstein, which led to his migration to Berlin in Jan. 1818 to occupy the chair of Philosophy. Hegel was happily treated by the Prussian minister, who gave a salary of 2000 thalers and 1000 thalers for removal expenses, and anything further he might require to make him comfortable. He remained here till his death in 1831. The chair in Berlin was the summit of his academic career, and constituted...
that all philosophers had a single purpose in view and were dealing with the same principle, and again that each expression of that principle, being in-
complete or one-sided, demanded and gave rise to a
further interpretation of its meaning. The different
systems were thus essentially connected in two
ways: on one hand, all were endeavouring to
unfold the meaning of a single object or 'idea,' as
Hegel called it; on the other hand, each successive
system was a progressive advance on its predecessor.
Each fresh attempt to grasp the fundamental 'idea'
required and made possible the speculative freedom
of each, in its detachment from his predecessors,
immediate and remote; the progressive evolution
of philosophical truth involved and ensured the inti-
mate unity between past and present
systems.

This conception of the history of philosophy
throws direct light on the sources of Hegel's own
philosophy. It is, indeed, the only assistance he
gives to those who wish to know what those sources
are. Hegel's development was almost entirely in-
ternal; he apparently made no attempt to work out
his own distinctly philosophical ideas which must have
occurred to him at the various stages of initiation.
If he did make any bridges over the various currents
of thought which he encountered on the way to his
system, he did not destroy them; but the chances are
that he waded across in silence and did not pause
for intellectual experiments. In his earliest philo-
osophical essays published in Das System der
metaphysischen Wissenschaften, or later by himself
and Schelling, his mind is already made up on
the main points at issue; and, when his first philo-
sophical treatise (the Phänomenologie des Geistes)
appeared in 1807, his system was already formed
and henceforth remained unchanged in principle
and method. The only indications we have of the
course of his ideas in the preparatory years are a
few isolated fragments and remarks on different
topics, political, religious, and philosophical, which
in part were first published in Rosenkranz's Life of
Hegel and which have recently been published in
complete form. From these scattered sources, taken
along with the conception of the history of phil-
osophy above described, we are able, however, to
specify some of the more important influences
which helped to determine the form of Hegel's
philosophy.

Hegel was a student of theology, and for some
time seriously contemplated a clerical career. This
of itself would have turned his mind to the study
of religion, but in any case the subject of religion
was one of absorbing interest throughout his whole
life. His mind was, so to say, constitutionally of
a deeply religious cast. This affected his attitude
towards philosophy from the first, and helped very
largely to shape the philosophical problem as he
understood it. There is no topic to which he so
constantly recurs as that of the intimate relation
of religion, especially the higher types of religion, to
philosophy; and in no part of his analysis of ideas
is he more happy than when he illustrates the com-

unity of thought between the two. The religious
aspect of experience was, then, one of the most
important factors determining the form and prin-
ciple of his philosophy.

(d) A second and hardly less important influence
was derived from his study of history, the history
of ideas, and the history of social and political
institutions. There seems little doubt that he
easily realized the form and content of speculative
thought and for the comprehension of its purpose
and position in the history of the human race,
he was thus qualified to grapple with a knowledge of philosophical problems and conceptions unrivalled and indeed unap-

proached by any of his contemporaries or pre-
decessors in 1807. It was his broad perspective and breadth of view in the construction
of his own system, and to some extent tended to
outstrip the limitations of the one-sidedness which
is the danger of abstract speculation, of all abstrac
tions, to the extent of giving a whole generation
from too exclusive concentration on the pressing
problems of the moment. It enabled him to see
whether a new form of philosophy was justifiably
in his own time, in having in view all that
had already been done, and, if so, what form that
philosophy should assume. It showed him the
vital relation between philosophy and general
history, and so revealed the inner connection of
philosophy and human life, in a way hardly
realized before and only imperfectly conveyed by
historians, and philosophies of human life as that
of his contemporary Herder in the Ideen zur
Geschichte der Menschheit (1784). Above all, it
led him 'back to Greece' with its wells of unde-
filed philosophy; and there he found an abiding
fount of inspiration, to which he constantly re-
turned and from which he drew a great part of what
was best and most valuable in his own philosophy.
If there is one element more than another in
Hegel's study of history which gave him a unique
place amongst his contemporaries and led him to the
philosophical aim of his life, it was his sense of
this contribution to philosophy, it is his intangible
knowledge at first hand of the mind and thought of
the Greeks. Just as from one point of view his phi-
losophical aim must be seen to be to humanize
himself, and at another, apparently conflicting attitudes of religion and philosophy, so from another point of view it may
also be described as the attempt to encompass in
Greek ideas in the mould of modern thought, and
reconcile the contrasted human ideals of Greek
civilization and of Western Europe in modern
times.

Another very important influence which guided
the direction of Hegel's philosophical development
was derived from the peculiar forces which were
at work in his own time, and which often arise from
the French Revolution, and in the sphere of letters
Romanticism. On its negative side we have
civilized society dissolved into its ultimate con-
stituents and rejecting its ancestral ideas and
organized institutions; on its positive side we
have the attempt made to carry out the purpose
declared to be the aim of human life under the guidance of individual
freedom. It was impossible for any man of
insight, endowed with a sympathetic appreciation of
the higher ideals of humanity, to remain unaffected
by such a highly electrified spiritual atmosphere.
Hegel as a son of his time was closely in touch
with and profoundly influenced by the forces which
were changing the features of modern civilization
and creating new worlds for old. His unique
contribution to the movement was derived from a
reflective understanding of its governing ideas, as
the result of which he sought to place it in its
proper setting within the drama of human history,
to correct its one-sided intensity, and to reveal it
as a phase of the general life of the human spirit.
Here once more the support of his family was of
assistance, and his knowledge of the philosophical
ideas of the past enabled him to grasp the inward-
ness of the thought of his own time in a way
impossible to his contemporaries. We now under-
stand the immediate historic influences.

(d) Finally, there can be no doubt that the Kantian
philosophy, with its succeeding development under the hands of Fichte and Schelling, was the immediate philosophical source of Hegel's own system. This was due partly perhaps to Hegel's conception of what development of philosophy consisted in; but much more to the fact that there was no escape from the influence of a scheme of thought which had been taken for granted as philosophically and metaphysically in the minds of his time, which in its principle was profoundly important and in its full significance was not understood, much less exhausted, by those who had as yet undertaken to expound it. It was thus natural and inevitable, if Hegel was to take his place amongst the philosophers of his time, that he should fall into line with the Kantian movement, and in the first instance make himself thoroughly acquainted with its principle, with the development of that principle at the hands of his immediate predecessors and contemporaries, and with the latent philosophical possibilities of the principle unrealised by its originator or by any of the exponents who had as yet adopted or adapted it.

Other influences there may have been in the final shaping of Hegel's system, but those enumerated seemed the most prominent and the most effective. All of them have to be borne in mind if we are to form any judgment as to the consistency of the sources of his philosophy; for it seems superficial and inaccurate to describe his system as 'Squaring Kant,' 'systematized Idealism,' or 'idealized Realism,' or again as a revised form of the philosophy of Schelling.

3. Hegel's view of philosophy.—Hegel differs from other philosophers in nothing more than the care which he bestowed on the consideration of the place of philosophy in the plan of human experience. In this he reminds us of Plato and Aristotle rather than of any modern thinker. Hence no statement of Hegel's system is satisfactory which does not at the outset explain his view of the object and method of philosophy. In a sense one might say that his conception of philosophy contains a kind of epitome of his whole system. He constantly recurs to the topic whenever a relevant opportunity arises, and he has no doubt as to what precisely he meant by philosophy.

The distinctive character of his conception of philosophy may conveniently be brought out, to begin with, in relation to Kant's theory of knowledge. On Kant's view, metaphysics was a failure and a futility. It failed in the sense that the knowledge it advanced was false, and by its very nature could not be verified by experience, and did not secure common assent even from those who cultivated it, and showed no signs of any progressive advance in the comprehension of the object or objects with which it professed to deal. It was futile in the sense that it was a mere formal manipulation of the most general concepts to abstract the connection of which was merely analytical and was secured by the purely logical principle of consistency or non-contradiction, the origin and validity of which were accepted without criticism or challenge, with the result that such a system of concepts, being in no way subjected to the only criterion of truth—agreement with experience—could not be regarded as either true or false, as anything more than an intellectual castle in the air without any serious claim to be called knowledge. The pretense of metaphysical knowledge stood in glaring contrast to ordinary scientific knowledge; and this would be admitted were it not for the apparently ineradicable instinct which induces reason ceaselessly to attempt to think and speak as if the knowledge of which it is in possession was complete and final. Kant therefore sets himself to examine the nature and conditions of true knowledge in order (1) to show the limits within which knowledge is valid and successful; (2) to account for both the failure and the apparent inevitability of the task of metaphysics. Kant's theory of knowledge in its scope and its outcome was controlled by the purpose which determined it: true knowledge, he maintained, was concerned only with experience which always involved the content of sensibility; metaphysics was the result of the operation of reason untrammelled by experience.

Hegel regarded Kant's whole undertaking as logically impossible from the start, for Kant's own theory is meaningless if his view of knowledge is correct. Kant's theory is itself a kind of knowledge; it is the knowledge which philosophy supplies but it finds no place or explanation in Kant's theory. It does not start from nor deal with experience in Kant's sense. But it is not permissible to have a standard of knowledge by which to judge metaphysics, without equally demanding a standard by reference to which the criticism of the validity of knowledge is itself made possible. The criticism of all knowledge implies a criterion, just as much as the criticism of a part of it. The philosophy of the limits of knowledge must in some way be unconditioned by those limits; and hence either such a philosophy is not knowledge, or else knowledge must have a meaning beyond that implied by such a philosophy, Kant as the guardian of the limits of knowledge overlooked the inevitable question, 'Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?' Logically, Hegel's criticism of Kant is unanswerable from Kant's point of view. There is only one way of determining what knowledge can or cannot do, and that is by following knowledge wherever it leads; as Hegel frequently remarked apropos of Kant's theory, we can learn to swim only by entering the water.

But it is clear that we cannot swim in any kind of water, and we must sometimes use a general idea of our own strength. Hegel rejects Kant's conception of knowledge, virtually because it is too restricted in scope, and because it does not give any explanation of that kind of knowledge involved in constructing his own theory, viz. philosophical knowledge. But Hegel, too, starts from a conception of knowledge, and also takes a certain type of knowledge as a standard by which to determine the value of other kinds of knowledge. His general conception of knowledge is wide enough to embrace all forms of knowledge; his standard type of knowledge is that by which all forms of knowledge must be interpreted, the ideal of all knowledge; and this is the idea of knowledge as realised and developed in philosophy. Thus he dismisses Kant's arbitrary limitation of knowledge to 'scientific' knowledge; he regards philosophical knowledge as a necessary and definite type of knowledge with a distinctive character of its own, but at the same time intimately related to all other forms of knowledge. Being that type by which all kinds of knowledge are interpreted, it must in some sense be a higher embodiment of the nature of knowledge than any other. But it cannot be obtained from an empirical examination of other types given in experience; it is not a mere aggregate of the other types, nor a generalisation from them. It has a unique function to perform, which must be capable of precise definition and preliminary to carrying out the task of philosophy: without this we shall not know how to proceed. And in so far as it requires justification, this must somehow be supplied by philosophy itself.

The essential elements in Hegel's conception of philosophy are determined by reference to (1) the object with which philosophy deals, (2) the medium in which it works, (3) the method by which it carries on its process to a final result. These factors are closely connected, but each is distinct from the other.
On Hegel's view the object of philosophy is described in general terms as the Whole, the Absolute, or God. This is reality without qualification, and hence it can only be described as what is simply, or what is not finite, not a part. The specific meaning assigned to this object varies with each philosophy, but it is always the realization principle with which all philosophies deal. Even when a philosophy denies that any definite meaning can be attached to such an object, it is understood to refer to this object which makes such a denial a contribution to philosophy. Whatever philosophy may or may not achieve, it has always been concerned with what is ultimate. This does not require demonstration; it is so much historical fact.

Again, the medium in which philosophy moves is that of the supreme achievement of thought—a notion. This has certain characteristics, negative and positive. Negatively, it is not derived from nor dependent on sensation or perception, and hence it is not a mere general concept; it is not a pure abstraction from universal and hence a notion has no rigidity of outline, empty of all specific content and applicable to any, and does not exclude all relations with other notions. Positively characterized, a notion operates freely and independently within itself and under its own conditions. It is the ultimate principle controlling and penetrating all thought wherever it appears, whether in sensation, perception, or abstract reflection; it is universal, but is a concrete universal, this, as it contains itself, the particular acknowledges the organic unity of universality and particularity; it is a single identity in and through difference, is, in fact, thought as an operative individual unity; and each notion directly refers to this object which itself intimately with other notions, so as to form an organically articulated system, a self-contained structure of notions.

Hegel believed by which philosophy proceeds is that of development of the notion. Development here does not mean development in time, but development in expression and coherence of the elements involved in the notion; it is a development in terms and for the purposes of complete thought. The notion is an operative individual unity, and thus is a process which can be realized with more or less completeness. The unity of the elements in the notion may be implicitly asserted or explicitly affirmed; it may be implicit or fully unfolded. The elements in the notion may be taken by themselves, and each may in turn be said to be the whole notion; but each inevitably calls for the other as soon as the one-sided affirmation is clearly made and seen, because nothing short of the whole notion can express its meaning, and its unity is indissoluble. One partial affirmation, therefore, gives rise to another, till the notion is fully unfolded and installed as an explicit unity of all its elements. The partial affirmation of the notion belongs only to the whole, an abstract affirmation; the complete explicit co-ordination of all the elements within the unity of the whole notion makes impossible any abstract isolation of elements, and so consists all one-sided affirmations; relatively to these abstract affirmations, the whole notion, as explicitly containing and co-ordinating all its elements, is concrete. From this point of view, the development of the notion is described by Hegel as a process of the notion from abstract to concrete. The notion itself determines these stages; it is these stages, and it is the process of removing the one-sidedness of each till the unity of the whole is completely realized. Looking at the process as a growth from a lower to a higher degree of articulation of the nature of the whole, it is spoken of as a process from 'potentiality' to 'actuality.' Looking at the notion as an individual concentration of the highest activity of mind, which is essentially considered, can only be described as what is simply, or what is not finite, not a part. The specific meaning assigned to this object varies with each philosophy, but it is always the realization principle with which all philosophies deal. Even when a philosophy denies that any definite meaning can be attached to such an object, it is understood to refer to this object which makes such a denial a contribution to philosophy. Whatever philosophy may or may not achieve, it has always been concerned with what is ultimate. This does not require demonstration; it is so much historical fact.

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in adopting the content which time offers and arranging it to meet the requirements of the logical development of the notion considered, or in regarding the temporal sequence of the content as in essence following the same cause as the logical sequence of the notion. An illustration of the former appears in the treatment of the various historical stages of freedom in human history; the course of the history of philosophy in Europe is an illustration of the latter.

Following this clue of the inseparable connexion of the notion with the principle of logical development, we can see how it comes about that in every part of Hegel's scheme of philosophy there are only two questions by which it is determined: What is the notion dealt with in the part in question, and how is the development of the content of that notion to be expressed in terms of the peculiar character of the notion in question?

Thus we have (1) the notion of philosophy itself as a factor in the life-history of the human experience of the individual mind. The development of this notion in and through the various forms of concrete human experience gives us the philosophical interpretation and vindication of the place of philosophy in experience. This part of the system of philosophy is worked out in the 'Phenomenology of Mind.'

(2) Philosophy, as a human effort to express the ultimate notion of the Absolute, is subject to the conditions of race, culture, and civilization in the midst of which it appears. The one notion is, as already said, dealt with all along, but it expresses itself in different ways in the various conditions just mentioned. It is thus one philosophy which works itself out under these conditions; the different expressions of this one philosophy constitute a variety of philosophical systems. These systems appear at different times, and necessarily make philosophy take on a historical character. They are not to be understood as the history of philosophy; and these systems are but forms of one philosophy, being the work of the one notion which animates them all. The logical development of the expressions of this one system through all its historical conditions constitutes what Hegel understands by the 'History of Philosophy.' The logical development here is inseparable from the direct historical sequence in which the different systems have appeared. The historical direction is the logical direction, because there is one notion of the Absolute which animates them all, and animating the various minds concerned; and the way in which its content actually appears is a historical development. Hegel's 'History of Philosophy' is not a mere narrative of theories succeeding one another in time, but an integral part of his own philosophy; it is a philosophical interpretation of the history of philosophical theories.

(3) The notion of the Absolute, which is the ultimate object of philosophy, has, like every other notion, its own moments or aspects, each of which is the Absolute, but is capable of distinction from the others, and capable of separate logical development. The very concreteness makes it necessary for philosophy to take it in detachments, so to say, in order exhaustively to express its content. But its single concrete reality cannot be broken up into aspects, for it remains in its concreteness as the all-comprehensive and supreme principle operating in each of its aspects, and containing all the results of the development of each in its definitest unity in its highest possible form. It contains the principle that gives rise to each of the preceding extremes. It is, therefore, a principle of universality, and also a principle of self-differentiation; but combining these two functions in one reality is that of mind or spirit, which, being essentially self-conscious, is at once a necessity in all its processes and the conscious source of endless
differences and distinctions within itself. It is
supremely an identity which maintains itself
through its differences and refers them to itself.
It is thus the realized embodiment of the concret-
ness of the notion, and the type of all such con-
creteness. The notion of the Absolute fully real-
ized, 'in and for itself,' is thus 'Mind,' and the
logical evolution of the notion as mind is the
Philosophy of mind.' This completely and ex-
hausts the notion of the Absolute; it contains all
and the whole of its content and the whole of
that notion, for mind is the source of universals,
and mind as the soul of an organized body sums
up in its organic embodiment the processes of
nature. In the logical evolution of mind, there-
fore, the philosophy of the Absolute comes full
circle; and the crowning stage in the develop-
ment of mind is the philosophy of the Absolute itself;
the final outcome and expression of Absolute Mind
is the truth of the Absolute revealed in and
through philosophy.

(7) Since the notion of the Absolute is embodied
with varying degrees of completeness throughout
all the system, any part may be taken by itself
and worked out into systematic form in exactly
the same way as a whole is developed. Each
part forms a realm by itself, and its detailed
contents can be logically evolved from it. Hegel
dealt with four parts or stages in the philosophy
of absolute mind, but he never brought it to
this very stage of one-part system that has
been mentioned—the 'Phenomenology of Mind,'
mind as creating 'experience.' The other three
are (a) mind as 'object,' mind as the source of social
and moral activity, (b) mind as expressing itself in
the realm of art, (c) mind as realized in the life
of religion. These are respectively worked out as
such in the content of the other stages of
philosophy, and are called: 'Philosophy of Law,'
'Aesthetic,' and 'Philosophy of Religion.' In each case exactly
the same plan is pursued: we have the notion of
'social mind' delineated and then logically en-
volved through all its forms and stages; and
similarly of art and religion.

Whether these minor systems are capable of
giving rise to still further systems, Hegel gives
no indication. He seems to make an independent
treatise on human history, though this is un-
doubtedly a subject which falls within the scope
of the logical development of objective mind, for
objective mind, society, is essentially a historical
reality. But the separate treatment of history,
apart from the treatise on the logical development
of social life, is of no real significance, and was
probably due to the exigencies of academic work.
Strictly speaking, the 'Philosophy of History'
occupies the same relation and position in the
philosophy of objective mind as the philosophical
treatment of the various historical aspects of art
and religion occupies in the 'Aesthetic' and 'Phil-
osophy of Religion.' The 'Philosophy of History'
must be regarded as a continuation of the 'Phil-
osophy of Law,' as the logical evolution of the
notion of freedom (which is the principle of ob-
jective mind) in the various historical forms
assumed by objective mind in the life of mankind.

Hegel's notion of the Absolute is essentially
an identity which maintains itself throughout
its various stages, and the Absolute is the
source of all universals. The philosophical
system is based on the notion of mind as the
source of the universe, and the Absolute Mind
is the truth of the Absolute. The philosophy
of the Absolute is the final outcome of the
logical evolution of mind, and it is through
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at all, we can extract nothing out of it; at best we can only repeat it; and, if we seem to derive further principles from it, we have not, to begin with, it as an abstract, self-conscious mind. For it is by the use of this supreme function of mind, then, that we have to proceed when we employ self-conscious mind as the clue to interpret reality, from without to within. The highest and following the traditional usage of philosophers, calls 'reason.' Since in it the self always operates in a conscious way (it is the conscious unifying of differences), reason is essentially cognitive in character, but 'cognitive' only in the general sense of full awareness. Reason does not here mean simply reflect for accuracy, nor merely, but its function Hegel holds, it is both at once in an indivisible act. It can be called reflective when we consider the aspect of distinguishing and relating the elements involved; and intuitive when we consider the aspect of uniting these differences into a single whole. But these are, after all, aspects; the function is one and individual. Reason is therefore 'mediate' and 'immediate' in its operation, and whatever it operates holds this true. This means, however, that as a function it is self-complete, directing itself and determining itself by its own law or method of procedure: it is its own world and the law of its world. It is the realized limit of knowing. In other forms of knowledge, something is 'given' by the process of reflection. The limiting case of such a process is when the immediate and the mediating activity are merely aspects of a single operation. Such a limit is reason. But it is an actual limit, not an imaginary or 'ideal limit of knowledge,' but the limit of knowledge as a limit of knowing. And this is the way that reason is described as 'concrete' and not abstract. It is concrete, as the essential function of mind must be; and mind is, as already indicated, the very type and standard of what is concrete and individual.

But a further stage is required before we can make use of this notion of a function. So far as reason has been treated as a reason as a function. Now that function operates within a certain range and for an end. It is a function which operates in an individual way, grasps a whole in its singleness, as a unity in and through differences. The end is its product, the outcome and summary of its operation. In a sense this product may be described as the function itself, the function in its single completeness. The distinction between them, such as it is, consists in the product being regarded as the function brought to rest, while the function is the product in course of being brought about. This product Hegel calls a 'notion' (Begriff). A notion may be called the object of reason, but only if the connexion between reason and its object be considered as close as that between function and function just mentioned. A specific notion is one of the manifestations of its function; and, if we look at reason simply as the most general function of self-conscious mind, we can speak of reason itself as 'the notion' (der Begriff) par excellence. Hence we often find Hegel taking it as absolute by itself. In that sense, the operation of 'the notion' as when describing the function of reason. The notion is spoken of as 'concrete of itself,' and 'determining itself,' and as 'uniting its differences,' etc.—expressions which seem to create difficulty until we see that for Hegel 'the notion' is reason, in the sense just described. He does not mean that the notion, like an abstract shade of substantial self-conscious mind, works independently of the vital energy of mind; for the notion in his sense is not a shadowy ghost of mind at all. The notion is reason in the full plentitude of its power, and is distinct from it solely as function and end are distinguishable in the operation of reason. The notion is thus not 'endowed' with energy by reason, nor again is the notion the 'expression' of reason, if this implies that the expression is separable from the source or force from which it proceeds. And what is true of 'the notion' par excellence holds good of any notion in which reason is embodied.

This step is highly important for Hegel's view. For now it becomes possible to link his theory with the language in which philosophy from its reception has clothed its thoughts in detail. For philosophy has itself created and creates that language, because it is the function of grasping a unity with its differences. That language is used throughout by the activity of reason; and the results of its activity appear in the manifold 'categories' with which philosophy deals. Wherever we have a function of thought-unity in and through differences, there we have a category, and there we have the operation of reason. Hence we can treat a category as a specific realization of the 'notion' of reason, and can trace its source to the one supreme function of self-conscious mind. Hegel does not require to create the world reason out of his own mind, nor to dictate to experience the kind of number of categories which constitute reality. The work has been already done in the course of the history of philosophy, and he has but to put the results together; while experience alone can let us see what the categories are which constitute reality. The complicated culture of European life is, so to say; mixed with categories, some having names derived from one language, some with names derived from another. Again, he does not require to constantly appealing to the nature of reason to verify or justify his categories; he is sure that reason is present wherever this function of unity in and through difference is exercised and concentrated into the summary form of a category. And, finally, reason, while the supreme essential function of mind, must articulate itself into a plurality of categories, because mind is the absolutely concrete and definite due to the fact that it gathers up into itself the entire realm of finitude. It is, as already said, the standard of all individuality, and is the standard because it contains all that the other types of individuality contain, and more than is contained by any other category. The plurality of categories referred to, being all in the long run expressions of the one supreme activity of reason, are necessarily connected with one another through their common derivation from a single source. Together they form a system so organically connected that any one category involves all the others, and can be clearly interpreted only in the light of the whole system.
does not mean that the system defines or is independent of experience and reality; for the notions are the controlling principles of experience and reality. It is not merely unity within the notion, but the form in which this unity in difference reaches its highest expression is self-consciousness. In this form the distinction in question becomes a matter of fact, and the unity is the single self-functioning in and through both factors alike and at once; while, as already indicated, the essential nature of self-consciousness is the activity of reason. By this line of thought Hegel seeks, on the one hand, to avoid the dangers of subjective idealism to which his principle is liable, and into which certain of his immediate predecessors, notably Fichte, fell when developing the implications of Kant’s theory; and, on the other, to steer clear of the abstractness of the bare unity of subject and object as presented by Schelling, which possessed objectivity at the price of being inarticulate.

The argument by which he establishes this position is contained in the first half of the Phänomenologie des Geistes. Briefly stated, it consists in showing that, wherever subject and object stand in the relation which constitutes experience, the subject’s principle is that of thought. This is at once a function of the subject and the controlling centre of the reality of the object; and in both the subject is the sum of pure experience. This unity is not apparent, but is only implicit at the lower levels of experience, where subject and object seem more opposed than united, as, for example, in such states as that of sensation and perception. But analysis of these types of experience brings to light the underlying principle of unity. The very process of the experience from the experience to the higher forms is necessitated by the demand for the explicit in place of the implicit unity, and is at once the gradual evolution of the essential unity of subject and object and the growing awareness of the universality of thought which permeates the component factors constituting experience. We cannot say that the subject determines the object any more than that the object directs the activity of the subject; they are inseparable elements and develop pari passu. It follows that the process reaches its goal, and experience its truest type, when subject and object are transparent to each other, when the subject is aware of itself in its object, and the object reveals to the subject not only the actions of the subject, but the procedures of the subject. The distinction between the two is as real as ever, but the unity now contains them as factors of one conscious process. This stage is that of consciousness of self. From this point of view, so attained in the course of experience, the levels below this stage are now seen to be non-identical to the attainment of self-consciousness, but are themselves implicitly constituted by self-consciousness, which was operative in them from the first, and from which, in fact, by abstraction they obtained their place as forms of experience and as stages in the evolution of experience. Experience is thus constituted and permeated by self-consciousness; indeed its significance consists in its being the process of manifesting or evoking consciousness of self, in the subject’s becoming gradually aware of or finding itself in its object, and so coming to be ‘at home’ in its world.

In this way the principle of reason, which, as we saw, was taken to be the essential activity of self-consciousness, is not a mere system of mind from an abstract point of view, especially the one-sidedness of finite subjectivity, and is adequate to meet the mind’s demands for unity with its object, whatever the object may be. There is no need for distinction in the part of reason in dealing with the world; it
Hegel has but to 'let itself go,' and the whole domain of concrete individuality in all its manifold forms will straightway give up its essential meaning without reserve, and without the least part of the only secret worth knowing, the secret of the 'thing itself.' Reason is the open secret of the world, because it opens all secrets. It makes the idea safer of its own usage, because it finds its own likenesses in the face of the world.

The text-bound substance of the universe has no power within its capability of withstanding the course of man's knowledge; it must give way before him, and lay bare before his eyes, and for his enjoyment, its riches and its depths' (Hegel's Address to his Students in Berlin, 22nd Oct. 1818).

In the light of the foregoing we can see at once the central position which Hegel's logic holds in his theory. For logic, as he understands it, is the science of the notions which constitute the sole and only outcome of the activity of reason. The totality of all the notions is the totality of the constitutive principles of reality in all its forms of individualization; and the science of this totality must cover the whole of reality, finite and absolute.

And, since these notions so systematized exhaustively reveal all that reason can obtain in the way of complete knowledge, the science of logic is inevitably identical with reason.

If such a view is called 'Panlogism,' there can be no objection to the term as long as it is understood to imply no objection to the theory. Those who apply the term, however, often mean by it that there were some other way of comprehending the Absolute than that which reason affords. What others seek is, not to be true, but in terms of reason is not clear from their statements. There seems, on the face of it, no other way of being rational except by exercising reason as such, in the form of the absolute realm, it seems useless to object that the outcome of its work is only a system of notions. One may object to Hegel's way of rationalizing; but no one would have the right to say the Absolute must be intelligible in terms of reason, and also that the outcome of rational thinking is an illegitimate interpretation of reality. The only valid objection to 'Panlogism,' properly understood, is to insist that there is some other and better way than reason for approaching the Absolute.

But this objection is irrelevant to philosophical necessity, which, indeed, is the only alternative to rational interpretation. Some critics of Hegel's system frankly adopt this position. Their position is not inconsistent with Hegel's. But it involves the abandonment of the philosopher's task, as Hegel understands it.

But the most important objections can be urged against Hegel's scheme of notions than the accusation of 'Panlogism.' A few may be mentioned at the present stage. It may be readily granted that the function of reason is the supreme central operation of self-conscious mind, and that reason seeks to grasp the individual in its singleness. It is quite another matter to admit that any finite mind is capable of exercising this function with unfailing accuracy and success throughout the whole domain of reality. Hegel seems to proceed as if, having extracted the essence of mind, the essence could be left to itself and would straightway work with inevitable certainty and necessity wherever and whenever it might be needed. But this is to identify the finality of the function with finality in its exercise, the finality of a claim with finality of every assertion of the claim, the finality of a point of view with the finality of its vision. The two are evidently distinct in fact, at least in the case of every mind short of omniscience. The essence of reason is not extraneous except under the complex conditions and in the complex setting of a finite individuality; and these conditions are both obstacles to the perfectly free exercise of reason, and constant sources of failure or error throughout the whole activity of mind. To maintain anything else is to ignore the plain facts of human frailty which are found in every other phase of man's experience. If illusion and imperfection haunt the efforts of man to realize matters of everyday concern, it can hardly be expected that they will suddenly disappear when he undertakes the unique and immense task which strains the consummate powers of his mind to the uttermost. Hegel in describing the working out of the notions of reason frequently uses the expression that in the development of the operation of the notion the individual thinker has merely to 'look on' (ausschauen). But the individual cannot be regarded as merely a still mirror reflecting with infallible accuracy a process in which he does not actively participate. Even to 'look on' he must concentrate his vision, and to see correctly his sight must be clear and uninterred. This point need not be laboured here. When we examine Hegel's way of carrying out his ideal of rational thought, we find that he constantly starts from the conventional terms embodied in ordinary speech and science, takes their meanings as he finds them, and proceeds to invest them with the dignity of the notion. At times he appeals to etymology in an attempt to help out the operation of reason, and constant use of the varied applications and senses of a term to give vitality and movement to the notion. His procedure is, in these cases as an attempt to infuse the spirit of the notion into the terms of ordinary thought, in other cases as the sublimation of ordinary thought into the ethereal realm of the notion. Both cases are as in the hands of the pure mathematician, the ideas of measurable quantities of physical phenomena are volatilized into elements of a purely logical connexion.

Another criticism of considerable importance is that which challenges Hegel's attempt to identify the rational coherence of the whole realm of finite individuality with the universe of absolute truth, the whole truth as it is for the Absolute Mind. The former is the reasoned system of nature naturata; the latter is the reasoned system of natura naturans. It may be that the former is all we can know of the Absolute; but, so long as the distinction remains between the Absolute and its manifestations in the total realm of finitude, it cannot be all that the Absolute can know of itself.

To confound the two is to adopt the attitude of what may be called metaphysical positivism; and, whether positivism be scientific or metaphysical, it is open to the charge of affirming as an absolute truth what can never be more than a system of truth which is relative in every sense of the term.

If, on the other hand, the distinction between the Absolute and its appearances is insisted on, the rational system of finitude may indeed bear the image and superscription of the Absolute, but it must always be regarded as at best but an approximation to, never a substitute for, the final truth as the medium of exchange used by mortals in order to handle conveniently and profitably the wealth of absolute knowledge. Hegel never explicitly draws the distinction between the tenor of his argument is against admitting that the distinction is vital for philosophical thought; and he constantly claims that the system of truth revealed through the finite is the same truth and the whole truth for finite mind and Absolute Mind alike.

The third charge against Hegel's view is that, while, as we have seen, he approaches his position...
by the avenue of human individuality, he claims to have eliminated all traces of anthropomorphism from his system. The explanation such a claim is simple, but the justification of the claim is unwarranted. He finds his foothold in the reality of human individuality, and from this he extracts the essential principle of activity and movement; and reason — reason. He then takes this essence by itself, regards it as a self-contained agency working itself out by its own laws and conditions, and lets it loose, so to say, to accomplish its end, viz. the grasping of reality, in all forms, in terms of the constitutive nature of reason. The individuality from which it comes to be begotten is therefore, in a word, the individual only 'looks on' while it works. The function is hypostatized, and operates as if it were itself the concrete individual. Hence all the limitations, which in every other aspect qualify the nature of the human individual, are held to apply no longer to the function itself. The very success with which the function is exercised is unaffected by the conditions of human individuality; it always works correctly and without interference. Reason is in this way deanthropomorphized. But it seems plain that such a contention oversimplifies its mark. The essence of finite self-consciousness does not cease to be finite because it is the essence; an essence must, if it is really the essence, still be characterized by the limitations which denominate and permeate it as finite. Finite limitations are not an accident of finitude; they are of the essence of it. It is paradox to regard the essence of finitude as something other than a finite essence; and mere assumption to treat the essence of finitude as infinite in nature and function. If this assumption is correct, it is impossible to account for error; and the assumption gives place to presumption if it is maintained that the working out of the essence makes the system faultless, final, and unalterable. Moreover, the peculiarity of the concept of reality, in so far as it is an interpreting reality, is lost, if the essence is thus hypostatized. For reason is the same, whether it be realized in a tree or a tadpole or a philosopher. It is, however, not the peculiar significance of the essence in man's individuality which is the source of its value as a clue to the interpretation of reality: the peculiar nature of human individuality in all its concreteness cannot, therefore, be eliminated without endangering its importance as a clue. This means that the essence cannot be taken in abstraction from its source; if it is to be of value. But, if it is taken with all the qualities and qualifications of human individuality, the limitations of an anthropomorphic point of view must necessarily affect its whole operation and characterise the result obtained. In short, its value depends on its being anthropomorphic; the elimination of this point of view, however much we may gain in generality and abstraction, lessens the value of the result.

5. Hegel's method. — Equally important with the fundamental principle of the 'notion' in Hegel's system is his view of the nature of the method by which the system is constructed. The peculiar characteristic of all philosophical thinking lies, no doubt, in the consistent operation of a single method of procedure, and most of the great thinkers have recognized this. To Hegel, method was of the essence of system, not merely in the sense that the two were inseparable, but in the sense that the system was nothing but the successful operation of a method clearly conceived from the outset and consistently applied step by step throughout it. He maintains that the value of his own system stands or falls with its method, and not so much by the perfect accuracy in detail with which the system is formulated in the 'Logik' (Werke, iii. (1841)) he says: 'I cannot presume that the method . . . is incapable of being worked out with still greater completeness and precision in detail, but I do know that it is the only true method.'

In his first piece of constructive work (the Phänomenologie) he pointed out the fundamental necessity of having a carefully formed idea of the method by which philosophy achieves activity and movement; and the method he looked on the method as the soul of a philosophical system. His method, quite as much as its principle, differentiated his own position from that of his predecessors.

Hegel always insisted that the nature of the method was to be found by an analysis of the character of the notion. The method was not imposed externally on the notion, but was the vital nature of its process. No doubt the formal character of the method was suggested by certain aspects of the work of Kant and of Fichte; but it also was due to Plato. But the historical aspect is altogether subordinate to the specific meaning and procedure assigned by Hegel to his method.

Stated in general terms, the method is the way by which the notion, through its own activity as above described, gradually articulates and coherently connects into a single whole the component differences involved in its nature as a concrete function of self-conscious mind. A notion, being the essence of self-conscious mind, is a self-closed whole. Beyond that mark it is true whether we take supreme notion or any notion of a lower grade of significance. In its procedure, therefore, it is self-directed, and not externally determined. Its procedure is immanent and constitutive of its own activity. It unfolds itself because it is a function of a self.

But, again, a notion so completely permeates its own content that its component elements are its own differentiations, are its own expressions, or, as Hegel calls them, its own 'moments.' In each, therefore, we have its content and its process; and to the last specific form and the notion asserts itself in each in turn, as truly as it is the synthesized whole of all the parts. In some cases, e.g. the higher notions in the 'Logik,' the parts are themselves notions of a subordinate significance which again contain 'moments' within themselves. In the limiting cases, a notion, on the one hand, is a bare self-identity, and the attempts to assert itself in its content merely brings out the fact that it is incapable of differentiation and so has no content specifically to have and to proceed; and to the last specific form and the notion asserts itself in each in turn, as truly as it is the synthesized whole of all the parts. In some cases, e.g. the higher notions in the 'Logik,' the parts are themselves notions of a subordinate significance which again contain 'moments' within themselves. In the limiting cases, a notion, on the one hand, is a bare self-identity, and the attempts to assert itself in its content merely brings out the fact that it is incapable of differentiation and so has no content specifically to have and to proceed; and to the last specific form and the notion asserts itself in each in turn, as truly as it is the synthesized whole of all the parts. In some cases, e.g. the higher notions in the 'Logik,' the parts are themselves notions of a subordinate significance which again contain 'moments' within themselves. In the limiting cases, a notion, on the one hand, is a bare self-identity, and the attempts to assert itself in its content merely brings out the fact that it is incapable of differentiation and so has no content specifically to have and to proceed; and to the last specific form and the notion asserts itself in each in turn, as truly as it is the synthesized whole of all the parts.
same whether the reason be embodied in the finite human mind or in an absolute mind; and the connection of concept established is the same for both. But in the question of time does not enter into the nature of the process and is indifferent to the process, even if time be required to carry it out, as is obviously the case when process passes from one stage to another. In contradistinction from the process of time, this process of establishing connection between the moments of the notion may be described as a cognitive or logical process pure and simple. So far as time as such is concerned, it must itself be handled by the same logical process, if it is to have any influence in the process of the absolute notion, the notion of absolute individuality. 1

Action, then, aims at realizing all its content as controlled by its own unity. It seeks to affirm its differences separately and together as its own. Its differences are for it ultimate, otherwise it would really be a bare self-identity. The differences are thus, within the compass of a given notion, extreme opposites to one another: what the one is the other is not. Per se the differences are absolutely opposed; but being different within the same notion, they are for the notion only relative differences, no matter how strongly they appear opposed. It is only such differences that the notion is concerned with; not to have them is nothing. Or again, if that above all challenge the unity of reason, the singleness of self-consciousness. And, further, only in the case of contraries does difference constitute the opposition in which self-consciousness itself consists, the opposition of subject to object within the unity of the same self. As reason is the essence of subject, the domain of contradiction, and all things are for it within elements as opposite as subject and object. A notion, then, being concerned with differences which are thus ultimate for one another, there can be no question whether the opposites within a notion are per se contrary to the one to the other. And indeed it seems a matter of indifference whether we say that contrary opposites constitute a single notion or that a notion is a function of uniting contrary opposites; whether we start from the one or the other is of no importance for purposes of explaining a notion. A notion is called for wherever there is this contrary opposition, and a notion consists in the unity of such opposites for both unity and such differences constitute the individuality of a notion.

An illustration from the 'Philosophy of Law' will help to make this clear. The notion of property is that of will expressed in a more or less permanent outer form, in an object of nature over which, by some means or another, will has exercised its force and so embodied it. It means, therefore, identification of will with a natural object. A will is always a personal will, and property is therefore essentially personal property. The ultimate factors composing this notion are thus active personal will in relation to an external object, and passive external object in relation to a personal will. The first appears as ownership of a thing, the second as the use of a thing. Those differences per se are diametrically opposite to one another: ownership is not use, for the thing in being used up passes from the owner; left to themselves the opposition between them is indefinite. Yet they have such an opposition only because and in so far as they fall within the notion of property. But for this, these would be merely outside one another, and the question of opposition and compared with each other. The very fact of their opposition being a real and reciprocal opposition implies the singleness of the notion containing them; the singleness of the notion creates the contrariety existing between the different elements taken per se. In the unity of the notion the differences are, from the point of view of the concrete notion, relative: they are both elements of the same notion, and are related to each other as from one stage to another. In contradistinction from the process of time, this process of establishing connection between the moments of the notion may be described as a cognitive or logical process pure and simple. So far as time as such is concerned, it must itself be handled by the same logical process, if it is to have any influence in the process of the absolute notion, the notion of absolute individuality. 1

From this follows the important aspect of the process, on which Hegel constantly lays stress—the function of negation. In a sense this is the vitalizing power in the process, its driving force, so to say. Each difference is the contrary of the other, and is 'negative' of it. But this negative relation is not bare or 'infinite' negation, but specific negation, negation within a certain field, and negation in a certain definite direction. The 'use' of a thing is not simply 'not-ownership'; if so, it would have no quality in itself at all, and not to have qualities is equivalent to being in fact nothing. Or again, if that above all challenge the unity of reason, the singleness of self-consciousness; it might well be a fiction, for a notion is 'not-an-owner.' It is 'use' of a thing within the field of property; and 'use' is of a type that whatever within this field is involved in 'ownership' is not found in 'use.' An owner, e.g., has a will, a thing used cannot have a will; hence a slave is not, does slave, a personal will. So a thing as used can be alienated because it is an external object, a personal will as owner is not used and cannot be alienated. In short, the negative relation between the two elements is a negation with a specific content peculiar to each side of the opposition in question. And it is this definite and positive content which at once makes the negation possible, and constitutes the characteristic of the negative relation of the one to the other. Hence it is that, while in every notion the differences are negative of each other, the precise character of the negation and of its procedure varies with each notion.

Now, this positive content which makes the negative relation definite is derived from the notion itself, which is altogether positive. The notion affirms itself in each moment, and this makes the moment what it is. Moreover, the notion finds itself in each moment, and, so to say, endeavors to concentrate its entire meaning into each moment. For that reason each takes its stand with all the weight of the notion behind it, and in the name of the notion denies the right of the other to be itself, or even to be the notion. The negation is thus not a passive but an active relation, not a condition of quiescence but of conflict between the moments but this active opposition presupposes and requires a common basis, and that is found in the positive content which each possesses. The positive content which makes the moment definite in character is the source of the union between the opposing moments of the notion. Or, in other words, the conflict is not so much between the moments per se as between moments each of which claims to embody the one whole notion. The tension between the moments is a tension within the unity of the notion which is articulated in each. It is this tension which sets up the process of interrelating

1 It is treated as part of the 'Philosophy of Nature' (Naturphilosophie, §§ 297-299).
the moments in such a way as to break down the opposition and connect the one with the other, and establish an explicit union between them—a union which was implicit from the start and becomes articulate in the organic connexion of the moments. This process of interrelation is what Hegel calls thinking, or rationally unifying, 'contradiction.' To think, or contradict, he says, is the very nature of reason; true thinking can do nothing else, and has nothing else to do. By thinking 'contradiction,' he obviously does not mean thinking 'logical contradictions' in the formal sense; but thinking into a harmonious unity the real contrariety of moments in a notion which are negatively opposed to each other. Since this way of thinking is in the sense the core of the whole process, he rightly regards the procedure as the consciousness of contradiction and the removal of contradiction. The term usually employed to designate this process—dialectic—Hegel adopts from his predecessors, more especially Kant and Plato; though Hegel constantly points out that the dialectic method was imperfectly understood and imperfectly applied in every system but his own, and mainly because the nature of negation, on which the process turns, was not properly grasped.

When we ask how the opposite elements are brought into harmony, the answer is—by the very operation of the synthesis. This is characteristic of all thought and indeed of mind itself. These two operations are inseparable, and are inherent in the nature of reason. Starting from an implicit synthesis, we find by analysis the moments of the notion; we discover in the same way the positive content of each moment, and by continuing the thought far enough we attain to the essence of the whole, the nature of finitude, but inherent in it, and, in fact, the very reason of its connexion with infinitude, the presence of which, again, in the finite may be said to be the essence of the negative movement, the contradiction, in finitude as such. If the process were endless, if infinitude were an infinite progress or regress, there would be no final stage in which all contradiction is removed; there would be no removal of it: we should have infinite process in time, and not process in thought. Hence he names such a process the 'false' infinitude, 'false' because it is not true, because it is a restoration of the same original state of things, of truth, or indeed truth at all, meaningless and impossible.

How the 'higher unity' or 'higher truth' is arrived at, it is not difficult to see. We may best bring this out by recurring to the illustration previously referred to. The notion of property, we saw, is resolvable into the two ultimate factors of 'ownership' of a thing and the 'use' of the thing, these being opposed to each other. They are opposed because the ownership means the detention of the thing as the correlative of exercising a permanent or identical personal will in regard to the natural object, while the use of the thing means the deprivation of the thing; the existence of it, and hence the gradual giving of the hold of the personal will over it. In the former element the notion of property is expressed in terms of the nature of personal will, in the latter it is expressed in terms of the nature of a thing or natural object. Personal will provides the aspect of identity or universality in the situation, the thing provides the aspect of diversity or particularity. Simply opposed as these are, the analysis of the first, which is logically the prior element—since will must be exercised before a natural object can be the thing and enter into a self-conscious situation as property—brings out the second. For ownership to be effective, will must be repeatedly and continuously exercised over it, and the continuous exertion of will over a thing is precisely what is meant by 'using' it. But the continuous use of a thing means that, since the thing is particular and the will universal, the thing declares itself and ultimately the thing is exhaustible and therefore our hold over it is terminable. The termination of property is a thing that is thus involved in the very nature of property. In fact, the complete termination of property in a thing is the highest expression of what property means for a will. This termination may be brought about in two ways either by exhausting it so that it is no longer of
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of Hegel's system. It governs the process of evolving notions wherever they appear and whatever they be. The process of connecting all the content of the notion of the State, for example, is essentially the same as that of connecting the aspects of contract, or conscience, or a free constitution. And the process of connecting the constituents of the whole Absolute Individuality, is precisely the same as that required to connect the content of any part of the system—Religion, the State, or Nature. No doubt the method varies with the notions considered, but only in the sense that form varies with content, and yet is inseparable from content. Doubtless, again, Hegel may have been more successful in carrying out his method in the case of certain notions and certain departments of philosophy than in others. Sometimes he may have failed altogether, and even his analysis is obviously strained, artificial, and forced. But these are necessary incidents of the inevitable fallibility of genius, and must be so regarded. It seems a mistake to treat, as McTaggart does, the variations in success of Hegel's use of his method as so-called 'changes of method' in the system. Misapprehensions are not, as the assumption that alterations were deliberate either convicts Hegel of insincerity in the construction of his system, or regards him as working out his system with mechanical and infallible success.

In the light of the method as above explained there is no difficulty in accounting for the fact that the process of connecting the elements of a given notion is the same in character as that which connects the variety of notions involved in a given sphere of the system and the totality of notions required to unfold the content of the whole system. For, just as from the point of view of a given notion its elements are 'moments' in the realization of that notion, so any given notion, short of the notion of Absolute Individuality, is a 'moment' in a wider notion, and is thus a stage in the realization of a completer truth. Property, for example, is a notion with subordinate 'moments', but property itself is a moment in the realization of the notion of 'contract,' just as contract again is a moment which helps to unfold the complete content of 'abstract Right' as an expression of free personal will which is the basis of the notion of the State; and so throughout the whole system.

It is impossible to go into ground covering the operation of the dialectic throughout all the notions which emanate from reason in its interpretation or reconstruction of individuality in all its forms. To do this would require a re-statement of the whole system, and if given in outline would convey little concrete information. The whole value of the argument lies in the fact that it is given with the actual substance of reality; the vitality of the dialectic draws its energy from each concrete form of individuality in turn, and works with its content as the indwelling organizing agency. There is nothing formal in the procedure; the form of the method in fact takes on the colour and quality of the content. The principle that the notion of reason is the core of things being sought for all adopted, it is henceforward throughout the system accepted as the truth of things, and reality is simply asked, so to say, to render or meaning in terms of the notion and its method of procedure. The individual mind of the philosopher merely "looks on," as Hegel puts it, and records the result in the various spheres of thought which reality naturally, or rather according to historically accepted divisions, falls.

6. Hegel's view of ethics.—The ethical life in its most comprehensive sense is a particular aspect
of a more general reality, that of finite mind. It
is not the highest expression of finite mind, nor is
it the lowest level at which mind exists. It arises
at that stage in the process of mind’s activity
where, having, in its consciousness of itself as a
concrete reality, finite mind utters its substance
in an objective form. It presupposes the conscious
continuity of itself with nature, and freely commits
itself to the ends of the objective process of
nature, and finds nature supporting its own
purposes. It determines nature by its own ends;
it ‘acts,’ and does not in so doing feel any sense of
loss, but, on the contrary, feels enlarged and en-
riched. Similarly, it presupposes the conscious
continuity of finite mind with finite mind, the
identity of self with self, the acknowledgment of
self by other selves, and the open, concrete recog-
nition of intercommunion of self with other selves,
so that one self shares the life of another in definite
ways, and is expanded in so doing. It presupposes,
in short, the conscious universalisation of mind,
brought about and sustained through inter-sub-
jective intercourse which is carried on by all the
means at the disposal of the finite mind—desire, emotion,
end, etc. Of these forms of objectification—that
through conscious union with nature, and through
conscious connection of finite mind with finite
mind—the latter is infinitely the more important,
because of the more explicit and complete identity
of the component factors in the situation, and
because the first form is involved as a necessary,
contingent means to the complete attainment of the second.
Without ‘nature’ intercommunion of conscious
selves would be impossible; without other selves
mind would never rise above the limits and limita-
tions of ‘animated nature.’

When the resources of finite mind have been
evolved to this level where it finds and accepts
mind (finite mind) as its own object, an object
responding to the call of the subject and evoking
its potentialities, then mind is in a condition
where it is free and free interrelation of self and
self is possible; and in this interrelation consist
essentially the ethical process and the ethical life
of man. It thus forms a level of the life of mind
quite by itself. Complied with the previous
stages of mind, it may be justly spoken of as
‘objective’—explicitly universal and permanently
embodied finite mind; the previous stages by
contrast being spoken of as ‘subjective’ mind.
And further, because this level of mind is its own
creation and product, using nature, but not itself
the outcome of nature, it is self-constituted and
self-determined, and therefore free.

Thus the region of the life of mind where ethical
life exists is that of free objective finite mind.
This is the form of reality, the type of ‘notion,’
which has to be evolved by the science of ethics,
and its parts logically connected by its inherent
dialectic.

In the order of reality the whole comes before
the parts, the complete before the incomplete;
and in the whole we see most clearly the nature of
that individuality with which we are dealing. The
whole where finite mind is expanded and objectified
in its complete stage is historically the State.
This is the most concrete phase of objective mind;
this, in fact, is the concrete reality to which
the notion of objective mind primarily refers, and
which contains all other ways in which that notion
is expressed. But in the order of exposition we
must begin with the most elementary way in which
this notion of objective mind is embodied, the
simplest form in which the notion of free objectified
mind is expressed. The simplest and most abstract to the most complex
and concrete, essentially the same principle is
realised, but the fullness of its content, or its
‘realisation,’ varies in degree of ‘truth’ or ade-
quacy to the nature of the notion in question.

What this simplest phase of the notion can again
be found only by experience; but this means no
more than that, as a philosopher, observing the
nature of the notion considered, is in touch with
all the appearances of its reality.

The primary subordinate notions into which the concrete notion of mind is
resolved, are (a) the external relation of mind to will,
(b) through the inner life of each self-conscious
individual will being aware of itself as a self-
contained unit of objective mind, and, (c) finally,
through the free and unreserved intellectual
allusion of mind with mind, an intercommunion which
avails itself of both external and internal atitu-
des of will, but is a fuller realisation of the
objective mind than either. In each case we have
the same factors, mind conscious of itself through
explicit relation to other finite selves, and realizing
itself in this relationship. (a) is the sphere
of the legal moralising of will; the second, that
of inner moral sentiment, purpose, all that is
summed up in the term ‘moral conscience’; the
third is that in which moral will realizes the three
stages of the fulfillment of the same end, and are
only logically separable moments of that one end.

Thus, to sum up, the legal relations are imposible by themselves;
becoming so only when joined to others, and they alone, for the obvious reason that in them
the notion of mind is not fully realised. The inner
side of mind—what the individual is for himself—is
ignored in law, or considered only as relatively
subordinate, as having significance only in so far as
it throws light on ‘acts,’ on the external ex-
pressions of will which are alone the sphere of
interest of law properly understood. Yet the inner
side is of supreme importance to the individual,
and also of supreme importance to the complete
life of society. The legal relations of man with law
as a realization of mind, and is in any
case as necessary for the complete expression of
the mind’s nature. The fullness of intercommunion
of mind in mind demands that the powers of
response within the individual shall reflect and
correspond to the demands made upon it by others.
The third stage is equally necessary, and cannot
subsist apart from the two preceding; for the
complete intercommunion involved in social institu-
tions as is impossible and incomplete without legal
relations as it is without the inner adjustments of
the individual mind to the inner life of others.

Taking these primary elements in the con-
stitution of the complete notion of objective mind,
Hegel analyses them as successive stages, and
under the general designations of (1) abstract law,
(2) morality (Moralität), and (3) the social order
(Sittlichkeit). Each of these is a notion, a subor-
dinate notion in the whole, but a notion none the
less, because each has an individuality all its own,
is a unity in difference.

(1) The forms assumed by the external relation of
mind to mind constituting the sphere of law are
easily stated, and are more or less familiar in every
historical code of law. In the relations which may
be legally related and combined indirectly or directly,
positively and negatively. (i.) They are related externally
and in an indirect manner when some
external ‘natural’ object is the common centre of
their interest and of the activity of their separ-
ate wills; this is the sphere of property, essentially
an objective realization of mind and a relation of
one mind to another from the being concrete
and inseparable; it is primarily positive and
only in a secondary sense negative. (ii.) They
are directly related when two or more wills have
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a mutual hold over each other as regards certain actions of their respective wills, and on certain explicit conditions mutually and freely arranged between the separate wills, retain their independence; a will cannot contract itself entirely away without self-contradiction and without contradicting the notion of a contract. It is a fuller realization of objective mind than property, because contract enters more deeply than property into the structure of the individual will; the very powers of a will, as such, stand on the basis of the contract. It is both positive and negative in explicit terms, for a contract explicitly limits as well as unites the contracting wills. (iii) The third form in which wills are related externally is primarily negative, and only in a secondary way positive. One will may, of itself and without the acknowledgment of another will, invade the domain of individuality of another, and to some extent cut off the activity of this will. The invading will may do so to any extent, even to the destruction of the existence of the invaded will, and may do so unconsciously or deliberately. The relation here is primarily negative, because one of the wills thwarts the other aside and does not admit its reality, while the other (invaded) will in its turn reacts on the first and denies the reality of the invading will as regards the specific action of the former. This form of the individual will is usually called 'evil,' 'criminal.' It is obviously an external relationship; still it is a relation, and a relation of an objective kind, for each act and expression will before the eyes of the other.

The above notions exhaust the possible external relations of wills to one another, and the last stage enters even more deeply into the substance of will than the former; for here the more capable will is really responsible for wrong-doing. For in wrong-doing the agent and the sufferer call upon the inmost claims and resources of their personality in order to assert and defend their respective positions; and the process of removing the wrong makes further demands on the concrete nature of their individuality in order to ratify and defend their respective positions; and the process of removing the wrong makes further demands on the concrete nature of their individuality in order to ratify and defend them.

It is probably because of this effect of the process of wrong-doing and of its removal that Hegel finds the logical connexion between 'law' and 'morality' at the point where wrong is righted. The logical transition seems indeed forced and artificial, as so many of his transitions from one fundamental notion to another can be shown to be; and certainly it is by no means so convincing as that between the successive stages of the analysis of law.

(3) Morality, or the inner side of realized mind, likewise has its various modes of expression. The analysis of morality is one of Hegel's richest and most illuminating interpretations of the moral life, even if we add that its value lies less in the framework of its logical order than in its insight into concrete moral experiences. An inner life is that in which the inner processes of his mind are brought into the service of an objective life with other individuals. It is not therefore a private preserve of individuality, within which he shews himself off from society; it can be so applied, no doubt, but when so applied it becomes the source of evil and not of good for the individual. The true conscious good of the individual is the subordination and regulation of the functions of his inner life in the interests of a systematic unity with his fellows. The conception of such a unity, consciously operating upon his own life, is the object of his project of life with his fellows, and is the process of realizing and reflecting in his inner life the objective system of social well-being with which he, as a special centre, is bound up. It covers such facts as intention, conscious purpose, happiness, duty, emotion, and, highest of all expressions of this attitude, the individual conscience with its responsibilities for good and for evil to the individual. The whole inner life of the individual is in this way a moral microcosm of the objective self-contained macrocosm of a historical society, and is distinguished on an account, indirectly as an embodiment of complete objective mind.

(3) The third stage of objective mind—the social order—covers all that we mean by the institutional aspect of the life of a society. Here we have the free, unreserved interaction of individual minds with individual doing in all its forms, 'civil' and 'criminal.' It is obviously an external relationship; still it is a relation, and a relation of an objective kind, for each act and expression will before the eyes of the other.
objective mind is the direct and conscious operation of a definitely realized collective unity of individual minds upon the individual components sharing in its life; a unity maintained through each, but more concrete than any; a unity secured on certain expressed formulized conditions and therefore implying a law, as implying the inner processes and well-being of its components, and therefore involving what the stage of 'morality' contains. It is logically higher in value than the preceding stage, and ethically higher in authority and significance. It is historically prior in existence to the component individuals, and prior therefore to both law and individual morality. In its earliest forms its mode of regulation is that of 'custom', and custom is at first the source of law and the ruler of conscience. In its highest forms the social order is a blend of custom and self-conscious regulation, the former acting as the conserving, quasi-unconscious method of procedure, the latter as the principle of criticism, initiative, and progress.

The institutional condition is capable of indefinite development, and there is, strictly speaking, no practical limit to the number of institutions. But historically and in principle some institutions are more rooted in the natural conditions of man, more lasting in character, and more universal in their purpose than others, and so more fundamental in structure. The objective mind. Such are the institutions of the family, the city, and the state, and these again are in the order of their ethical importance. The first is based on the natural organic fact of the family and the weaker spheres for interchange of particular minds in terms of natural affection, sympathy, and direct personal helpfulness; and has its larger ethical significance in the rest, are new institutions, and for the wider life of the whole community. The second rests on the natural need of varied organic sustenance; gives rise to and makes possible the complex interdependence of operating individuals each and all engaged in obtaining a livelihood, and finds its larger ethical significance in the organisation of economic relations in such a way as to give the free opportunity of self-expansion and all protection to each in the fulfilment of his function. The third rests on the need of forceful security from interference from without the community: of regulated security from interference between individuals and minor institutions within the society, and of concentrating the whole resources of objective mind in a single all-comprehensive dominating unity, which is capable of acting on every part and giving rounded completeness to the ethical life of its component individuals. The finitude of any given State is inseparable from it, and is a limitation as regards its capacity to exhaust the life of humanity as such. Each State is therefore one State amongst other States, all expressive of humanity. The ethical life is therefore a restricted area of reality, and not an exhaustive expression of the Absolute, or, for that matter, even of humanity, as embodied in all States, we pass from the ethical life proper to the drama of human history. This is inseparable from the course of the world in all its aspects. The treatment of States from this point of view is undertaken by the more comprehensive part of Hegel's system, the Philosophy of History, an interpretation of States as realizing in various degrees the idea of freedom of will embodied in each State.

7. Hegel's view of religion—Religion occupies a peculiar position in Hegel's philosophy. Philosophy as a whole and in its parts is determined by its object; it has always a definite form of individuality to deal with, as the inner life of the individual whole is the supreme object of philosophy; the evolution of its content is the systematic development of the Absolute idea, the reason-constituted essence of Absolute Spirit. The various divisions and subdivisions of the philosophical system, nature, finite mind, etc., are dealt with as specific individualisations of this ultimate reality; their content is evolved in detail as 'moments' of the supreme truth, and thus gives rise to the various parts of the absolute philosophy, the various philosophical sciences. Beyond these complete absolute science and the various subordinate sciences in that system, beyond reality as a whole and reality in its parts, there is nothing for philosophy to deal with. A philosophical science is the systematic evolution of the real in terms of its fundamental essence or notion; and the real is a whole of parts, a unity of diverse elements.

Now religion is the natural development of a sphere of reality: it is an attitude towards an object. The only form of object possible is either the Absolute or another human mind. As Hegel continually asserts, the object of the religious attitude is the Absolute in its unity, in its completeness, in its 'truth'. But this reality is also the person of God, and of speculative science; and speculation in Hegel's view is alone necessary and sufficient to give the complete truth about the Absolute. Here then lies an obvious difficulty, viz., that the Absolute in philosophy is not the same as the Absolute in religion. The letter, as well as the spirit, of Hegel's system is against such a view; the Absolute in philosophy is emphatically identified with God in religion, and in the highest religion there is not even the semblance of contrast. Nor are there two truths about the Absolute; the Absolute is the supreme truth and the supreme truth is one. Hegel's solution of the difficulty is found in drawing a distinction between the 'form' in which the Absolute is grasped in the case of religion and of philosophy, and the 'content' which they both deal with. The 'form' is different in the two cases, the 'content' is precisely the same. The same Absolute is present in both and in the same sense, viz. as Spirit, self-conscious and rational; and its mode of realization is the same, viz. it is 'conscious of itself' in the religious mind as well as in speculative philosophy. But the medium through which its realization is effected, the 'form' in which the 'content' is expressed, is in religion that of feeling, of sensuous intuition, and of significant sensuous symbolic general ideas, whereas in philosophy the 'form' is that of the notion and notion (as above explained, p. 572 ff.).

This solution, however, only raises a further difficulty. The notion, as we have seen, is the final form in which truth appears, and the notion alone is entirely adequate to convey absolute truth. Is the 'form' used by religion an approximation to the notion, or is it co-equal in value with it for the Absolute, as we pass beyond the State and consider the life of humanity as embodied in all States, we pass from the ethical life proper to the drama of human history. This is inseparable from the course of the world in all its aspects. The treatment of States from this point of view is undertaken by the more comprehensive part of Hegel's system, the Philosophy of History, an interpretation of States as realizing...
of self-conscious spirit; and that speculation is the
final stage and 'crown' of the life of spirit.

It is difficult to resist drawing an obvious inference. If it is possible, as Hegel maintains, to
come to a truth about the nature of the Absolute, which is the essence of the Absolute (self-conscious
reason), and thus perfectly adequate to the nature of the Absolute, it is as simple as the way
of error; if, on the other hand, religion is not the way of error, the claim of philosophy to express
the final truth about the Absolute is untenable, since the Absolute requires to express itself
in the sphere of feeling, intuition, and representative ideas, as well as through the notion.

On the former alternative, religion is in strictness unnecessary, and philosophy is all that God
requires to convey His truth to finite spirit; on the latter alternative, religion is necessary and
philosophy has no claim to priority of value over
religion, since the Absolute is its own standard of
value and one form of self-expression is as needful
as the other. Either philosophy fulfills a purpose
altogether different from religion, or else philosoph
y is not by itself the highest and completely
concrete expression of the Absolute.

The ambiguity involved in Hegel's position was
never more piquant to his followers, and led to diametrically opposite interpretations of the religious significance of his doctrine. Hegel was himself in some trouble to tell himself when he came to define the boundaries
of religion and philosophy. It is easy to see how the
difficulty arose. Hegel claims that it is possible
in virtue of the principle of his system to take up
a theocentric position, and to express not simply
what the finite spirit thinks of the Absolute Spirit,
but how the Absolute Spirit must itself think.
Thought, in the sense of the 'notion,' is absolute
thought, thought as it is for the Absolute. In
religion and pure speculation we have before us
what the Absolute Spirit in and for itself and
how it articulates itself. Religion is the 'self-
consciousness of God,' not simply how finite spirit
is conscious of God, but how the Absolute Spirit
is conscious of itself in finite spirit; the Absolute Spirit 'manifests itself' in man, and the manifestation
does not conceal but openly reveals its very
nature. The revelation of God to man in religion
and God's revelation of Himself to Himself in
finite spirit are one and the same revelation, much
in the same sense as Spinoza maintained that
the 'universal love of God' is the 'love of Himself'
and 'man's love of God.' Similarly, with the necessary change of 'form,' speculative
philosophy is the 'self-consciousness of the
Absolute Spirit,' the notion of Absolute Mind
articulating itself to itself and to finite mind at
the same time, since finite mind adds nothing and
does not, as Hegel says, 'look on,' but rather
'looks on' at the process of self-articulation. In
the result, therefore, the system of notions constituting
the substance of the Absolute Reason is the
thought of God, as He was or is in the beginning
'before the creation of nature and finite spirit.'

Self-manifestation in religion, self-articulation in
speculative science—both proceed from the same
Spirit: both are therefore necessary to it, as indeed
both are commonly considered inevitable in the
life-history of finite experience. How then can the
two be distinguished? More especially how can the
two be distinguished in terms of and by the
necessary of the 'notion,' so as to satisfy the
demands of a philosophy which lives and moves
with the times? How can the notion dialectically exhibit the necessity of two
separate self-revelations of the Absolute Spirit?

How can the notion justify by its own procedure an 'inferior' and less adequate expression of the
nature of the Absolute than that supplied by the
notion? How, in short, can the notion find a place
within its own form for a non-notional representation
of the absolute truth?

It is not surprising, when we view the matter
in the light of the above, that Hegel's efforts to
draw the line between religion and philosophy
should show considerable vacillation. They are
found at one time art treated as a part of religion,
at another time religion treated as separate from
art; at one time art and religion are distinguished
as regards their form of expression, at another the
forms adopted by art is used as a means to give
substantiality to the religious attitude. Again,
religion is regarded as independent of philosophy
and as a vitally necessary moment of expression;
at another time religion is treated as a prelude to
philosophical truth, yielding up its claims to be
truth when the higher point of view of philosophical
truth is reached; at one time religion is a phase of
philosophy, at another philosophy is a phase of
religion, since philosophy is 'also the service of
God'; at one point 'feeling,' 'intuition,' and
'symbolic representation' of God are cancelled
and superseded in the 'notion,' as indeed in a
sense they must be since they are lower levels
of conscious life; at another time they are treated
as individual forms embodying in themselves the notion like any other individual mode
of expression of reality, and so capable of dialectical
and dialectically developed in the terms of the
notion.

This uncertainty of treatment seems almost inevitable in a system which claims as philosophy to interpret the divine mind and also to give a
philosophical interpretation of a religious, or non-
philosophical, apprehension of the same reality,
which seeks to be a religious philosophy and yet
to find an independent place in its scheme for a
philosophical religion, which asserts that the 'Logic,'
or general ground-plan of the system, is 'theology,'
and at the same time tries to justify the claims
of historical theology. Religion was accepted as
a fact of history, and its nature had to be traced
to its source in the Absolute. In the religious
life, finite spirit claims to be in communion with
Absolute Spirit. Hegel's view of philosophy required
him to prove that such communion arises
from the necessary procedure of Absolute Spirit,
and that it was thus a stage in the evolution of
the Absolute Idea as expounded by philosophy.

Enough has perhaps been said to indicate that
whatever value attaches to Hegel's analysis of
religion, his attempt to fit religion into the
dialectical construction of his system cannot be
regarded as either successful or logically satis-
factory. However we interpret his position, it
appears unconvincing. On the face of the matter,
it seems as unaccountable that the Absolute
should adopt the confessedly inferior forms of 'form'
and 'symbolic ideas' to convey its truth to itself
as it is for finite spirit, when, so to say, it always
has in its grasp for the same purpose the perfect
medium of self-expression, the 'notion.' On the
other hand, the elimination of all personal qualities
in the logical coherence of the notion is a consum-
mation of the religious life which is attained at
the cost of the intimately personal communion
of finite spirit with Absolute Spirit, in which, as
Hegel asserts, religious experience is rooted; and,
if the choice has to be made at all there is little
doubt that the religious mind, even in the highest
form of religion, will not regard Logic as an
adequate substitute for Love. When, again, we
consider the endless variety in modes of expression
assumed by religious life in the course of the

1 This symbolic character of religious ideas is never trans-
scended; it is found in the highest or 'absolute religion' as
well as in the 'religion of nature.'
history of mankind, it seems nothing else than grotesque to treat all the creations of the religious attitude, from the phantoms of primitive fear to the aspirations of the saints, as expressions of the self-consciousness of God in the soul of man. Dialectical necessity of that kind does more than justice to the folly of man at the price of doing less than justice to the wisdom of God. In this history of religion, as in history generally, it may be true to insist that the 'Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht'; but a judgment of the world is not a justification of it. Setting aside, then, the difficulties presented by Hegel's attempt to build religion into the logical structure of his system, the success of his method in the field of religious experience is not seriously affected by his somewhat artificial association with the exigencies of his method. Religion in his view is a conscious relation of finite spirit to the Absolute as spirit, and from this fundamental principle everything else follows. The relation is double-sided, and is maintained through spiritual activity of both the terms involved. God as the supreme spiritual unity of man's world (nature and finite spirit) communes with man as spirit, and this communion takes the form essentially of 'manifestation,' 'revelation.' The activity of spirit is necessarily self-manifestation, manifestation to a self, and manifestation of a self. This manifestation constitutes the truth, the substance, the reality of religion. Being not merely truth about God, but truth of God, God as truth, this manifestation is at once God's consciousness of Himself in man, and man's consciousness of God in himself. The 'truth' is one and the same on both sides, and both are aware of the same truth. The peculiarity of the religious life just consists in this essential unity of man's spirit with God's spirit, a unity that defies separation. The imperturbable 'certainty' in the religious mind of its direct intimacy with Absolute Spirit is the psychological effect of this fundamental unity. This certainty is found in all religious experience, and is so complete that it can and does take the form of mere 'feeling,' as well as the form of thought. Its 'beliefs' are often a blend of feeling and idee, and its beliefs are always immediate to the religious consciousness.

In maintaining this attitude, however, man never confuses the position of God in the relation with that of man. God is the self-revealer, man is the recipient of the manifestation. Man does not create the relation to truth, revealed to him; he accepts it. His attitude is that of 'submission,' 'worship,' 'sincere recognition' 'expectancy'; God's attitude is that of the 'all-giving,' the 'all-wise,' the 'all-powerful,' the 'deliverer.' The immediacy of the communion never cancels the distinction of the terms related, finite spirit and Absolute Spirit. The relation, again, is that of the concrete human spirit to the Absolute. The union may be effected through any element of nature or finite spirit; and the manifestation may adopt as its vehicle of communication with man's spirit any level or function of conscious life, whether in the sphere of feeling, ideas or volition, theological or practical. These together make the nature of finite or finite spirit by which God is expressed, and the mode of consciousness life which constitutes the form of conscious communion with God—determine the different kinds of religious attitudes which can be assumed, of the different types of religions which historically appear. Thus God 'appears' in and is identified with the realm of sense, with objects and powers of nature and the supernatural, with the purposes of man's moral life, with the purposes that keep man and nature together, and with self-consciousness in its purest expression. Similarly God communicates with man's mind through pure feeling, through 'intuition,' through symbolic general ideas, through the 'notion' of reason. And, just as it is not the part of nature, or of man's life as a part, that is the objective reality for the religious mind, but the one Absolute Spirit as focused in the part, so the mere feeling or idea is not looked upon as conveying an impersonal systematic truth about God, but as the expression of a religious intuition with God, and indeed as a consciously imperfect medium of conscious communion, a symbolic language of human apprehension, a figurative human suggestion used to make vivid and personal the concrete consciousness of the Divine presence in man's soul. If the idea used is taken as literal systematic truth, it is not merely on critical analysis found to be untrue, but it loses its religious significance; it becomes an attempt at speculative impersonal interpretation, not a channel of spiritual personal communion. This can be illustrated from the ideas found in any religion, viz. the 'wrath' of God, God as 'Creator,' God as 'Father,' and even more abstract ideas, such as God as 'First Cause.'

In the religious life there is a constant process taking place in the soul of man by which the communion is effectively realized and sustained, an activity by which the union is kept up when interrupted. In contrast to the way in which God is presented to the soul, which Hegel describes in one passage as the 'theoretical' aspect of religion, the process of supporting the union and restoring an interrupted union is called the 'practical' aspect of religion. This practical aspect is the 'will'; it constitutes an inseparable element in every religion, and varies with each religion as the idea of God varies.

The foregoing is in brief Hegel's general notion of religion with the essential elements found in one form or another in every religion. It will be seen at once that this notion owes quite as much of its contents to psychological analysis of religious experience as to its logical development of Absolute Spirit. Still more close is the connexion between the history of religion and his 'notion' of religion, when we consider the further development of the argument in the 'Philosophy of Religion.' While no doubt Hegel intended to portray the logical evolution of the stages required to realize the above notion of religion in its completeness, the evolution owes as much to psychology and history as to logic; and it is not easy to say which is the most important. The notion of religion is realised; i.e., man is conscious in himself of the God to whom he is conscious in man, at all the levels at which finite consciousness exists—sense, understanding, reason, spirit. These are the four different stages in the fulfillment of the life of human consciousness, the connexion and evolution which constitute in part the 'Phenomenology of Mind.' The evolution of the notion of religion follows the course taken in the development of the stages of consciousness. Again, by what seems to the student of Hegel's system a piece of good fortune, but which is doubtless the background of Hegel's own thought, there is a historical type and form of religion corresponding to each of these stages in the morphological development of consciousness. This historical material is drawn from the history of mankind in general and the history of religions in particular. Each specific religion has its place determined in the historical sequence, and by the stage in the evolution of consciousness to which it corresponds and at which it is realized. Thus the evolution of consciousness mediates the connexion between ideas, religion, and the general history of religious experience in mankind. By this means Hegel's development of

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1 This confusion is precisely the source of the 'conflict between science and religion,' or between philosophy and theology.
the notion of religion is at once a statement of the way in which the notion of religion is gradually evolved and exhaustively realised in finite spirit, and also a genetically constructed system of the history of the notion of religion in which it has appeared. In a word, his notion of religion is evolved in its coherences by giving a morphogenetic construction to the whole notion of religion in human history. It is 'logical' in the sense that the forms are arranged so as to show an ever-increasing advance in the notion from abstract to concrete; it is 'historical' in the sense that, while religions are extracted from human history because they typify in actual form and reveal to analysis the stages in this advance.

We have therefore in the working out of Hegel's 'Philosophy of Religion,' a plan adopted which is the same in principle as that followed in his 'History of Philosophy,' or again in his 'Philosophy of History.' Just as the 'History of Philosophy' may be described as philosophy itself 'taking its time,' or at least taking time for its unfolding, and history in general as human freedom 'in the making,' so we may describe the history of religion as the notion of religion working itself out under the conditions of time and human limitations. It is altogether in the spirit of Hegel's system to demonstrate the inseparable unity of notion and reality, to establish the notion as the essence of the real. In the case of religion the real can be put in the mould of history, and bound up with the course of time. Hence the evolution of the notion of religion must necessarily be the evolution of an historical philosophy.

We need not trace here in detail the analysis Hegel gives of the various historical religions. Suffice it to say that he finds the simplest forms of religion to be based on natural objects of sense as their media; the middle forms of religion are those of Greece and Rome; the highest or absolute form of religion to be Christianity. The outcome of his argument would thus seem to be the philosophical defence of the claim that Christianity amongst the peoples of Western Europe, the immediate result of which was to dictate certain conclusions regarding the form and matter of existing religions. But on the other hand, Hegel claims that to be a sound Lutheran is to be on the side of reason, and on the second hand had to maintain that all philosophy is in the long run a theodicy.


Heine was a quick boy, an energetic and appreciative lover of books, and he availed himself of opportunities for study which were given him by an uncle who was a studious physician and minor author.

From his early attempts at verse Heine was sent to the drudgery of a bank at Frankfurt. After a period of business life in Hamburg with his uncle Solomon Heine, an unsuccessful venture on his own account, and the disappointment of a rejected proposal to his cousin Auslese, he left Hamburg to study law at Bonn in 1819, his maintenance being provided by his rich uncle. Thence he moved to Göttingen, and then to Berlin, where his first volume of poems appeared in 1821. Hitherto he had paid little attention to law, being engrossed in German history, literature, and aesthetics, but under Ed. Gana he eagerly studied the history and theory of jurisprudence, and even began a treatise on the Constitutional Law of the Middle Ages. Here, also, he came under the influence of Hegel, and he was admitted into literary coteries which gave him opportunities of meeting the most eminent men of letters. He formed a friendship, which became very intimate and lasted all his life, with H. von Schlozer, possessed of an encyclopaedic knowledge of men and affairs, and well versed in literature and philosophy. After a period of ill-health, he returned to Göttingen in 1826 and resumed the study of law. In that year he took a walking tour through the Harz Mountains and wrote an attractive account of his journey, partly in verse and partly in prose. The journey included a brief visit to Goethe, which he describes in one of his letters to Moser.

In 1825, with the sole view of being promoted to legal office, Heine was baptized into the Christian Church, much to his regret in later years, for his action served only to render him suspect among Christians and Jews alike. Shortly afterwards he took his degree of Doctor of Laws, and in that year and the following Julius Campe published his Reisebilder (Travel Pictures) in two volumes, an autobiographical sketch called Ideen: Das Buch la Grand, and more poems. Heine now visited England (from April to August 1827), but formed only a poor impression of London. "Send a philosopher to London, but on your life not a poet," he wrote in his Englische Fragmente. On returning to Germany he found that his Reisebilder had created a very favourable impression, and that the official ban, placed on the books in Prussia and North Germany on account of his frequent pressence in treating current religious and political questions, had served as a valuable advertisement. He now confined his attention to journalistic work in Munich, and had great hopes of a pardon pending his importance from King Ludwig I., who was reorganizing Bavaria. Indeed, considering himself certain of his appointment, he left for a tour in Italy, which supplied materials for a further volume of Reisebilder, conceived after the same plan, or absence of plan, as the earlier volumes, but even more bold in criticism, directed against all conventions which he regarded as antagonistic to human liberty. He failed to obtain the professorship on which he had set his hopes, and the disappointments coincided with the news of his father's death.

Heine now engaged in literary work, but was interrupted in 1830 by the news of the July Revolution in Paris, which raised extravagant hopes. Heavily given expression to these hopes, and, when the effect of the Revolution in Germany proved disastrous to the Library, he was singled out and given the hint that he would be well advised to leave Germany. In May 1831 he arrived in Paris.

He received a generous allowance from his uncle, and his health greatly improved. He found himself admitted into circles of celebrities which included Mendelssohn, Chopin, Sainte-Beuve, and Michelet. He set before himself the aim of promoting greater sympathy and closer understanding between Germany and France, and wrote letters to several people, to a German poetical which gave a vivid description of the movements of thought in Paris. He attached himself for a time to the school of Saint-Simon, finding its 'Religion of Humanity' extremely congenial, and he dedicated to Enfantin, then head of the school, his essay, Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie. In its German form it was mutilated by the censor, but it had previously appeared in the Revue des Deux Mondes under the title, 'De l'Allemagne depuis Luther.' Turning to literature, he critically described for the French people, in Die Romantische Schule, the origins and aims of German Romanticism. These works rank among his best contributions to literature, but they were not very successful when first published. Der Salon (which included Florentinische Nacht), in four volumes, the last of which appeared in 1840, possessed of ten sketches on a variety of topics of current interest, varying greatly in merit. In 1833, however, Heine's works had been banned in Germany and Austria by a decree of the German Parliament, along with all the productions of a group of writers referred to as "das junge Deutschland." The decree was afterwards repealed, but the works of these authors were subjected to a rigid censorship.

Some time after his arrival in Paris, Heine entered into intimate relations with a simple, illiterate shop-girl, who was never able to read a word of his writings. Legal marriage did not follow till some years had passed, and then only to secure a comfortable position for Mathilde Mirat if Heine should fall in a duel which followed his personal attack upon the deceased Ludwig Börne, which was resented by one of the latter's admirers. But Mathilde filled a large place in Heine's life, and in his last years was a most devoted and indispensable nurse. He secretly accepted a small pension from the French Government as one of those "who had compromised themselves in the cause of liberty." When the Government changed on the accession of Louis-Philippe and the pension being discontinued, the names of the beneficiaries under the secret funds were made public, Heine and his cousin Mathilde were openly charged him with bartering his patriotism for 4000 francs per annum. Further financial difficulties faced Heine, for his uncle Solomon died and his cousin Ludwig was given a small allowance of 4000 francs which his uncle had given him. Not long before, he had paid an extended visit to Hamburg, taking his wife with him, in order to persuade his uncle to continue the allowance to his wife after his death. This blow, mitigated though it was two years later by the renewal of the allowance, so excited him that a disease which had for some time threatened him came on apace. Paralysis soon gave him all the appearance of a dying man; and, though he lived for two years, his mind under the keen critical interest unimpaired, he endured intense agony as he lay on a pile of mattresses—his mattle-scree grave he called it—and needed all the soothing power of music. The loss of his savings by a bank-failure, his anxiety for his wife's future, and the difficulty of concealing his condition from his family, added to his eager spirit; his literary work maintained its virility, though it was necessarily less constant.
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He died on 16th Feb. 1856, and was buried silently in Montmartre.

The character of Heine defies analysis. Of himself he says: I am a Jew; I am a Christian; I am tragedy, I am comedy; a Greek, a Hebrew; an adherer of despotism in Napoleon, an admirer of communism in Proudhon, a Lycean, a Tонтist. His letters, as printed by his friends, are full of the sentiment of this unrepeatable variety. His Histoire et Gérard de Nerval extended this versatility by saying that he was 'at once cruel and tender, hard and per

We are here concerned with Heine not as a poet but as a cosmopolitan, who left a marked impression on the religious life and political practice of his age. As such, if we take Heine's own words seriously, he is, indeed, nearer to us than to the pure literary critic. He says: 'Poetry, however much I love her, was to me but a divine play, and not an industrial one, nor was I ever in the least bit industrious. I have never attached great value to a poet's fame, and whether my song be praised or blamed, it troubles me little. But a sword that will cut my coffee, or be a brave soldier in the war of the liberation of humanity (Pousset, Works, p. xiv).

Religious interests. — Kingley once referred to Heine as a 'bad man, a bad man, a bad man,' and Carlyle spoke of him as 'that poor blackguard Heine.' True, he hated priestcraft in all its shapes and forms, and he held in abhorrence 'State Religion, that monster born of the intrigue between temporal and spiritual power,' but he was the friend of all sincere religion. 'I may not be partial to anthropomorphism, but I believe in the God of God.' In his last will he humbly asks pardon of God and men for any offenses against good manners or morals in his writings. Despite all this there is something cynical in his allusions to the matter, it remains true that in his later days he became one of the most influential of a number of writers. He himself has something to say of this in his Preface to the second German edition of his 'Romance and Philosophy.' In his latest book, 'Romancero,' he explained the transformation which took place in his writings regarding religion. Since his publication of his religious works, many inquiries have been made as to the manner in which the true light dawned upon him. Prussians, thirsting after a miracle, have desired to know whether, like Staline on his way to Damascus, he had seen a light from heaven; or whether, like Batou, he had found the secret of the sea which suddenly opened its mouth and began to speak as a man. No, ye Prussians, ye Spaniards, ye Latins, ye Russians; ye have ever seen an an at least any four-footed one, which speaks as a man, though I have often met men who, whenever they opened their mouths, spoke as asses. In truth, it was neither a vision, nor a scrupulous revelation, nor a voice from heaven, nor any strange dream or other mystery that brought me into the way of salvation, and I owe my conversion simply to the reading of a book. A book! Yes, and it is an old, homely-looking book, modest as nature and natural as it is; a book which is a work of one day and a consummating book, like the sun sets, cools, like the bread that nourishes us: a book that seems to us as familiar and as full of kindly blessing as the old grandmother who reads daily in it with dear, trembling lips, and spectacles on her nose. And the book is called quite short—The Book, the Bible. Rightly do men also call it the Holy Scriptures; for he that has lost God can find Him again in this book, and towards him that has never known God it sends forth the breath of the Divine Word.'

In his Essay on Religion and Philosophy in Deutschland—the first edition of which appeared in French in 1853, when Heine was in the full vigour of early manhood—it is his aim to explain what Christianity is, how it became Roman Catholicism, how from this it became Protestantism, and how German Philosophy is the offspring of Protestantism. The Christian idea he takes to be the eternal conflict of the perverse Satan and the good Christ, of the body and the soul. He looks forward to a day in which happier and future generations, nurtured in a religion of joy, will smile with pity when thinking of their poor ancestors, whose lives were spent in melancholy self-mortalization. But he declares that Christianity has been a blessing for suffering humanity during eighteen centuries; 'it has been providential, divine, holy.'

'All that it has done in the interests of civilization, curbing the strong and strengthening the weak, binding together the nations through a common sympathy and a common tongue, and above all its apologists have urged in its praises—all this has been as nothing compared with that great consolation it has bestowed on man. Eternal praise is due to the symbol of that Suffering God, theaviour with the crown of thorns on the crucified Christ, whose blood was as a healing balm that flowed into the wounds of humanity... The whole system of symbols imposed on the art and life of the Middle Ages must awaken the admiration of poets in all times.'

He deals in an illuminating way with the real significance of the Reformation in Germany. It was not merely a war against Roman Catholicism, and its motive was essentially different from that of the conflict in France. In Germany the Reformation was a war begun by Spiritualism when it was perceived that Roman Catholicism possessed merely the title of authority and ruled only in name, whereas Sensualism, by means of a long-established fraud, was exercising actual sovereignty and ruled de facto. The retailers of indulgences were expelled, and a Puritanism uttered its protest. The flood of the senses swept over the land. In France, however, the conflict of the 17th and 18th centuries was opened by Sensualism 'when, though de facto sovereign, it beheld every act of its authority derided as illegitimate by a Spiritualism that existed only de jure.' In Germany the conflict took place in theological discussion; in France it proceeded in wanton jeers and merry satire.

This statement as to the Reformation in Germany applies only to the commencement of the conflict; for, when Spiritualism had made its breach in the edifice of the Church, Germany became the arena of combatants intoxicated with liberty. Heine's irony is often delicious and satirical. After declaring that, since the great progress of the natural sciences, miracles have ceased, he proceeds:

'Perhaps the new religion that God may henceforth establish on earth are to be based solely on reason, which indeed will be more much more reasonable. At least in the case of Saint-Brunoismontism, which is the greatest of all the religions of the last century that has occurred, with this exception, perhaps, that an old tailor's bill owing to Saint-Bruno himself was paid when the latter died after his death. Young grocers were abused at such supernatural testimonies, but the tailors began at once to believe.'

In the second part of his book, Heine deals with the philosophical revolution which, as the offspring of the religious revolution, is nothing else than the last consequences of Protestantism. 'In his first he has in his first part spoken of Spiritualism and Sensualism—regarded as the rival social systems—he now refers to Idealism and Materialism, taking account of the corresponding philosophical systems. He refers to his own religious convictions as embodying 'not indeed the dogmatism, but the spirit of Protestantism.'

The French edition amplifies this statement: 'Protestantism was for me more than a religion, it was a mission; and for fourteen years I have been figuring in its interests; but a secret predilection for the cause in which we have formerly fought and suffered always continued in me, and the present religious convictions are still animated by the spirit of Protestantism.'
greatest thinkers and best artists. Germany has outgrown Delam.; Pantheism is her open secret. Delam. is the religion for slaves, for children, for Germans, for women, for Kant’s & Hegel’s critics. **Pure Reason** is the sword that slew Delam. in Germany. But in the preface to the second German edition of Kant’s *Critique of Pure Reason* he exercises the inalienable right of openly acknowledging his error.” He confesses that everything in this book referring to the existence of God is as false as it is absurd.

“No, it is not true that the Critique of Reason, which has destroyed the arguments for the existence of God, familiar to mankind since the dawn of history, has opened an end of God Himself. . . . The fine-spun Berlin dialectic is its mere face. Resisting a dog from the street, it has not the power to kill a cat, much less a God.”

The **Romanticische Schule**, which also first appeared in French, contains many interesting passages more relevant to our interest in Heine than to that of the literary critic. Not denying that Christian-Catholic discipline, as a wholesome restraints, is right. But materialism, the Roman Empire, conferred benefits on Europe—

a hunger-cure he calls it—seems in it the origin of the widespread hypocrisy; men praised what had become but absence of aetiology. This philosophy had taught the renunciation of all worldly pleasures, branding as sin the most innocent gratification of the senses; Heine was now replaced by the vindication of our inalienable heritage, by the rehabilitation of the flesh. The book abounds in acute analyses of the relations between German literature and that of the Protestant and Protestantism on the other.

"Also! we must confess that Pantheism has often led men into incoherencies. They then reassures them: If everything is God, if everything is divine, then it is indifferent whether man occupies the minor or the great cosmic phenomenon, with folk-songs or the anatomy of apes, with real human beings or flowers. But that is just the mistake. Everything is not God, but God is everything. It is one thing to discern in the midst of all the things he tells himself in different degrees according to the varying strength of his own soul, which he then reveals himself in all things equally, as Wolfgang Goethe believed, who through such a belief became an indifferentist. But therenunciation of the highest interests of humanity, occupied himself with art, anatomy, theories of colour, botanical studies, and observations of the clouds. No, God is not in all things to a greater degree than in others. He lives in motion, in action, in time. His body is a weather page through the page of history, which is God's true book of record. (Heine’s *Press Writings*, ed. H. H. Ellis, 1896.)

The subject of Goethe's Faust (Der Doktor Faust: ein Tanaspoem) gives Heine an opportunity for attacking the gospel of his own earlier life—

"the rehabilitation of the flesh."

Knowledge, science, the comprehension of nature through reason, eventually gives us the enjoyment of truth, that is, Catholic Christianity, has so long defended us; we now recognize the truth that mankind is destined to an earthly as well as to a heavenly equality. The political brotherhood which philosophy inculcates is more benefic to us than the purely spiritual brotherhood, for which we are indebted to Christianity. . . . The German people had, for a long time, felt a profound sense of contentment for the Germans themselves are that learned Doctor Faust; they themselves are that spiritualists, who, having at last comprehended the inadequacies of the spiritual life alone, substitute the flesh in its rights. But still biased by the symbolism of Catholic poetry, in which God is pictured as a hero of the spirit, and the devil as that of the flesh, the rehabilitation of the flesh was characterized as an opponents with the devil. But sometimes there is a deep spiritualism of that profound self-being to each German person, and the spirit itself, comprehending the supremacy of spiritualism, becomes the champion of the rights of the flesh. This will be the subject of the next chapter.

**Political aims and influence.**—Heine's aims in his political journalism and in his personal influence are plainly expressed in his will: ‘La grande affaire de ma vie était de travailler à l’unité cordiale entre l’Allemagne et la France, et à déjouer les artifices de la démocratie, qui expulse deux peuples des concessions de la Révolution et des lois inégalitaires. The result at which he aimed was not the forced equality demanded in France and *Philosophie, Historique, et Reformation* (Die romantische Schule, ed. L. Lindel, v. 800.)

HEMACHANDRA.—HERACLITUS.

1. Life.—The well-credited facts of the life of Heracleitus are very few. He was the son of Blyson or Bloson, and was descended from the most aristocratic family of Ephesus. In his family the patriarchal kingship, which was traced back to Androclus the son of Codrus, continued in the priestly rank of the bat- lene; the office of priest to the Eleusinian Dionysus was also connected with it. The tradition that he persuaded the tyrant Melanodon to abdicate his rule, and returned a blank refusal to an invitation from Darisa, is doubtful. It is certain that he was dissatisfied with the democratic government in his native city, and that he violently attacked his countrymen which seems to depend on his traditional connection with Darisa. He is said to have lived to the age of sixty, and (famously) to have died by dropping of dryopie. His date is more certain ascertained from the fragments of his writings. For, on the one hand, he rejects the multiform learning of his Ionic countrymen, Pythagorean, Xenophanes, and Hecateus, who were all at the height of their influence when the 8th cent. was passing into the 7th; on the other hand, he says nothing of his bitterest opponent, Parmenides. Most modern scholars agree, as most modern scholars agree, clearly comments the antithetical method of Heracleitus in his verses (fr. 6, 8-9 [Vorsoch 134]) and the period of his chief influence is to be fixed somewhere about 480 B.C., it follows that the work of Heraclitus should be dated about 480 B.C. The obvious parody of the Heracitio philosophers (fr. 2 [Vorsoch 134]), is of no use as a clue to his date, as under the name of the latter were collected not only later forgeries, but also old Sicilian comedies of different periods.

2. Writings.—Heracleitus's work, of which 130 genuine fragments are preserved to us, is composed in the Ionic dialect, and is archaic, often poetic, in character. His aphoristic form is borrowed from the Gnomic writings which were widely circulated in the 5th cent. and century, composed partly in poetry and partly in prose (e.g. the sayings of the Seven Sages), gave pithy expression to their experience of life. In Heracleitus there is added, on the one side, an intense bitterness springing from his tone of mind and experience of life, and, on the other, an intentional obscenity taken over from the religious poetry (ecclesiastic and prophetic) of the 6th century. There is, lastly, a modern regard for rhetorical effect in the antithetic form of composition, which shows itself also in his contemporary Simonides, and was further developed in the writings of the Sophists. The division of his work into three books, treating of Nature, Politics, and Theology, either is due to later recensions, or is a posthumous head of his philosophy. In the time of Heracleitus books were neither divided into chapters nor possessed titles. His successors referred to his work, as they did to those of all the other ancient philosophers, under the title 'Concerning Nature.'

3. Philosophy.—Heracleitus is the profoundest thinker before Plato, and is a joint-founder with him of the Idealism which under the influence of Plato and Christianity has prevailed over earlier schools. It is to the profoundness of his thoughts that the misunderstanding of them is due, both in his own times and later, down to the present.
day. The positive character of 19th cent. thought especially has shown itself incapable of grasping the daring transcendence of his view of the Cosmos. But at the very beginning of his work (fr. 1), Heraclitus complains, with bitter dejection, that, in spite of his revelation, men make themselves insensible, both before and after Eucl. (fr. 98) — to the apprehension of a homogeneous, eternal, omnipotent, invincible, spiritual Power which with the swiftness and force of lightning rules the world, the inner world of man as the outer world of nature, from one end to the other. The philosopher's system has a 'husk' and a 'kernel.' In the 'husk' he conveys the kernel to the world, as men are wont to fashion it for themselves from their ephemeral experiences; he portrays the mutable, inconsistent, unconceivable, and childish world of change. He rejects the polytheism of his contemporaries, i.e. the conclusions of the Milesian physicists and mathematicians such as Thales, which were deepened and expanded by Xenophanes and Pythagoras: for they led to a knowledge of contradictory details, not to a homogeneous conception of the world.

The philosopher's business, therefore, is to demand, in place of the method of natural science and mathematics prevalent hitherto, a psychological one, proceeding not from without but from within, not from Nature but from men. In other words, he has this to say of himself (fr. 101) — "To all men it is given to know themselves, and to direct their thoughts accordingly" (fr. 119). Therefore the task of philosophy, as Socrates taught later, to obey the Delphic precept γνῶθι σεαυτόν. Both Socrates and Heraclitus turned away from the superficial interpretation of Nature represented by the Ionians. But, while ethical problems chiefly attracted Socrates, the more comprehensive mind of the Ephesian directed itself vigorously to metaphysics, to 'the Invisible,' which was, in his opinion, the kernel of his philosophy. 'Wisdom consists in one duty and only one—to understand the Intelligence (γνώσεως) which governs all things' (fr. 41). 'Of what profit to men is the knowledge of Nature?' The fairest Cosmos is merely a rubbish-heaped poured out at random (fr. 124). Time, which drives onward everything in ceaseless change, is 'like a child who plays at draughts and moves them hither and thither—a child's government' (fr. 53).

The philosopher's business, therefore, is to discern the Eternal. For 'the human mind (φύσει, i.e. that portion of intellectual being which falls to man's share) has no clear understanding or aims, but the Divine has' (fr. 78). As inasmuch as Heraclitus is the first thinker to grasp the idea of the transcendent, he is, before Parmenides, Anaxagoras, and Plato, the founder of Idealism in philosophy. He is himself conscious of the far-reaching importance of his discovery. For he makes the statement (which Positivists cannot understand) 'None of all those whose words I have heard attains to recognize that Wisdom is something separated (εὐχρηστὸν) from all!' (fr. 108).

What this Wisdom (ρόδινος) is he explains (fr. 32): 'One, the only Wisdom, does not wish, and yet again does wish, to be called by the name of Zeus' (fr. 32). The new concept may be called by the old and venerable divine name, provided the latter carries with it the idea of absolute mind in the Heraclitean sense. On the other hand, to think of the Homeric Zeus in this connexion is blasphemy against the divine nature. For, in consequence of the thoroughgoing religious reformation of the 6th cent., which is represented by the names Xenophanes, Pythagoras, Orphicism, the traditional conception of religion can no longer be maintained.

But, while poets like Pindar and Ἀσκελύπως, imbued with that spirit of reform, tacitly introduced the new conception of Zeus into the ancient popular legends, the philosophers like Xenophanes and Heraclitus set themselves dead against popular beliefs. Like the Colophonians, Heraclitus scornfully attacks the demonizing aspects of the Orphic teaching. He also attacks the pietism of the Mysteries which had sprung up luxuriantly in the 6th cent. The cult of Dionysus and of Demeter, with its ceremonial purification and coarse symbolism, is utterly repugnant to him (fr. 5, 14). It is, therefore, quite credible that, as reported (Pausan. i. 68, 34), he rejected his hereditary office of King-priest, or βασιλεύς, after his breach with the orthodox religion. He went even so far as to reject prayer altogether, as something childish—a step which no Greek philosopher after him was prepared to take. 'They pray to the images of the gods, as though they wished to converse with buildings; just because they are ignorant of the true being of the gods and supreme powers' (fr. 5).

All religious names and notions, which occur frequently in his work, are not to be interpreted in the popular religious sense, but as symbols of the higher idea of the divine nature, of which he is full. His eternal and universal God is not confined to temples or temple-rites, but is omnipresent. 'How can one escape from this, which lies around us down!' (fr. 16). His notion of God also is not split up, as in the Homeric Olympus, into countless individual deities. The Logos of the world, the Logos, must confess that all things form one unity' (fr. 50). This universal spirit 'unites conflicting opposites, just as one harmony is formed from discordant notes.' Here he expresses his monistic belief, in one of the figures familiar to the Pythagorean school. He speaks still more clearly in fr. 67: 'God is day and night, and summer and winter, and peace, and plenty, and want.'

On another occasion he seeks to render intelligible the universally operative energy of the divine Logos by a hylozoistic figure especially congenial to the science of his time. As Jeremiah had said a hundred years earlier (Jer 25. 1), 'I am my word as a fire,' saith the Lord; so the prophet of Ephesus proclaims (fr. 50): 'This system of the world (σύνεσις), the same for all, neither any of the gods nor any man has made, but it always was and is and shall be an ever-living fire, kindled in due measure, and in due measure extinguished.' This conception of 'the due measure' is essential for the interpretation of Heraclitus. The modern physical theory assumes that different forces (heat, electricity, magnetism, chemical force, etc.) are convertible into each other. They are all connected by the invariable law that exactly as much force of one kind (e.g. heat) disappears as force of another kind (e.g. electricity) comes on the scene. In a similar manner Heraclitus conceives of the cosmic force. Just as our modern physicists assume the ether as a common substratum whence forces proceed, so Heraclitus speaks of the divine cosmic fire which is always confined within the same limits. 'The sun will not overstep its bounds; for, if he does, the Erymnes, helpers of justice, will find him out' (fr. 94). And, although the sun is kindled one day anew (fr. 6), it lies in the Heraclitean sense. So also the changes of fire into water and earth always take place in fixed proportions. At first the ethereal vapour is condensed into sea-water, from which the solid earth is precipitated. This is 'the way down.' In the same proportion the transformations of the solid, liquid, and gaseous states proceed upwards. Earth dissolves into water at a time of deluge, water exhaled skyward as ethereal vapour.
Of course the periods occupied by these changes are not always alike. On the contrary, the great pendulum describes smaller and greater arcs. The revolutions of day and night, of months and years, of great cosmic periods between a general flood and a general congestion, vary in length, but not in point of proportion. Opposites must always be resolved into ‘the invisible’ (fr. 34).

All that men can see is the war between them. Thus with Heraclitus war is ‘the father of all things’ (fr. 53), and the one thing clear and worst taking into account is change. He never becomes tired of illustrating this popular way of conceiving the flux of things by ever fresh examples. ‘To him who enters the same river, other and still other waters flow’ (fr. 15). ‘One cannot twice descend into the same river’ (fr. 61). ‘Into the same city, men do not descend; we are, and we are not’ (fr. 49 A).

So, for later thinkers the uniform light of the Heraclitic system appears broken up into the brilliant colour-play of relativism, the prismatic ambiguity of a materialistic scepticism (Ἐξαιρέσις, fr. 51) which threatens to turn into nihilism. ‘Sea-water is very pure and very foul, for, when it is left to itself, it is pure; but men it is unfit to drink and deadly’ (fr. 61). Of course, in the empirical region of sense-perception everything is inconstant and variable; and even on the contrary in the realm of pure thought the Absolute is enthroned. ‘To God all things are beautiful and right and good; but men suppose that some are right and others wrong’ (fr. 105).

Thus Heraclitus comprehends, as exactly as his opponent Parmenides, who indeed only partially understood him, nowomena and phænomena, truth and illusion. But the fact with both is that the dull-witted world has comprehended their illusion better than their truth.

But so it fares with all prophets.

It is necessary, after the monistic doctrine of the Logos and its counterpart, terrestrial dualism, have been made clear as the kernel and husk of his system, to expound briefly how Heraclitus applies his theory, in its metaphysical and material aspects, to the doctrine of man’s constitution.

The human soul, with which the hitherto prevailing Ionian and Pythagorean philosophy had but little concerned itself, is of cardinal importance to the prophet of the Ἱδόρας. As first, indeed, it seems a very materialist view of the soul should be involved in the elemental changes of the twofold way upward and downward. ‘For the soul it is death to become water, and for water it is death to become earth. But from earth comes water; and from water, soul’ (fr. 36).

As might be expected, the same of human existence is identical with the physical fire-ether. As fire descends, the soul passes through the intermediate stage of water into earth, i.e. into flesh, and this way signifies joy and life. Conversely, when flesh again dissolves into water (hence the legend before mentioned of Heraclitus’s dropsey) and from there returns to the cosmic ether, death takes place. To souls it is joy or death to become wet’ (fr. 77 A). Thus, just as in the Orphic-Christian theory, soul and body are already conceived of as contraries, which stand in direct opposition to each other. ‘We live in the death of souls, and again they (σὰς souls) live in our death’ (fr. 77 B).

But neither in the macrocosm nor in our microcosm is a complete extinction of the primordial fire possible. In the living body also a spark of ethereal fire is preserved (Macrobr.; in Somm. Scip. l.14, ‘στιλλιτα αιστητικις εξειδικευμενος’; Forsch. 12 A, 15, p. 4). If this fire be extinguished, if under this circumstance the fire in the heart is kept, the wiser and the better is the man. ‘The dry beam is the wisest and best soul’ (fr. 118). Of course, this divine spark is identical in essence with the god who governs, illuminates, and warms the universe. For the soul rests on the deepest foundation of the Divine Logos. ‘The limits of the soul thou canst not discover, though thou shouldst traverse every way; so profoundly is it rooted in the Logos’ (fr. 44).

This identification of the spiritual and essential characteristic of man (to which the Greeks give the hardly translatable same name, the essence of Deity interpreted for us the fine saying of Heraclitus: ‘A man’s character is his demon’ (fr. 119)—a saying repeated by Democritus and Memander. Therefore it follows that man’s happiness cannot consist in sensual enjoyment. ‘Oxen are happy when they have peace to eat’ (fr. 4). ‘For the best men choose one thing above all else; immortal glory above transient things. But the blessed stuff themselves like cattle’ (fr. 20). ‘To the soul, on the contrary, belongs the self-multiplying Logos’ (fr. 116). The Logos, however, is not merely the special characteristic of man alone; it is at the same time the universal cosmic law, which energizes and controls everything. Therefore it is a duty to follow it. But although the Logos is common to all, the majority of people live as though they had an understanding of their own’ (fr. 20). It is dependent upon one divine law. For this rules as far as it wills, and suffices for all, and overcomes all’ (fr. 114).

Thus, not only physical but moral sciences also is closely connected with metaphysics. The divine law (as later among the Stoics) is identical with the conscience of the individual. Men who obey this inner law, however. To each man it is a matter of course for the aristocrat of Ephesus: ‘One is to me worth ten thousand, provided he be the best’ (fr. 49).

From these premises it is easy to understand the way in which Heraclitus undertakes to remodel the Greek belief in immortality. ‘Gods and men honour those who have fallen in war’ (fr. 24). This principle of the popular hero-worship he applies to his heroes, the heroes of the Logos. The body, as such, deserves no honour. ‘Corpses should be thrown away sooner than exorcists’ (fr. 36). But just in proportion to the degree of purity with which a man has guarded and intensified the inner flame in his life is the ferocity of the attack on him from the terrestrial sphere, and at the same time the greater is the prize beyond. This seems to be the meaning of the saying in fr. 25 which has been torn from its context: ‘Greater fates gain greater rewards, for man kindles a light in the night when he is dead’ (fr. 20).

To explain this better, we add a remark of G. F. Fechner, whose ‘panpsychism’ contains matter Heracleitian doctrine: ‘At the moment of death, when everlasting night seizes up the eye of man’s body, the dawn awakens in his spirit. Then the focal centre of the inner man will blaze out to a sun which will illuminate all that is spiritual in him, and at the same time, like an inner eye, look through things with unearthly clearness’ (Leben nach dem Tode, Leipzig, 1866, p. 43). So Heraclitus also appears to have conceived of the seen light which the spiritual man kindles for himself after the death of the body. ‘Thereafter, after death what they neither hope nor think’ (fr. 27). Thus, starting from an idea of Hesiod, he suggests a deliverance of elect heroes of the spirit from the night of death, who now, as he believes, lead a higher life as ‘watchers of the living and the dead’ (fr. 35). In this sense he could say, with antithetical point: ‘Immortals become mortals, and mortals immortals’ (fr. 82).
For there awaits the spirit of fire, which has fallen down from ethereal heights, and appears doomed to mortality in an earthly frame, an ascension after death. This doctrine reminds us of the prophetic utterances of Empedocles, and of the Stoic doctrine of continued existence for the virtuous. Of course, even these elect heavenly涅s an endless life is not allotted. For when, finally, all things pass into fire, and the 'Great Year' of 30 x 360 years has completed its revolution, a universal conflagration will usher in Doomsday. "For the fire which comes on all things will judge and condemn them" (fr. 60).

The doctrine of the 'last things' has been doubted, because, at the arrival of this dike evos, the constant interchange between the two poles of existence disappears. This is wrong; however, for this moment, when everything melts in the universal conflagration (i.e., when God ceases to work), is only the extreme point to which the cosmic pendulum swings on one side, to which, on the other side, the Deluge, or rather a universal torpor, corresponds. That a final amalgamation of the other two elements (earth and water) is not implied in the reports of his doctrine which we possess, and probably was not taught by Heraclitus himself, is shown by the fact that the form of the fire is conceived of as the normal and primitive one, so that the fire of the Cosmos, like the Prometheus, is linked on to the primordial principle.

"For in rotation the beginning and the end are common" (fr. 108).

For his influence.—Heraclitus, one of the most original writers and profoundest thinkers of antiquity, has had a powerful influence on all succeeding times, from Alcman and Parmenides, past the time of Democritus, Protagoras, Euripides, and the authors of the Corpus Hippocraticum, to the Stoics, whose popular version of his philosophy influenced the cultured Greek and Roman world. Especially important is the direct or indirect influence of Heraclitus on Philo, the Johannine Gospel, and the theology of the early Fathers (Clement of Alexandria and Hippolytus). Among the moderns, Hegel and Nietzsche in particular, the latter especially in the apocalyptic form of his writing, show the deep influence of the sage of Ephesus.

LITERATURE.—1. EDITIONS.—Heracliti Rhodii textus, by Rosenzweig, Oct. 1877 (the most complete collection of the Fragments); D. Diderot, Hermétique, les Cathédrales et les Magie (Cassel and Göttingen 1899, also Fragmente der Vorchristreiche [Greek and German], 1st ed.; Berlin, 1914, pp. 67-113 (ch. 12) (quotations are made from this collection).


H. DIELS.

HERDER.—1. Life and times.—The century of enlightenment, the century of Locke and Hume in England, of Voltaire and Rousseau in France, re-encased that turning of thought towards its own nature, that desertion of metaphysical subtleties, that development of empirical interest in human life, and enthusiastic discussion of the problems of society, which characterized the German Romanticists, whilst in England the current of thought lost itself in the stagnant backwaters of a theoretical scepticism, and in France transformed itself into the motive power of political agitation. In Germany it maintained its course with little distraction, refreshed by the influx of a new stream of influences. In the interests of individual culture, without application to social revolution, the philosophical principles of Kant, of Goethe, and Wolff were carried into the realms of psycho-

logy, epistemology, morality, political science, and even religion. But it was due to the assertion of the claims of the book that literature once more became a means of re-vitalized. Lessing (q.v.) and Herder were the heralds who announced these claims.

Johann Gottfried Herder was born at Mohrungen, East Prussia, on 28th Aug. 1744, the third child of humble parents. The father, who was sexton and master of a small school, was an earnest, strict, upright man of undoubted piety. Herder's paternal grandfather had been an immigrant from Silesia, a refugee from Roman Catholic rule, and it was no doubt from him that the boy derived his warm, imaginative spirit. As a boy, Herder was 'always grave and always alone'; he never enjoyed very good health, suffering to the end of his life from a listless in one eye. He became even more quiet and shy during his school-years under the severe old rector of the town school, and devoted himself to reading. After a miserable period in the house of a young pastor, Treese by name, who was blind to the boy's ability and unsympathetic towards his inclination for a clerical career—a period during which he became excessively reserved and subject to nervous depression—Herder succeeded in making his way to Königsberg. He welcomed an opportunity of studying medicine, which came in, and was able to get away from his cramped and wretched life as an amanuensis and message-boy to a man whom he loathed. After failing at a dissertation in the hospital, he abandoned medicine, and by means of the help of a few friends and his own earnings he was able to enter the University (1762) with a view to a clerical training. He had already written some poems, and one he had surreptitiously introduced into a parcel sent by Treese to a Königsberg publisher, who had recognised its merit and taken pains to discover the identity of its author.

Attending Kant's lectures, he was stimulated to critical inquiry and read widely; Plato, Hume, Leibniz, Diderot, and Rousseau he devoured with special care and enthusiasm. But a greater influence on his mind was the friendship of J. G. Hamann, who aroused in him a deep appreciation of poetry and early national literature. He contributed poems and reviews to the Königberger Zeitung. Then we find him at Riga, first as assistant-mastcr of a grammar school in Samland, and then as 'additional curate'; while he was there, in 1767, he published Fragmente über die neueren deutschen Literatur, which rapidly reached a wide and sympathetic public and attracted Lessing's attention. Various writings followed, but their advanced views on literary and artistic topics aroused a storm of opposition, and such opinions were rife as to his orthodoxy that he left Riga. Anxious to make certain experiments in social reform which were to be based on a reform of educational methods, he commenced a tour. With a view to investigating educational systems in different countries, he made his way to Holland and France, but his intention of visiting England and Italy was not carried out. In order to secure an independent position, he accepted a post as travelling tutor to the son of the Prince-Bishop of Lübeck, and abandoned his social work, though he was not in the course of his duties at Darmstadt, where he met Caroline Flachsland and became betrothed to her. In that year and the following, 1770-71, he was seconded at Streitsee and at Goethe, who was then revelling in the exuberance of early manhood. The friendship that sprang up between the two is of great importance for the history of the ideas of Lessing, Ferdinand von Goethe frequently acknowledged, in the most definite lan.
guage, that a great change passed over him during those days.

New views opened to my sight every day, nay, every hour. . . .

The more I saw, the more Herder had to give. . . .

But at times he was not the least aware of the end he carried out in after life. It was he who set me in the right way. No uncertainty of being 'Osian.'

Art.—Here again his thesis is the importance of natural character; Gothic art is shown to have its own peculiar merit and influence. His chief works in this category are Kritische Völker (1780), and Plastik (1778).

Language.—Herder was an eighteenth-century Max Müller, and to him is due the credit of founding the comparative study of language especially in regard to its nature and origin. His treatise, Über das Urwesen der Sprache (1779)—an argument directed against the theory that language was divinely communicated to man—demonstrates the inevitability of language, given the complex of powers we find in man.

In matters of fact this treatise, like several others which he wrote, is open to the charge of inaccuracy and crudeness, but the important feature is the consistent use of the comparative method of investigation. Herder's view is that 'language arose with the first spark of consciousness,' and, like every other production, gradually became more perfectly developed. Language is not the mere sound of words, for even in animals action is language. Language, indeed, relates us closely to the whole of sentient nature.

It seems that the last maternal touch from the modelling hand of Nature infused the following law into all, at their entrance into the world; 'Feel not for thyself alone, but let thy feeling resound.' As this last creative touch was the same to some species, the following law became a blessing: 'Let thy feeling resound in union with thine own species be heard with sympathy by one and all.'

Religion.—The comparative method of study was applied also to religion, and Herder wrote under the conviction that religion in its historical development has been closely related to man's wants and impulses. His studies in religion are found in his volumes entitled Vom Geist der abstrichen Poesie, Briefe über das Studium der Theologie, and Christliche Schriften. In the second of these works he laid down the principle that the Bible must be read 'in a human way,' as we should read the Greek historians and dramaticists, with constant effort to interpret its contents in relation to their temporal and local setting. He made bold attempts to occupy a middle position in regard to certain doctrinal questions, having for his reward only the hatred of the literalists and the suspicion of extreme rationalists. But he clearly distinguished religion from the realm of dogmatism into which his published opinions carried him.

Religion is that which binds our conscience; it is an inner certainty, incapable of mathematical demonstration; religion is the awareness of what we are as parts of the world, what we ought to be as men, and what we have to do. We arrive over opinions, but opinions are not religion, for there is but one religion, though it appears under many forms.

In Vom Geist der abstrichen Poesie, Herder investigates the earliest opinions of mankind concerning the Deity, Creation, Providence, etc. Among other things he exposes the absurdity of those who have represented religion as originally derived from the apprehensions and terrors of mankind.

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and periods of the world, and why must this be derived only from anxiety and fear? Our existence, surely, is an act of benevolence and not a punishment, otherwise the love of life and the tender desire for its duration would be unaccountable. The Great Being, therefore, to whom we are indebted for it, and to whom we submit, must be considered as good. Daily experience must convince us of his benignity... At the same time, I am willing to admit that the religion of many ancient nations was mixed with painful feelings of apprehension and terror. This was the case with those who had their dwelling in rude climates, in dark caverns, amidst mountainous or mountainous areas, on barren shores of unvisited and tempestuous seas, or of such as were accustomed to frequent views of dismal objects, and of revolution accompanied by inhumane scenes of devastation and carnage.

The primitive religions, which Herder refused to attribute to the sentiment of fear, were based, he suggested, on the need for explanation; hence, for example, among the primitive peoples whose demon-worship is revealed in Genesis, from the observance of the works and beauties of Nature, from the sight of 'energy, wisdom, and self-renewed power of production and reproduction in all things' (seen in particular objects, however, and not connected in a general point of view) the inference was made that there existed 'separate and particular causes of particular objects, distinct creating spirits, of which each produced a particular effect and contributed, to its preservation with intelligence and care.' The higher, later religions Herder attributes to the persistence of deep-seated moral feeling. But his treatment of the history of religions derives its importance from its application to it of the genetic method of study rather than from his own data or conclusions.

Herder's sermons were only occasionally printed, but he frequently wrote to show that he possessed a manner 'straightforward, popular, and natural'—to borrow Schiller's description—and in his farewell sermon at Riga, where he had filled a church whenever he preached, he stated his own aims:

'Most of my own sermons, all my best, have been human. I have tried to show that our only happiness is to remain true to the foundations of our nature, and to follow no guide but reason and conscience. Humanity, therefore, in its widest circle, with all its noblest ideas of God, its self, and Nature, with all its feelings of brotherhood and sympathy, with all its charming duties, and high dispositions and capacities for happiness—humanity in this wide scope was always the main theme of my thoughts, instructions, and exhortations.'

(5) Human culture.—Herder went further still in the application of his central idea, so far indeed that, had it not been for essential differences in the general levels of culture and in the accuracy of observation, a short step on his part would have led him to the pinnacle later occupied by Darwin. We might, indeed, have spoken today of Herder as a forerunner of Darwin's. A volume has been written by Bärenbach under the significant title, Herder als Vorgänger Darwins. The Geist der Künstlichkeit applies the genetic method to the whole of human, bodily, and mental development. Whereas Kant had opposed to Nature an absolute free will, rational and independent, Herder placed human life in a natural setting; he history he regarded as a natural science, investigating and describing the human powers, impulses, and activities. His work is the foundation-stone of the modern study of primitive culture, which now receives support from the sciences of anthropology, archaeology, philology, and comparative psychology. It is simple in style and impartial in tone.

(c) The first part—the science of man's place in the universe—discusses the earth's position in the stellar system, its influence by the atmospheres, and the various forms of life produced on it. The motto of the whole is the unity of creation; and with ample illustration, in which the whole face of nature is seen as a part of the system, we are shown how closely we are bound by nature from our earliest hour to our possessions, our country, and its language and customs. Several passages are remarkably suggestive of nineteenth-century evolutionist theory.

'The less a nation is pressed upon, and the more truly it is obliged to abide by its simple and savage way of life, the more exactly does it appear to be the ground of a national feeling; for a nation, that would be displayed in early development' (bk. v. ch. 5). Never ever did the present form, 'millions of creatures were of necessity overwhelmed; what could maintain itself has remained, and has been standing now for thousands of years in the most harmonious order' (bk. iii. ch. 4).

Herder even makes a deduction which sounds essentially modern. He sees that advance in organization means a differentiation of parts in the organism. 'The higher we go, the more various and distinct do the parts become' (bk. iii. ch. 4). This principle, accepted to-day in its application to physiology, he applies even to society. He was gifted with a penetrating, imaginative insight that would undoubtedly have led him to the far-reaching hypothesis of evolution in the modern sense had the greater range of facts been accessible to him as it was to Darwin. But his emphasis was upon things as they have been, and necessarily have been, rather than upon things as they are, interpreted by the best moderns.
the flower of human life, the natural and complete development of man’s natural endowment.

2. Much hybridization work in plants was done during the earlier half of the 19th century. Among the workers of that time the names of Knight, Herbert, Willom and Cramer were especially prominent. But their efforts were not directed primarily to the discovery of laws of heredity. The problems of the nature of species, of their possible fixity or transmutability, were much in the air about this time, and it was in these problems that the efforts of this group of hybridizers were chiefly directed. Many interesting and curious facts were brought to light, but these were never followed up due to an event which seemed to solve the problem they had set out to investigate.

3. The publication of the Origin of Species in 1859. The views as to the interrelation of species there put forward by Darwin rapidly gained the support of the great majority of biologists. The problem of species appeared to have been solved, and the work of the hybridizers came to a sudden standstill. Heredity and variation were the corner-stones upon which Darwin erected his edifice. Yet Darwin himself deplored the prevailing ignorance both of the one phenomenon and of the other.

Harold E. B. Spight

HEREDITY.—Exact knowledge of the process by which one generation comes into being from another and of the relations between them is essentially a growth of the 19th century. A precise knowledge of heredity was not possible as long as it was regarded as something played by the sexes remained obscure. It was not until the 19th cent. that the nature of the sexual cells and of the process of fertilization was established beyond a doubt. The discovery of the ovum and the cell nucleus provided the student of heredity could build. The early history of heredity is the history of attempts made to unravel the nature of the sexual process, for the account of which the reader is referred to the art. SEX.

1. The experimental study of heredity may be said to have begun with Kölreuter, who published the results of his researches on the hybridization of plants in a series of papers between 1761 and 1768. In spite of the earlier discoveries of Camerarius, the experimental work of so-called as at this time still an open question, and Kölreuter’s experiments were designed chiefly to establish this theory. The cross of different species of plants which differed from one another in definite characters, and used the fact that the hybrids so produced resembled the pollen parent in some respect, was an argument for regarding both parents as making a definite contribution to their offspring. In this clearly succeeded, though it was not for some years that his contributions received proper recognition.
any known living unit. Like the latter, however, they were capable of multiplication through the normal process of growing and division. During this process the cells were distributed to the daughter-cells. Normally certain gemmules only were active in the cells of a given tissue, but under exceptional conditions other gemmules might be present in these cells, and on becoming excited lead the cell to take on other characters. Generally speaking, these abnormal gemmules would have been present in some ancestor, and would have remained latent for a variable, often a very great, number of generations. By means of this capacity for remaining latent on the part of the gemmule, Darwin sought to explain the phenomena of reversion and atavism.

The gemmules derived from some remote ancestors might remain dormant for many generations, until, under the influence of some stimulus, whether of a cross or otherwise, they were re-activated or of fresh activity, and the organism exhibited ancestral characteristics. The germ-cells Darwin supposed to contain representations of all the various gemmules corresponding to the different cells of an individual, while at the same time they might also contain gemmules derived from ancestors more or less remote. Further, in order to explain the inherited effects of use and disuse in which he firmly believed (cf. art. Environ-

ment), Darwin supposed that gemmules were capable of transportation from one cell to another. In this way the cells of the germ-plasm were continually receiving gemmules from the cells of the different tissues of the body. Stimuli, more especially those resulting from increased use and disuse, altered the character of the cell and the of its contained gemmules. Some of these were transported to the germ-cells, and so the altered character was transmitted to a further generation. Darwin supposed that the germ-cell was capable of exactly representing a certain set of gemmules, and that these germ-cells, when divided and dispersed, might carry conviction among biologists, who regarded the assumption of the transportation of gemmules as resting upon no firm basis of fact. Nevertheless, the idea of material particles for a basis of heredity was felt to be needed and was revived a few years later by de Vries (cf. below, p. 550). Meanwhile, however, the attention of naturalists was being diverted elsewhere. Darwin's great achievement in the promulgation of Natural Selection was not only a landmark in biological thought; it was a permanent one in the life of modern thought. Thenceforward the efforts of the biologist, whether botanist or zoologist, were devoted almost entirely to exploring the consequences of Darwin's doctrine of common descent which would explain the existing forms of animals and plants.

The study of morphology became the keynote of biological thought during the last third of the 19th century, and its students directed their efforts to the construction of elaborate schemes which should demonstrate the genetic relationship between the various groups into which the systematist had divided the existing forms of life (cf. art. Evolu-
tion). Experimental work upon the living organism practically ceased; and, where the phenomenon of heredity came up for discussion, it usually received the perfunctory treatment accorded to a subject in which there is little or nothing fresh to be discovered. In the days of the essayist, chief among whom was August Weismann. In his work on The Germ-Plasm (1892), Weismann elaborated a complicated system to explain the hereditary transmission of characters. He insisted upon the sharp distinction between germ-plasm, or reproductive tissue, and soma-plasm, or body tissues. He held that it had been considered by correspond-
cases the stimulus which acted upon the parental organism acted at the same time upon the germ-plasm contained in that organism, and that the cause of the corresponding change in the offspring was not the change in the parental organism, but a change in the constitution of the germ-plasm which occurred at the same time and under the same conditions as that in the parent.

This conception of the relation between germ-plasm and somatoplasm may be regarded as Weismann's most important contribution to the study of heredity. In the exceedingly elaborate theory which he put forward in The Germ-Plasm, Weismann attempted to formulate a theory of heredity which should be in accordance with recent discoveries on the minute structure of cells and their contained nuclei. He regarded the nucleus of the germ-cells as the bearer of hereditary characteristics, and more especially that portion of the nucleus which, from its reaction to certain dyes, is known as chromatin. The chromatin was held to be a heterogeneous substance composed of numerous minute entities, or groups of entities—the determinants. Upon the number and variety of the determinants depended the variety of the characteristics exhibited by the organism and which arise from the fusion of two sexual cells derived from two germ-plasmas. Moreover, it was supposed that the units of heredity in the germ-plasmas with different sets of determinants could bring about a state of affairs under which some form of natural selection within the cells decided whether certain determinants would be eliminated.

To follow Weismann's theory in detail would be hardly profitable. More modern work has demonstrated that his conception of a heterogeneous germ-plasm of independent determinants in the germ-plasm corresponding to characters in the developed organism probably approximates to the truth. Nevertheless, his theory lacked compulsion because it was not based upon the facts of heredity—the one class of facts upon which such a theory could have rested firmly.

6. To the essay period belongs one other work of some importance. In 1889, Hugo de Vries formulated his views in a work on Intracellular Pangenesis. He accepted Darwin's view that the individual hereditary qualities are dependent on individual material bearers in the living substance of cells, but he differed from Darwin in refusing to believe that these material bearers or pangens, could be transported in the blood stream about the body. According to de Vries, the nucleus of every cell in an individual contains the sum-total of the pangens found in that individual, but only some of them occur in the extra-nuclear protoplasm of the cell. The nature and properties of the cell, whether muscular, nervous, glandular, etc., were held to depend upon the nature and variety of the pangens which were to be found in the extra-nuclear protoplasm. This stimulating essay may be regarded as marking the close of a period in the study of heredity, for a few years were to elapse from its publication before a new light was suddenly flashed upon the whole subject, and heredity took its place among the experimental sciences.

7. While biologists and philosophers who were interested in these matters had been busy working new theories, an Austrian monk had turned aside and quietly experimented for himself. The results of his investigations were communicated to Gregor Mendel to a Natural History Society in Brünn, in the Proceedings of which they were published in 1865. In 1890, nearly twenty years after Mendel's death, his paper was discovered, and the remarkable nature of his achievement was rapidly appreciated. Mendel's success was largely due to the fact that he planned his experiments on lines different from those of any of his predecessors. Instead of making numbers of somewhat random and haphazard crosses the way they were studied by him, he concentrated his attention on certain characters in which allied varieties differed from one another, and persistently followed their distribution over a succession of generations. It was careful also in his selection of a plant with which to work, choosing the edible pea (Pisum sativum) on account of its hardness, its annual habit, its facility of self-fertilization, and the number of sharply differentiated characters found in it.

The nature of Mendel's discovery may best be explained by considering some of his own results. In one set of his experiments with the pea he chose length of internodes as the character with which to work. In some peas the internodes are long, and such plants reach an average height of 6 to 8 feet. In others, again, the internodes are short, and the plants average but 1 to 3 feet. Having obtained true breeding strains of each of these varieties, Mendel proceeded to cross them, and in this case it made no difference whether the tall was used as the pollen parent or vice versa. In either case the result was the same; only tall plants, at least as tall as the original tall parent resulted from the cross.1 The seeds of these plants, which are normally self-fertilized, were collected and sown in the following year. The generation so produced (F1) consisted of both tall and dwarfs, but no intermediates. Careful counts on larger numbers showed that the proportion of tall to dwarfs was 3:1. The dwarf character recurred in the F2 generation, but reappeared in a definite proportion in the F3 generation following. For this reason Mendel termed the dwarf character recessive and the tall dominant.

The experiment was continued into a further generation, the seeds of a number of F2 plants being sown in the following year to keep those from each individual entirely separate. The nature of the resulting F3 generation showed that all the seeds were true bred, but that the tall belonged to two classes, viz., those which bled true and those which gave tall and dwarfs in the ratio 3:1 (cf. Fig. 1), behaving like a pair of characters in each of those two classes that which threw dwarfs was to be twice as numerous as that which bred true.

Throughout these and further generations, Mendel encountered only three classes of plants in so far as the pair of differentiating characters, tallness and dwarfsness, were concerned, viz., (1) pure tall breeding true to tallness; (2) pure dwarf showing tallness and dwarfs in the ratio 3:1; (3) dwarfs which always breed true. Moreover, the relation worked out for this pair of characters was found to hold good for other colors and forms of the cowpea. Thus the yellow color and the ordinary form of the seed are dominant to green, round seed shape to wrinkled, tough, parchment-like pod to soft pod, etc.

By looking at the pea in this way it was possible to express much of the variety of forms under which they occur in terms of alternative characters, each pair of which taken separately followed the scheme of inheritance outlined above. Mendel not only provided the scheme; he also suggested the explanation. He supposed that the various characters shown by the pea existed in alternative pairs. This possibility could be either tall or dwarf; the seed could be either yellow or green; the flower could be either coloured or white; and so on. The characters belonging to such alternative pairs were mutually exclusive. Every pair of characters was represented by something in the germ-cells, but any given germ-cell could carry only the representative of either one or the other of the characters. To these representatives of the characters in the germ-cells it is now usual to apply the term factor. On Mendel's idea there was a factor corresponding to tallness, and another corresponding to dwarfsness, but a given germ-cell could carry only either the factor for tallness or 1. It is customary to denote the result of a first cross: F1 = first filial generation. Similarly the offspring from the F1 individuals form the F2 (second filial generation), the offspring of these last the F3 generation, and so on.
that for dwarfs—but not both. All the germ-cells of the pure tall carried the factor for tallness, and all the germ-cells of a dwarf carried that for dwarfness. The cross between the tall and the dwarf meant the union between a tall-bearing germ-cell, or gamete, and a dwarf-bearing gamete, so that the individual, or zygote, produced by the yoking together of these gametes contained both the factor for tallness and that for dwarfness.

Such a zygote, which is produced by the union of two unlike gametes, is termed a heterozygote, as distinguished from a homozygote, which is produced by the union of two like gametes. In the case of the pea the tall factor is completely dominant over the dwarf factor, and the heterozygous tall is in appearance indistinguishable from a homozygous tall. But the difference comes in when it forms its gametes. Its own cells must be supposed to contain both of the factors for tallness and dwarfness. But, as Mendel assumed that these cannot enter into the same gamete, a separation then occurs so that half the gametes contain the tall, and half the dwarf factor. In other words, a segregation of the factors occurs during the production of the gametes, and the gametes themselves are pure for either the one factor or the other (see fig. 3).

The F₁, heterozygous peas, therefore, is producing equal numbers of tall-bearing and of dwarf-bearing gametes, and this is true for both the male and the female gametes. Self-fertilization of the F₁ plant means the bringing together of two such series of gametes.

Let us suppose that the number of ova is 4, 2 of which are 'tall' and 2 'dwarf.' Any 'tall' ovum has an equal chance of being fertilized by a 'tall' or a 'dwarf' pollen-grain. Of the 2 'tall' ova, therefore, a will give rise to homozygous talls, and b to heterozygous talls. Again, any dwarf ovum has also an equal chance of being fertilized by a 'tall' or a 'dwarf' pollen-grain.

Of the 2 'tall' ova, therefore, a will give rise to homozygous talls, and b to homozygous dwarfs. Hence, on this hypothesis of the relation of characters and factors in plant and germ cell, the F₂ generation should consist of a homozygous tall, b heterozygous tall, and c dwarfs—proportions which Mendel found by actual experiment. The nature of the gametes given off by the F₁ plant may, as Mendel showed, be further tested by crossing such plants with the pure recessive. If the F₁ tall plants are producing equal numbers of 'tall' and 'dwarf' gametes, they ought, when crossed with dwarf plants, to give both tall and dwarfs in equal numbers, and of the tall so produced all should be true dwarfs. Here, again, the hypothesis was confirmed by the experimental results.

More recently these experiments of Mendel have been confirmed many times over, and it has been shown that the same scheme applies generally to animals as well as to plants.

8. One modification of Mendel's view was suggested a few years ago, and has since been generally accepted by students of this subject. This is the so-called 'Presence and Absence' hypothesis. Mendel had shown that the characters of his peas could be arranged in alternative pairs, and recent work has proved that this is general for the characters of both plants and animals. Of all the many cases now worked out there is none in which there is a clear reason for supposing the existence of series of three or more characters each of which is alternative to any other. This remarkable fact has led to a modification of Mendel's original view. According to Mendel, there is a factor for tallness and one for dwarfness, and the relation between them is such that it is impossible for them to enter the same gamete. According to the 'Presence and Absence' hypothesis, there is also a factor for tallness and one for dwarfness, but there is no reason why they should not enter into the same gamete. It is supposed that every pea at present known is homozygous for the factor for dwarfness, D, and that the difference between the dwarf and the tall is that the latter possesses an additional factor, T, in virtue of which it becomes tall. If the factor T is brought in by both the gametes which make a tall plant, the result is a homozygous tall; if only by one gamete, then a heterozygous tall results. The essential difference between the two views may perhaps be rendered more clear by the help of the accompanying diagrams (fig. 3).
Mendel's Original View

Tall

Dwarf

F1

Gamefes produced by F1

Presence & Absence View

Tall

Dwarf

FIG. 3.—A black square represents the factor for tallness and a dotted square that for dwarfness. The unshaded portion represents the rest of the characters comprised in "peaseness."

alternative is due to the fact that a given factor can enter into relation with a gamete in two ways only—it may be present or it may be absent. Mendel's own results can be explained equally well on either hypothesis. It was only when more complicated cases came to be worked out, and more especially cases where several factors affected the same structure, that the difficulty of affording an explanation on his original view became evident.

go the only type of case considered is that in which the two original parents entering into the cross differ by a single character. Mendel, however, worked out instances in which several characters are concerned, and found the transmission of each character to be independent of any other, but always on the same scheme. For example, in the case where the characters round seed as opposed to wrinkled and yellow cotyledon as opposed to green were involved, a cross between a yellow round and a green wrinkled gave an F2 generation composed entirely of yellow rounds.

Self-fertilization of these plants resulted in the formation of four classes of seeds, viz., yellow round, yellow wrinkled, green round, and green wrinkled; and the relative proportions in which these four classes appeared were as 9:3:3:1. The experiments of one class to the other 3:1, and the ratios are to the wrinkled as 3:1 with the factor for yellowness and the factor for roundness each being transmitted according to the same scheme, but quite independently of one another. The analysis of such cases as these is perhaps rendered more simple by regarding it in the following way:

Let A stand for one of the two factors brought into the cross, and let B stand for the other, and let the cross be made be

of the Fl generation, but also the syngenic constitution of the various individuals. A point of some interest is that 4 individuals lying along the diagonal drawn from the left top to the right bottom corner are homozygous either for the presence or for the absence of both factors. In other words, of the four visible syngenic classes there will be a definite proportion in each containing neither. Since one of the plants is homozygous for both A and B, we may represent it as AABB, and all its gametes as AB. The other plant contains neither A nor B, and for convenience we will express such a condition as aabb, the small
HEREDITY

been worked out for various characters in plants and animals and shown to accord with the theoretical proportions in the F₁ generation, the number of forms which appear with it, and their numerical proportions form the first stage in the determination of the number of factors involved in a given instance. In the present experiment the aim was to find out the factors where the domesticated form possesses a character which is dominant over the wild form. The English pattern in the rabbit, the yellow coat colour in the mouse, and the rose comb of the turkey are all dominant to the condition found in the wild type. The gain of a new factor is a more difficult conception to form than the loss of one old one, but it is not improbable that it may eventually be expressed in terms of some rearrangement of the elements already present. But, in whatever way they may eventually be interpreted, there seems no reason to doubt that new dominant characters may arise from time to time.

21. One further complication sometimes occurring in cases where the factors are concerned may be mentioned here. We may have a pair of characters due to the presence or absence of a factor A, and it may be that neither character can show itself except in the presence of a second factor B.

As an example we may take a case relating to coat colour in some rodents. The wild grey or agouti coat colour in the mouse is dominant to black, and depends upon an additional factor A which is not found in the black mouse. Animals heterozygous for A, when mated together, will produce offspring of agouti and blacks in the ratio of 9:1. Now, albinos is recessive to colour, and coloured mice must be regarded as possessing a general colour factor B which is absent from the albinos. Then, since A and B are both factors for these two factors are mated together, the scheme of distribution of the factors A and B will be that already given in 4 of 16. Of the 16 possibilities there are 16 containing A and 4 without A—the expected ratio 9:1. But 6 of the 16 containing A lack the factor B, as also does one of those without A. Since they lack a factor which is necessary for the production of colour of any sort, these four mice will be albinos. Judging, therefore, by visible attributes, three classes of mice should appear from such a mating. One of the original white mice must be regarded as carrying the chromogen and the other the ferment; whether the gametes actually carry these substances is uncertain, but in any case they carry something which is capable of developing them.

22. Analysis of these cases, which are to be interpreted by the interaction of factors, has thrown an interesting light upon what was formerly the puzzling phenomenon of reversion or crossing over. Two white sweet peas may, on being crossed, give rise to plants which are practically identical with the wild purple as it grows to-day in Sicily. The offspring of a chocolate brown and a yellow rabbit may be all of the wild type by colour. In such cases each of the two parents lacked one or more from the sum-total of the factors which go to make up the wild form. Together, however, they can make up that sum-total with the consequence that reversion at once occurs. Reversion is due to the coming together again of factors which had become lost at some point or other in the history of the species. The study of reversion opens up interesting questions in connexion with the relation between domesticated forms and their wild prototypes. It is only in some cases of that nature that the wild type is supposed to have arisen through the loss of one or more factors. Such is the case with almost all the many colour varieties of the rabbit and the mouse. Such is the case with all the colour and structural varieties of the sweet pea. It is probable that the change originated somewhere in the cell-differentiation of the germ-cells. Asymmetrical divisions occurred such that some germ-cells obtained less than their full quota of factors, and from these germ-cells sprang the recessive varieties. The sequence of such new 'sports' or new kinds of plants which have been evoked in a given instance is often indicated by what we may term a rudimentary analysis of the constitution of living things.

There are, however, cases in which the same scheme of heredity holds good, but in which a fresh complication is introduced by the fact that the factors concerned may interact upon one another. The factors A and B may in conjunction produce an effect which is absent when only one or other alone is present. Instances of this have been shown to occur among plants where two strains of white, each breeding perfectly true to white, will nevertheless, when crossed, give rise only to plants with red flowers. The colour in such cases is due to the interaction of two things A and B, and colour can be produced only when they are simultaneously present in a plant. The crossing of the two whites brings together the two constituents necessary for the production of colour, and the F₁ plant is consequently coloured, being heterozygous for both A and B. Reference to fig. 4 shows that the F₁ generation from such a syngene should contain 9 individuals out of every 16 in which both A and B are present. The remaining 7 have either A or B alone or neither. Hence, from such coloured F₁ plants hypothesis would lead us to expect an F₂ generation consisting of coloured and white in the ratio 9:7. And this is what experiment has shown actually to occur. Moreover, chemical evidence quite independent of breeding tests is gradually accumulating, suggesting that in such cases as these we are dealing with two definite substances—a ferment, and a colourless chromogen which can give rise to colour when associated with one another. Out of the original white must be regarded as carrying the chromogen and the other the ferment; whether the gametes actually carry these substances is uncertain, but in any case they carry something which is capable of developing them.
is undisturbed, but the distribution is peculiar in that there is a great excess of rounds among the purples and a great excess of rounds among the reds. This, then, is the nature of the F2 generation when the cross is so made that both the female and male are brought into play by the same parent.

When, however, one of these factors is brought in by each parent the results are brought into play. When a red plant and a purple plant are crossed, the nature of the F2 generation is quite different. The reds are now almost all red and the purples all purple. One of the four classes of gametes are produced by such plants in greater numbers than the other two classes. In the special instance just considered the experimental numbers are in accordance with the view that the F2 plant made by bringing both factors from one side (B L x B L) produces the four kinds of gametes in the ratio 1 BL : 1 BL : 7 B L, whereas the F1 plant made by bringing both factors from one side (B L x B L) produces its four kinds of gametes in the ratio 1 BL : 1 BL : 7 B L : 1 BL. In the former case B is said to be 'coupled' with L, while in the latter case there is said to be repression between B and L. In both cases the two kinds of gametes representative of the original parents are produced in excess. Several other cases recently worked out in the sweet pea and other plants suggest that this coupling or repulsion is the natural way of the gametes be joined, the nature of which may be indicated by the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Gametes</th>
<th>Classes of Gametes</th>
<th>No. of Zygotes</th>
<th>Classes of Zygotes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In Series.</td>
<td>A B b a B A b</td>
<td>In Series.</td>
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</table>

In the table n is half the total number of gametes in the series. Thus, in the case just considered the number of gametes in the series is 7 BL : 1 BL : 7 BL : 7 BL is 16, and a half 8. The right-hand side of the table indicates the nature of the F2 generation arising from the cross. In the table n is represented as a power of 2 (i.e., 8, 32, 128, etc.). Where there is coupling in F2, the 3 forms of gametes A B and a b are (1) twice as numerous as A B and a b, where there is repulsion in F2, the reverse is the case. There is coupling or repulsion for the same pair of factors the value of a 2 for both the replication and coupling series is the same. Most of the cases hitherto discovered in plants may be regarded as belonging to one or other of the series shown in the table, and those already discovered are marked with an asterisk. It is not improbable that other series may exist, but not enough is yet known to justify any definite statement as to their exact nature. What is clear, however, is that, in the process of cell-division which leads to the formation of the gametes, factors may become linked together, or, in reverse, according as is the case, and cross is made, and that the resulting 'coupling' or 'repulsion' is part of the same orderly process.

Phenomena of apparently similar nature have been witnessed in a few instances among animals, and the results show that when they come to be fully worked out, these processes will be found to play an important part in heredity. More especially is this likely to be the case where we are concerned with characters which are, as a rule, peculiar to one or other sex, for it is not improbable that the so-called secondary sexual characters are linked in this way with a sex factor. For further discussion of these matters the reader is referred to the article Sex.

12. A phenomenon of some interest in this connection is exhibited by certain hermaphroditic plants. It has been known for many years that some strains of single flowers throw doubles as well as single, and that, as the doubles are sterile, the only way to get them is to breed from such singles. When crossed with ordinary pure breeding singles, these double-throwing singles give a different result, namely, that when the cross was made, i.e., whether the double-thower was used as the male or as the female parent. The F1 generation occurs at that stage in the formation of gametes which is termed the 'reduction division,' a phenomenon peculiar to the vast majority of plants and animals. The nucleus of the cells composing the tissues of animals is characterized by the presence of small bodies which stain deeply with certain dyes and are consequently termed chromosomes. It has been found that, as a rule, the number of chromosomes in any given species is constant or nearly so, though differing for different species. Were the gametes to contain the same number, the total number of chromosomes would be doubled each time two gametes fused to form a fresh generation. This is avoided by a complex process leading up to the 'reduction division,' by which the number of the chromosomes in the gametes is reduced to one half of that found in the nucleus of the body tissues. It is plausible to suppose that the segregation of factors occurs at this stage, though it cannot be said that the evidence in favour of this view is sufficiently strong to put other possibilities out of court. Indeed, there are certain classes of evidence which tell markedly against it, more especially the phenomena of coupling and repulsion, and the fact that in certain heterozygous plants the ovv and spermatomata may differ in the factors which they bear. It is not altogether impossible that in these matters there may be a difference between plants and animals, but at present the question must be left open.

13. At this point mention should be made of a phenomenon which may serve to complicate the process of genetic analysis. It has been assumed in the foregoing account that any given gamete of one sex is capable of being impregnated by gametes of the other sex, and of giving rise to a fresh individual. There is, however, some evidence to show that in certain cases fertilization may occur, but that some of the zygotes formed are incapable of developing very far.
In the mouse, yellow is dominant to the wild agouti colour, but heterozygous yellows when bred together produce yellow and agouti in the ratio 2:1 instead of the expected 3:1 ratio. On further breading these yellows it has been found that none of them were ever identical to the pure yellow. One of two things must therefore occur: either there is mutation between the pure yellow and a 'yellow' sperm, so that they refuse to unite; or else they unite to form a agouti which is incapable of development. On the former hypothesis there is not even the possibility of being fertilized by agouti spermatozoa: and, since there is an equal chance of an 'agouti' ovum being fertilized by a 'yellow' or an 'agouti' sperm, the expectation, on this hypothesis, of making yellows together would lead to the ratio 1:1, so that all the yellows would be heterozygous. But in many hundreds of mice bred the ratio of yellow to agouti is definitely 3:1. Hence it must be supposed that the 'yellow' sperm can unite with the 'yellow' ovum, but that the resulting agouti is incapable of developing, at any rate beyond a comparatively early embryological stage.

This peculiar case in the mouse has recently been paralleled by an interesting one in the snapdragon (Antirrhinum). A form is known with light green foliage which will not breed true when self-fertilized, but always produces light green and normal green plants in the ratio 3:1. Careful examination, however, showed that three different kinds of seedling made their appearance among the progeny of such plants, viz. normal green, light green, and white in the ratio 1:2:1. The white, however, being without chlorophyll, were incapable of development and perished almost as soon as they raised their heads above the ground. The green seedlings were of two sorts: a green and a white. The green seedlings, however, the resulting agouti, though capable of a certain amount of growth, were unable to attain any size, and in the absence of the chlorophyll upon which the plant depends for its nutrition. The case of the snapdragons, even more than the mouse, is instructive, as it shows that selection can only be based upon the results of crossed breeding, and that the results of selection in one generation will be perpetuated in subsequent generations only by continued selection — in other words, that the effect of this process is a cumulative one. On the other hand, it is well recognized that there is a danger of the plants being lost and the characters failing in the long run by chance crossing.

The opinion is held among many breeders that, in certain cases at any rate, a character may be improved greatly in a few years by careful selection. The aim of the breeder is to obtain some more profitable type of animal or plant, and his first step is to cross two strains possessing desirable qualities, and to select from the offspring those individuals possessing the desired qualities in a single strain. He then breeds the individuals resulting from the cross for several generations, and from them back with one or other of the parents, and from the mixed lot he obtained he picks out those he wants for subsequent breeding from. Having found a useful type, he goes on breeding from it until it breeds true, or becomes fixed. The result of this combined process is generally termed 'improvement through selection.' Translated into modern terms, it may be expressed by means of a cross, and subsequently establishing a homozygous strain of the combination required. Neither part of this process is by any means comparable with what the biologist understands by the term 'selection.' For him the word has been coloured by the invention of the term 'natural selection;' and, as natural selection is originally conceived of as the gradual accumulation of very small variations leading slowly to a change of type (cf. art. Evolution), so the term 'selection,' even when applied to alterations in the breeding of animals and plants, was more or less unconsciously assimilated to a similar process. Hence, when the breeder spoke of a given result having been achieved by selection, the biologist was often apt to put his own summary, and to attribute to the gradual accumulation of minute variations a result which was certainly not brought about in that way.

Nevertheless, it is true that, in certain cases at any rate, a character may be to some extent intensified through crossing, and subsequently choosing for further breeding such individuals as exhibit the character in the most marked degree; but, as has been pointed out, more especially by Nilsson-Ehle, such cases may also be interpreted in terms of factors.

Working with wheat, this observer showed that red colour in the grain is dominant to white. But in different families three distinct proportions of red and white may occur. The red may be in the white as 8:1, as 16:1, or as 64:1. The inference is that in the first case we are dealing with the presence or absence of one factor, in the second of two, and in the third of three factors. And since each of these factors produces what is apparently precisely the same effect singly, it is probable that we are concerned with a single factor in the case of the red grain.

In such cases, however, it is impossible to say to which of the factors a given grain belongs, unless it is possible also to say whether it belongs to one of the factors, or to both, or to all three. This is only possible if the two or three factors are distinguishable from one another by other characters, and it is not an uncommon thing to find that this is the case. In the case of red grain, for instance, the red grain may be distinguished from the white by its being hardy, or by the fact that it is more or less resistant to disease. In such cases, therefore, the red grain is not simply the result of the presence of a single factor, but is the result of the presence of two or three factors, each of which is distinguishable from the others by other characters.

The use of the term 'factor' in the sense in which it is used here is not to be understood as implying that the factors are necessarily the same as those which are involved in the case of red grain. It is simply a convenient term by which to describe the presence or absence of a particular character, and it is to be understood that the factors are those which are involved in the case of red grain.

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possible to say. Fresh data may any day make
their appearance which will present the old pheno-
mena in a new light. For the present, however,
there is every reason to suppose that the properties
of animals and plants depend upon the presence or
absence of definite factors which in transmission
follow definite and ascertained laws. Moreover, the
does not. Its nature depends upon the nature of the
differences that were in the two gametes that went
to the making, and at the act of fertilization are
decided, once and for all, not only the attributes of
the creature that is subsequently to develop, but also
the nature and proportions of the gametes to which
it itself must eventually give rise. That the nature
of the environment influences the living thing is
beyond doubt. Better soil, more moisture, more
stimulating manure may sometimes affect the
alteration in the habit of a plant. Better hygiene and
education may largely influence the
nature of a human being. But to the supposition
that by such means a radical change can be brought
about in the living organism the facts of heredity
as we know them to-day certainly lend no counten-
ance. Within limits the organism is plastic, and
upon that plasticity allowance in the environment
may play, producing changes within those limits.
But there is no unequivocal evidence for supposing
that the change is at all essential, or that any
beneficial change brought about in the organism
through altered circumstances can in any way alter
the constitution of the germ-cells which that
organism contains. It is true that strong, healthy
plants generally produce better seed than those
which are poorly nourished. But this is because the
seed is really a larval form parasitic upon the
mother plant. The progeny of the plants from which
the seed develops, but not for some time part of the
environment of the de-
veloping seed; and it is in this capacity that the
better nourishment of the parent is apt to lead to
better formed and more vigorous seeds. Better
nutrition of the mother plant has not affected the
constitution of its gametes; it has only afforded
a better chance to the developing embryo in the
seed.

16. Another effect which must be carefully distin-
guished from that of heredity is that of tradition.
Where the young of animals live for some time
with their parents, they profit during early life by
their example. It is possible that in this way modifications in behaviour may be
gradually brought about, and the species become
ggradually adapted in certain respects to changed
conditions. Hocks will avoid a man with a gun,
though perhaps they have never been shot at.
So also it is said that the behaviour of many wild
animals differs according as they are in the
presence of a white or a brown man. But of all
animals the effect of tradition is strongest in man,
where the intelligence and means of communica-
tion are most highly developed, and the young
remain longest with their parents. Moreover,
man alone has devised methods of storing up his
experience. With each generation the store is
added to, revised, and improved; and each genera-
tion comes into the world endowed, through the
efforts of its forbears, with greater control over
the conditions under which it has to live. This is
sometimes spoken of as the "inheritance of nothing
from another." The expres-
sion is in some respects misleading, for it can-
not be too strongly emphasized that this passing
on of accumulated tradition has nothing whatever
to do with heredity in the strict biological sense.
What may or may not be inherited is the brain
capacity to take advantage of the accumulated
store of experience. Without such capacity the
store becomes of no account.

In discussing questions involving evolution and
progress in man, it is of the first importance to
distinguish the effects of tradition from those of
heredity proper. That heredity in man is of the
same nature as in other animals and plants there
is no reason to doubt. Mendelian inheritance in
its simplest form has already been demonstrated
for a number of a species. These, it is true, are
mostly of abnormal nature, because the student of
genetics is at present largely dependent on the
medical man for his data, and must deal with such
characters as have been adequately investigated,
whatever their nature. Among such characters
may be mentioned congenital catacar, brachy-
dactyls, tylosis palmna, and others, while of so-
called normal characters brown eye is dominant to
blue; and, in certain cases at any rate, red hair is
recessive to black. A peculiar feature in human
heredity would appear to be the large number of
characters showing sex-limited inheritance (cf. art.
676). Though for the present man is too im-
perfectly known to be of much service in the eluci-
dation of problems in heredity, there are yet two
cases in the species of the highest interest, because
the records in either sex have been demonstrated
centuries. One of these is the well-known Haps-
burg lip so characteristic of certain royal houses.
The eminence of those to whom it has come has assured a suc-
cession of portraits and documentary evidence, and
there is little doubt that this character has behaved
throughout as a simple Mendelian dominant over
the normal form. To-day, after many centuries, it is as well marked as ever in the House
of Spain. The other example is a case of night-
blindness near Montpellier, which began to affect
interest two centuries ago. For two centuries the
affected one to-day one of the most complete of human
degenerates; a pedigree numbering more than 2000
individuals and extending over ten generations.
During all this time the affection has behaved as
a simple dominant, and, like the Hapsburg lip, it
has persisted in its full intensity in spite of con-
ineral crossing with the normal type.

17. Heredity is a new science, and its students
are well aware of the magnitude of the labours in
front of them. Yet enough is clear to force upon
us the question whether our attitude towards
many social problems is in accordance with facts. Many
of those who to-day are anxious to reconstruct
society lay it down as self-evident that the whole
human body is no mere plastic thing which can be
moulded by treatment to give it this or that desired
character. Even from its earliest stages each em-
broyo is endowed, by the germ-cells that made it,
with a collection of factors which must inevitably
develop in a given way. Hygiene and education
are influences which can in some measure check the
operation of one factor or encourage the operation
of another. But that they can add a factor for a
good quality or take away the factor for an evil
one is utterly opposed to all that is known of the
facts of heredity. Men are in some measure what
circumstances have made them, but in far higher
degree they are what they were born. Moreover,
as regards parents, circummstances have nothing
in the inherent qualities of their offspring. Two
things there are that go to mould society, of which
the one is tradition that is handed on from one
generation to another, ever changing and gather-
ing up as the generations flow, while the other is
the genetic constitution of man—that collection of
factors given him at his making, differing from in-
HEREDITY (Ethics and Religion).

The purpose of this article is to select, from the great array of facts and considerations connected with heredity (of preceding art.), some which may prove of present importance to ethics and religion. Race penetrates the whole of life; it influences powerfully nations, families, individuals. It is a counterpoise or partial complement of that manifold environment whose influence was mainly regarded by Buckle and the great naturalistic historians. The known facts are not yet marshalled by a science which, though growing fast, is young; and recent more rapid increase of knowledge indicates that there is much more to know than we thought.

Sometimes it is certain that race is the most powerful force in history. At other times we are inclined to follow the writers who, like Bernard Shaw, think race an important and environment (climatc, political, social) all-controlling. Probably the relative importance of these factors varies in different parts of the field. There are races, like the Jewish, with a more subtle elasticity rather than a greater stiffness remain unchanged in all lands. There are countries, like North America, which bring many races to a common appearance. But all that environment effects is effected in and by the responding power of an inherited organism.

Moreover, ideas about heredity touch morals and religion at many points. The wide range of these ideas—many of them familiar through all ages—is not yet viewed as a whole, and misconceptions are mixed with traditional and pseudo, even with instructed and critical, opinion. The time, therefore, for definite conclusions has not yet come; but none the less some decided opinions and resolutions are possible and necessary. For the modern attention to heredity has produced a movement, and may produce results; and the results will be welcome or unwelcome to Christianity in so far as they foster or discourage responsibility, prudence, and unselfishness. But of these results the most important will be primarily in the sphere of thought, and will illustrate the truth that opinion may be more effective than material fact, and a change of ideals of greater consequences to a race than a change of blood.

In view of the vigour and merit of the new movement, some of us may be doubtful that a social system based upon the inherent nature of man would have greater stability and a better chance of surviving than one resting upon religious or ethical tradition alone; but, however, the basis of the whole that tradition sprang. The best type of social system is doubtless that combining the two, but the question of how far the one or the other is to predominate must be left for the future to decide. Before it can be settled, the inherent nature of man must be probed by deeper and more searching analysis. Cf., further, the following article.


R. C. Punnett.

(1) Distinctive elements in present thought. — We have learned to look at the social forms of individuals in a race to the changes of a race as such. Organisms change from age to age, and man as a species is changing; he can, it is alleged, control his own changes. The general principles of natural selection are valid for his case; the methods of Mendelian inquiry ought to yield significant results in his human life; the hopes of selective breeding should have a version about man and human society. The moral question about the science of heredity is, in fact, the question of the familiar tradition and the facts of the new science, and of the relation of the two. The question of the application of the relatively certain knowledge of the sequences of variation and the exclusion of useless steps? We can do better with our sheep than by a crude elimination. May we not do better with man than leave him to ‘chance’? This is the moral problem on the practical side. But behind it is a problem of knowledge. Does it lie in the fact that we know best what is worth while that man, improved or unimproved, should survive? Is the knowledge that races change a ground for humility and for hope? Or is it a warrant for self-reliance and a new ambition? And then, besides the social or political question, there is a question for the individual. Does our knowledge of the behaviour of race tend to rob a man of the conviction and the responsibilities of freedom? What scope is there for a fixed constitution for the action of that personal choice which on other grounds he has come to believe in?

(2) Causes of the present interest. — The existing interest in problems of heredity is (a) part of what at its highest is an interest in the ‘Reign of Law,’ and at its lowest an abandonment of the essential task of man in life and thought, in face of the mechanical conception of the universe. It is worth noting that all the interest of a materialistic sort exists in our society and side by side with a great development of psychical studies, a belief in new continuous influences other than blood, and a greatly extended conception of the powers of personality. In this ‘New Thought,’ the patent facts of heredity are accounted for by re-incarnation. All this speculation, so remote from naturalism, has not in any way been co-ordinated with the
thought movements called scientific in the biological sense.

(0) In the second place, the interest is due to recall from the exaggerated equalitarianism of the immediately preceding age. In that age, so practiced and so far were we to be made out of a variety of materials; and a sort of moral transformism expected the Ethiopian to change or not to need to change his skin. A just criticism of the quite imaginary superiority of some strains led to the conviction that all strains were alike in potentiality; and, when destroying a faction — the movement in religious and popular education thought has received its direction from the emphasis upon the subject in biology; and has been animated by the advances of biological knowledge and progress upon the environment; but, more frequently not very well understood. In illustration of the last sentence it may be remembered that some educated persons still believe that heredity means (exclusively) the direct inheritance of acquired characters—an occlusion denied by most biologists; or they set inherited qualities in contrast with innate ones; or when it is held exclusively that if among the children of men there were some who escaped the operation of the influences of descent. All cases of human life are cases of heredity. And we may take it as certain that, at least in regard to the body, men are not born with any but inherited properties and powers. What seems and is original in a human physique is the original result of mingling of inherited influences. Reference will be made again to the innumerable surprises of descent—the unlikelihood between children and parents; the remembrance of a remote ancestral type, recognized only in families of celebrity or enduring possessions; the incalculable appearance of genius in an ordinary stock—which are sometimes accepted as disproving the general truth of heredity. One of our interests is to escape from unbalanced studies, which exhibit the cases of the Huns or the case of the Jakes, to establish heredity as a sufficient explanation of human life; or reject it as unimportant on the evidence of genetically isolated genius and heroism—the prophetic art of Beethoven sprung of unmusical stock, the military power of men born of subject and unwary races. On the one hand, we must remember that what is uncalculated and uncalculable is not sufficiently important to be discounted. On the other, that, though race and circumstances are undoubtedly factors in the production of a person, it does not follow that they are the only factors concerned.

If it is impossible to deny the place of nature, it is unwise to deny the force of nurture because the tremendous power of nature is recognized. Well-bred must no doubt be well-bred, and the place in succession to worthy forbear. But the breeding requires a fit nature for its subject; and there must be many different forms of good training, to fit the many varieties of good race. Moreover, for training, there must be— as a factor growing in importance with advance—the consent and co-operation of the subject. The whole is the object, and according to the object, the means is the good. The whole is the subject, and according to the subject, the means is the good. But the breeding requires a fit nature for its subject; and there must be many different forms of good training, to fit the many varieties of good race. Moreover, for training, there must be— as a factor growing in importance with advance—the consent and co-operation of the subject. The whole is the object, and according to the object, the means is the good.

It must be remembered, besides, as correction, that distinctions originated by racial differences are maintained by other causes when the racial difference has ceased to act. A county, a district, gets character from the race that inhabits it. Other races entering the region take a varying share of the regional character. In England, for (we have not much certain knowledge), the ancient stock was first driven from the seaboard. The coast, and especially the East coast, was inhabited by Teutons—Saxons, Normans, Danes. At present there are dark-haired men of the older race in some coast-places. But they have acquired the social characteristics of the seafarers who once drove out their dark forefathers. Aristocracy still has some of the features of Norman society. The country gentleman still exhibits what is probably the Siberian type, and yet no blood-relationship is concerned here. The old Universities of Oxford and Cambridge—as has been shown or suggested by W. C. P. and D. Whetham—though now drawing almost equally from the same mixture of stocks, still exhibit divergent characteristics which in their origin may have been determined by the different races on which they respectively drew. General reflections of this sort are practically required before turning to some particular heads of discussion. The moral and religious problems will fall under the heads 'individual' and 'social'; and we must in each case consider the bearing both of speculative ethics and of moral religion on the one hand, and on the other of the statements and precepts of Christianity considered as based upon an accepted revelation of truth and duty. These divisions must be related to existing biological knowledge in general, to Mendelian work in particular, and to the proposals as well as the propositions of Eugenic Reform.

2. The individual. — With respect to the individual, it will be convenient to ask first what we may think of him in view of the general doctrine of heredity, and then to examine the facts, upon our provisional conclusion, of Mendelian work.

(1) General doctrine of heredity. — Of Original Sin (see Sin) it is impossible here to say more than that, whatever was the change or failure indicated by that doctrine, it was not an acquired character in the sense of biology. What is indicated is a fall, or failure to rise, in the relation between the spirit of man and God. The doctrine itself is not a gratuitous accusation of the race of man. It is the utterance of optimism under pressure of the experience of moral paralysis and temporal suffering. Its positive equivalent is the statement that we cannot measure either the dignity of man's origin or the splendour of his destiny by his present condition and his present individual character. A will better than the will he exhibits is the
origin of his being, and a virtue beyond his own present power is the end of his calling. It is not the Christian who declares the misery of man. What we want to assert is that the Christian interprets as the eclipse of a dignity which, through the moral effort made possible by Divine gift, man is invited to regain, whereupon the idea of racial determination is no more than a philosophical pseudo-scientific system for justifying one's own, or another's, inferiority. It is not now necessary to exhibit the influence of biological thought; and to inquire (a) what is its bearing for morals upon the question of the individual, his responsibilities, and his degrees of susceptibility; and (b) what is its bearing upon the control or influence of individuals in small or large groups, in the education of the child, the management of the family, the organizing of the nation, and so forth. Under both these heads it is desirable to distinguish between the general influence of the study of heredity and the particular influence on bearing of the Mendelian researches which constitute at present its most active and promising department.

Finally, turning to practice, we must ask what is the effect and what are the credentials of the eugenic proposals with which quite lately we have become more or less clearly familiar.

In speaking of the general effect or influence of biology, we refer not to the carefully acquired generalizations of Pearson, or Galton, or the writers in Biometrics, but to the strong general impression left by the studies on the minds of thinking men—that the qualities of a man are, in some sense, certainly fixed by inheritance. His ultimate character, we all admit, is a function of at least two variables, disposition and circumstance; but his disposition, it is contended, is the result of inheritance and is fixed at his birth. Moreover, at his birth it is the result of facts in his blood.

We may be safer in supposing that, while the physical frame, the diathesis in respect of disease and health, and so forth, are fixed by inheritance, the mental qualities and the personal temperament are excluded from the influence of blood. At any rate for our purpose we can content to allow—what certainly has not yet been proved—that though his whole complex organization a man is, in a certain sense, the result of natural inheritance. He is born what he is. Poets measure, but not less the man who cannot enjoy the poetry is born with that incapacity.

If we do not seek, then, to exclude from the range of hereditary influence any part of the complex constitution of man, or even any part where reason can be found for the freedom that is required for morals? May not a man conclude that, his character being fixed by inheritance, he has no responsibility for its improvement or for his actions? A doubt of the reality of responsibility on such grounds may have practical bad consequences for a man or for a generation after him; has passed away. It is certain that moral effort is gravely hindered in some men by the suspicion of its uselessness, and that thus—through the channel of an idea—more hindrance to improvement comes than from unfavourable inheritance. There are subjects in which a theoretical mistake when corrected leaves the life undamaged; for the apparent waste of time in unprofitable reflection is an essential part of the process of discovery. But, when the theoretical mistake refers to the very possibility of 'conduct' in the real sense, then the escape from error may leave a man with diminished power of self-control to correct an increased force of unfavourable habit. And the loss which may not appear in the man may become evident in the generation or the society.

It must be noted, however, that it is not only an abstract determinism that is unfavourable to moral effort. There is also its thoughtless elitarianism which, regarding moral events as uncaused and without result, pursues a bad course in the belief—if the great word may be used in such a connexion—that it may be retraced whenever the moral direction is altered. But when we allow this it must be said that the despondency and irresponsibility arising from the idea of racial determination are very real; and not less real in underdeterminism as a philosophic system is unfamiliar and unexamined. What can be said in answer to these impressions or suspicions?

(i.) First, there is an argument from ignorance (reduced in force, as will be presently pointed out by Mendelian research), which may be stated thus: The facts of heredity are grave enough. The drawbacks of evil inheritance are real. But, in the first place, the exact state of a man through inheritance is unknown. Older thinkers, relying principally upon the male line, and reckoning that as indicated by the patronymic, relying also upon knowledge of nearer ancestors alone, thought that the hereditary predisposition might be easily known. Fortis crescebit fortius et bonus. "Like father, like son." But the modern conception of the relationship—and it is a true one—recognizes the two parents as equally important, and knows that there are as many males in the female as in the male line. The patronymic stock, therefore, may or may not be important. To the excuse of the father's breeding and the success of his whole compatriotic background, "It runs in our family" ('Nec. E. W. vii. 6, 1148, 11), the answer would be, 'In which family?' The stock is almost infinitely mixed. The emergence of a given ancestral strain is inconceivable. The immediate forbears and the more remote are but collaterally related to the descendant. It is the stock, the germ, that matters. Little of importance can be learned by the study of father and mother alone. If you have bad qualities by inheritance from bad ancestors, you have many good ones in the same way; your great-great-grandfather, like almost every one's great-great-grandfather, was by modern standards intermate; but his wife was by modern standards a redhead and an ascetic. You cannot tell which influence is strongest in you; at any rate the result is mixed. And since you cannot tell that you have not the most favourable inheritance, is it your duty to act as if you had, and not to run the risk of degrading, under the cloak of a bad strain which you do not possess, fine qualities which may actually be better than any you can find for yourself in the freedom that is required for morals?

This argument from ignorance is at any rate inadequate to meet a reasoned determination. It does not touch the facts, whatever they are. But the argument is strong formally and practically. And, whatever the facts are, the duty indicated is plain. Fate may defeat the righteous man from without; it may defeat him in the very act of resistance. But his effort will still have been righteous; and if we turn for a moment to the language of positive religion, we must add that the 'judgment' upon the man will not be determined by his achievement measured on an external standard without regard to heredity, any more than by such achievement measured without regard to circumstances.

(ii.) But for may be actually necessary to the process of discovery. But, when the theoretic mistake refers to the very possibility of 'conduct' in the real sense, then the escape from error may leave a man with diminished power of self-control to correct an increased force of unfavourable habit. And the loss which may not appear in the man may become evident in the generation or the society.

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facilities which without nurture remain not only hidden but incomplete. But nurture can only develop what is there; and it draws out one or more of a multitude of capacities. And, if this is true of the broad and definite capacities which are required by certain modes of life and livelihood, it is also true of the very numerous and subtle capacities which are required in the cultivation of virtuous or evil character. For character is not the same thing as temperament. Character is both defined and realized by the man in which a given external environment is managed in given circumstances. The vast excess of heritable qualities affords the field for such a choice. The relatively fixed external scene does not preclude a certain limited freedom of action, because the scene, though fixed, is greater than can be used or occupied by the life confronting it. Choice must be made for the scene; and it is often the case that internal constitution does not preclude a limited freedom of choice. For the possibilities are too numerous for realization. The potentialities cannot not all find room on the narrow scene of one lifetime. A man is capable of refinement and of bonhomie, of luxury and of self-denial. He cannot not in the same life principally exhibit good-nature and principally exhibit an excitable sensitiveness. He encourages one of the sets of qualities, and this partly by a direct fostering of them through thought and discussion, aided by ideals; and partly, and in a more important degree, by carrying out, on account of the same ideals, the actions which are the natural outcome of these qualities and which nourish and nourish, of a person to nourish the root. The results of training in armies and various professions of men drawn from a stock fairly evenly mixed show both by the contrast of the professional types attained and by relative uniformity within a profession that life is the result of the development by action of one or other set of qualities out of many such sets present in the subjects of training. The contrasted set of qualities, left without expression or result, is inoperative for the man, and is quite possibly pro tanto ascribable to the man, and it is apparent that the inheritance of acquired characters does not quite for certain apply to the specific case of starvation.

Again, besides the want of room—to use a figure—for all the inherited qualities in one life, there are some qualities that are mutually exclusive of one another. A man may be both extravagant and magisterially, both shal and boastful, both arrogant and servile, both rash and cowardly. But he cannot be both proud and humble, both predominantly devoted to self and predominantly of service to others. Many of these inheritances which are, in our view not moral, but the raw materials of morals, are in their own nature ambiguous, and can be turned to virtue or to vice. Such are tractability, caution, self-regard, the power of admiration. But even of these some are incompatible, in exercise and cultivation, with other qualities inherited by the same person. Life is the story not only of the management of circumstance but of the management also of these interior equipments. It is the abandonment of anti-imulsive management that constitutes moral failure. Moral failure is the failure to be moral.

Used at this point the language of positive religion, we may say that sinful action is not always action having any moral character in itself. Sleeping, eating, striking, speaking, are moral in themselves; and their wrong occurrence is the result of impulse only. Sin in such cases, and probably in all, consists in the declining of free and moral action and lapsing into the un-moral plane where action is the resultant of impulses.

A suggestion may be useful of some inheritances which are markedly disadvantageous, but which are best known as such precisely by those men who, having them, are overcoming them.

(a) The inheritance of qualities which are in themselves distinctly disadvantageous, such as the tendency to deceit or cowardice. These may be compensated, in a sense, in that they appear as qualities useful in the achievement of their purposes. There are some others which it is difficult to believe correlated with any compensative nature of qualities.

(b) The inheritance of qualities in themselves distinctly disadvantageous, in circumstances which render them practicable disadvantageous, for example, the inheritance of a courtier of an indolence to unpleasant contacts, which is useful to a person born in more primitive circumstances; the inheritance in humble life of what is roughly the aristocratic temperament—pride, haughtiness, the rapid concentration of attention, the expectation of swift obedience. A most practical moral disadvantage is the inheritance of warrior blood or of pleasure-seeking tendencies in persons born to dependence. It may be seen on a large scale in South Africa, where whole nations inheriting magnificent qualities for primitive war are born into an alleged civilization under which the warrior temper leads a man to the indignities of a gendarme; or a whole race, as at Thaba N'Chu, to disinheritance. The adventurous spirit which was once notably among white races was the squallid face of 'I.D.B.,' evasion of taxes, or aggravated assault.

(c) The inheritance in combination of qualities for all or some of which might, possibly, be valorous. This is probably the commonest cause, if we take the physiological calculus, of all our moral defects; the incorruptibility of impulsive, the incorruptibility of a generous impulse, of the parental impulse with the economic one. In fact, to take a large view, it might be said that the moral difficulties of a nation, or indeed of men as a race, the largest single part arises from the discordance between the inherited impulses which make us men and the inherited moral qualities which make some rich and others in consequence poor.

(d) Possibly also—and indeed experience seems to indicate it—there is in some cases a successive emergence in the course of one life-history of violently contrasted ancestral strains; so that, besides that conflict of impulses which at any one time occupies the conscience of the man, there may also be a succession of different types of prevailing impulses; and this results in the baffling of an acquired prudence, a destruction of what seemed a man's self-knowledge, and also in the disturbance of external conditions or social obligations which were fit for the earlier train of impulses, but unfit for the later.

Every one is familiar with the fact that what is undertaken in youth is not always easy to bear in old age, and that "tasks in hours of insight willld are only with extreme difficulty and many groans 'in days of gloom fulfilled.' But this does not adequately account for the difficulties which beset at least some individuals inheriting markedly diverse strains. A man who in youth and early manhood shares the prudent and industrious temperament of a Puritan ancestry seems to experience in middle life the sudden emergence of another set of relatives, hard-riding and money-scattering squires. It will be remembered, of course, in contrast with this, that such dislocated inherences may be practically very disadvantageous and act as a store of energy in societies which need explosions.

1 Most diamond-buying, a crime of white men in which the native labourer is an accomplice.
Unfavourable conditions may in some cases practically eliminate a quality by refusing it sufficient expression—as the root is starved by the competition of offshoots. Sometimes, viz. when the quality is very robust, the conditions appear rather to concentrate energies which might have been excluded that they should indicate their full exhibition. Thus, the influence of religious Puritanism spread so widely in the England of the 17th cent. as to cover with its sombre and austere habit of life much of the upspringing blood of another England, which, thus confined by the circumstances of what we now call the middle class, was released in the irresistible fervour of the New Model Army.

The circumstances which thus strikingly alter the practical effect of an unchanged heredity may be local, national, economic, ethical, religious; depending on fashion, station, vocation.

Sometimes it seems very probable that half the surprises of public life and of private encounter arise from the introduction of rare or exotic elements of race into the familiar lines of society—a Lamport in Parliament; a Carlyle in Chelsea; the French descendants of Henri iv. through Charles x. and the Whig aristocracy by the Cromwellian soldiers who are to this day boycotted as Catholic squires in Tipperary; Diersall the Castilian, living in an atmosphere of the lawyer-son of a literary man. A man inheriting qualities unfavourable to himself, in their combination, or their situation, nevertheless may, and often actually does, carefully avoid the occasions which give opportunity for their unfavourable effect; and they are weakened by the refusal of expression. And, though it would appear that he cannot hand down by inheritance the influence in them made secure, and the son inherits by blood not the gain but the heirloom—not his father's acquisitions but a share of his father's patrimony—yet the father can and does leave to his son even by blood greater general strength, and he may leave, besides, better surroundings, and better ideals; thus he sets about his own the influences of a good man's home.

With some of these, indeed with all, the struggle may be lifelong. For the Christian this is a foreseen difficulty, for he has been led to put no trust in 'the flesh' and to believe that high conduct must come not from the absence of difficulty there or from removing such difficulty, but in being delivered from the sphere of those influences. The consideration of these higher counsels does not belong to the present article. But it falls to us here to mention that the existence even of immeasurable difficulties in the blood ought not to daunt Christian thought any more than it defates, however much it harasses, the Christian life.

(5) Effect of Mendelian researches.—The effect of these upon ethics is not so great as it is supposed to be in some quarters, but the impression made is prodigious and the legitimate effect is very considerable. In speaking of the impression one must confess that it has sometimes been exaggerated in the common conception of biology as well as in the common conception of morals. In respect of biology, non-naturalists believe that naturalists have deserted Darwin in a body, and have found in Mendelism a new theory of the origin of species. The real fact is that naturalists still, on the whole, follow the line that Darwin traced, but at present are engaged not in reconstituting the past history of species but in observing the present behaviour of hybrids.

With regard to morals and sociology, it is supposed that Mendelism itself is a new method of procedure, promising better results than religious conceptions; or else that Mendelists have cleared up to a very large extent the facts of human inheritance. These opinions are not shared by biologists. But the impressions made, first by regular results capable of tabulation, and secondly by the exhibition of a process which is irreversible and of very great; and the actual acquisitions for anthropological thought are considerable. They can only be enumerated. (a) Mendelian research has reduced the force of the argument for practical freedom which was based on the fact of our ignorance—the argument in which we criticize the naive confidence of the naive despondency based upon the consideration of one line of ancestry alone, or upon the somatic life-history of immediate ancestors. This argument from ignorance retains great force, and it is certain that we have no such knowledge as can dissipate the obligation of effort for every individual. But the regular distribution through descent of such qualities as are Mendelian (that is, so unitary as to answer to the Mendelian analysis) certainly tends to a prospect of knowing one day much more of the order in which human qualities are reproduced in descent. Certain supposed laws of that reproduction had long been familiar. The repeated falsification of these laws tended to encourage those who held the opposite view. But when the assertion was observed again and again that ancestral features, and even a complete assemblage of such features, may appear at intervals which defied all calculation and disconcerted all expectation, the knowledge of the stock's history was not, as in ordinary private families, the appearance of total originality in the offspring—a strangeness of feature and temperament which was only quite gratuitously traced to a forgotten ancestor; and the phenomena of a mixed race in the offspring became associated in the mind. (b) Mendelism short steps to discovery (taken within a short span of variation within a species) give hope of advancement towards the finding of that law. To this extent the argument from ignorance, from the impossibility of discovering the facts loses force—an argument which was practically effective for moral encouragement. For that ignorance depended upon the proposal of a law to which the exceptions were too numerous and too obvious to be ignored. Mendelian work has shown that the distribution of the phenomena is more complex than was supposed, and this gives promise of discerning a regular sequence in appearances which were formerly the most evidently incausal.

In the interest aroused by the still recent rediscovery of Mendel the work of Weismann is partly forgotten. By his description of the continuous germ-plasm which is the foundation of his immediate forebears is an insufficient method for estimating the forces of heredity in an individual, those forebears being in Weismann's thought collateral relations, like the leaf on a twig next above the leaf under consideration. The widening of our outlook in this manner and the more complex sequences shown by Mendelian study give a fresh hope of discovering regular sequences in inheritance, and so lessen the appearance of physical originality in individual human lives. We have learned how a pure racial life may be the putting of a mixed race; how some features may be completely eliminated by breeding; and how original heterozygotes may arise from the interbreeding of two contrasted varieties.

(b) Secondly, and more particularly, Mendelian research has upset the doctrine of the average or proportional representation of ancestral qualities in the offspring. This is perhaps the most important difference for ethics. Under the guidance of
Galton looked for a quasi-mathematical representation of different stocks in a given descendant. A man whose great-grandmother was Swiss was eighth-part Swiss. We now know that the system of proportions within the individual does not hold that, given a Mendelian human character, it ought, whether as dominant or recessive, to reappear uncombined in a certain proportion of the descendants of which it forms part. This particular virtue could be conceived of as a Mendelian feature (which by reason of its complexity it cannot be), its non-appearance in a particular individual might be due to its recessive character. And, besides, we could no longer argue as confidently as before from the enormous excess of moral qualities inherited by every stock in the midst of families otherwise at a disadvantage psychologically, says with reference to the students of genetics:

"If you credit us with the power of being able to predict ... mentally defective, may we also credit with at least some portion of the fault its appearance of moral ability?"

The answer is in the negative. How perilous for practice may be such ill-founded expectation is illustrated when the same writer says:

"Surely segregation for life with kindly treatment must in the interests of posterity be the fate of all who both fall in life in the lower grade, and who have no redeeming qualities to compensate for such a defect."

In our present state of information such language is no doubt used by a thoughtful man only in irony or caution. But perhaps this is not enough.

The subject is very serious, very delicate, and very new to the public. And it is better to say simply and directly with Punnett:

"Except in very few cases, our knowledge of heredity is man is at present far too slight and too uncertain to base legislation upon."

Who foresees, and who would now foresee, with all the materials for judgment and with all the assistance of Mendelian observation, the emergence—to take no great or hereditary Voltaire, et alie, et alie, et alie masculins? To look at Homboun's best in the Leuvre is to recognize a mystery of phenomena which stands unexplained by the generalizations of science. Art, with its power to represent now and again a mixed effect of epoch, race, profession, and personality, corrects the narrow conception which rigidly and, within its sphere, usefully arises from the rigid attitude and selective contemplation of science.

By Mendelian work, then, the argument from ignorance and the argument from excess of equipment are alike reduced in force. But virtue and vice are not allelomorphs, and the moral agent is not the mental heredity. The qualities which are the raw material of morals are not unitary in the Mendelian sense. And, in spite of the reducing process which is exhibited in Mendelian observation, and which possibly corresponds to a certain stage in karyokinesis, every man finds in himself a large excess range of possibilities; so that, even if the moral morals are assimilated as such, the life history is the scene of an enforced exercise of a real selection, often carried out under the influence of ideals which found their first strength in people of another blood. Both blood and circumstance closely condition the moral effort, but they do not determine it. A man cannot choose whether he will be a Teuton or a Saxon. If he be born Arab, he cannot reach the excellence of the Celt, or the Celt him. But he can choose between being the best Arab he can be and the worst Arab he may be. A man cannot choose whether he will be educated at a Public School or not; but he can choose between doing there as well as he can or as badly as he dares.

Religionally, we should say that a man is called upon to make the best of inherited qualities as of circumstance. He can make the worst. To surrender to temptation is to decline to the name of the natural impulses so that behaviour becomes the resultant of their contest. The life of grace is a life in which the will declines to re-enter the sphere of necessity and is capable of an anti-impulsive effort. And, if we use the language of dogma, we must say that a man will be judged not according to his moral accomplishment, measured on an external scale but according to the degree of his fidelity under conditions moral and material, external and internal.

a. Society—From the case of the individual we turn to the case of influence exercised by man on man, by education, and government, in the family and larger groups. Here we shall discuss (1) the non-inheritance of acquired characters, and (2) enigmatic proposals.

(i) Non-inheritance of acquired characters.

At first sight it seems that our judgment must be greatly affected by belief in the inheritance or non-inheritance of acquired characters. Something is still said on behalf of their inheritance on a priori grounds. Popular thought and the thought of practical breeders still affirm this inheritance. But we have to take account here of the biological denial of such inheritance or of its occurrence in a sufficient number of cases to affect the course of variation. The importance of this difference of opinion is not so great as it may appear, for there is certainly another nexus of moral and mental inheritance besides that of the blood. Tradition and the current of ideals, religion, education, public opinion—in one word, institutions—form a link between man and man and between generation and generation, by means of which the moral ideals of one are inherited by another; and here, more securely than in the germ plane, we may except the analogy between memory and heredity which has been taught by Samuel Butler and by Dr. James Ward. Those ideals may find their best opportunities in a given race, but they also pass from race to race. Formed in one racial soil, they may be carried on in another.

The results of character in different races seem to show that, while race remains a factor of real importance, the divergencies of society in mental standing are to be accounted for in the main by the differences of culture. When the stock is fairly mixed, as in Britain, the results of a given culture appear to an external observation startlingly regular and uniform. It is only when viewed from within, by a member of the cultured class, that the differences of race within the class appear important.

The other bond, the bond of ideals, is the one in which the acquisitions of culture are passed on. The task of education is the same whether or not there be any such inheritance in the physiological sense. If improvement can be passed on by blood, then we must improve each generation as far as we can; and we must equally do this if every generation starts with a clean sheet, uninfused by the
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behaviour or the experience of ancestors. Welsmann has shown, even in the case of musical ability, that its capacity and not accomplishment which is handed on hereditarily.

The case for care in its outer sense remains unshaken—care for the progressive improvement of the environment, in such matters as food, water, air, housing, medicine; care for the elimination of disease; and finally for the increasing of liberty, greater justice, more equal opportunity, less unequal rewards. And here it may be remarked that in a relevant volume of The Functioner, exhibiting very fully the present condition of the study of tuberculosis, hardly anything is said of inheritance. Physicians, and indeed physiologists like Starling, assert that the future of the race depends mainly upon our care of the rising generation.

(2) Eugenios proposals—Two rival schemes are in existence for supplementing or even replacing the work which we may generalize under the names of education and influence.

(a) The first, which may be associated with the name of Archdall Reid, and which suggests affinities with the thought of Nietzsche, is that of giving free play to the forces of elimination so as to secure improvement by means anterior to those of natural selection. The consideration of this need not be expanded, for it is not at present prominent. All that need be said is that we have no security that the natural forces which have the tendency to diminish the force of pity within himself by lessening the action dictated by pity, is like inviting a breeder of racehorses to instruct himself in the art of cultivating the character of swiftness. It is an attempt to improve the horse of man at the cost of those elements of character, individual and social, for the sake of which alone it is worth while that the race of man should survive.

(b) In broad contrast with this is the movement of Eugenics which is animated by the desire to find some method more merciful than that of the dog-breeder, who said in explanation of his success: 'I breed a great many, and I kill a great many.' This Eugenics which has for its base the ideas that we have done our best with the existing human material; that the improvement of environment is no longer the highest path; that we cannot face the alternative of allowing the free play of any destructive forces; and that the line of improvement is to be found in getting better lives as the material for nurture—more of the best and less of the worst.

This movement is both educative and legislative, both restrictive and positive; and its different aspects engage the attention of different persons. From our point of view the merits of the movement differ in its different parts. Its educational work, supposing guidance can be relied upon, must be almost entirely good. But any efforts in the direction of legislation must be surrounded with peril. While education is safe and legislation at present dangerous, it must be remembered that even more directly militates against spontaneity, because the considerations involved come nearer to the heart of the matter. In a curious and intricate study of other forms of affection, von Hartmann shows that their action is not to be accounted for on mechanical or consciously rational grounds. They owe nothing to calculation of benefit, nothing to mechanical or physiological necessity. It seemed to von Hartmann that a cosmic reason, not apprehended by the personal mind, produced results which are in the true interests of the race and of the mass of justifiable because they are not at present free. They lack the self-control which freedom requires, and they are also open to the mischievous control of other persons. There is a strong case for their segregation, in safe judgment can be reached in defining their condition. But it is not certain that segregation must be by legal action. It would be best at the present stage to extend very largely the voluntary work, which is being done to the end of giving to persons, and to supplement it by public funds. And, if further steps must be taken, they must only be taken: (i.) not at the cost of a general extension in the community of suspicion and fear, especially in the more dependent classes; (ii.) not at the cost of human dignity as such; (iii.) not as an introduction to what are known as positive movements in the improvement of the race. If by a general improvement of the environment (in which we include a general rise in wages) a greater actual freedom was given to all classes, it is probable that in the majority of cases families would take due care of their own feeble-minded members. When the whole family is feeble-minded, a case for compulsion arises; and the legislation which met this case could be framed so that at least the case of criminal neglect by natural guardians. The weak point of the matter is in the fact that it is in effect a legislation providing for the poor to be controlled by the rich.

The point for calling a halt, even in cases concerning the dangerous or inconvenient parent, is reached when we come in sight of a lowering of public morals by action giving offence even to the ill-instructed conscience; and it is for the educational section of the Eugenic Movement to remedy this. When we turn to the positive reformer, the moral and practical difficulties which confront him are great. It is true that Eugenists would have to seek the cultivation of different kinds of excellence. A general or average improvement would destroy the work of society. If we have only sinewy men to drive the car, where shall we find the heavy man for navvy work? Different breeds would have to be formed along widely different lines of specialization. This would check the interchange of life; for, if there were free interchange, the enterprise would be defeated by 'panmixia.' We should impair still further the social unity of mankind which has for its base the idea that we have done our best with the existing human material; that the improvement of environment is no longer the highest path; that we cannot face the alternative of allowing the free play of any destructive forces, and that the line of improvement is to be found in getting better lives as the material for nurture—more of the best and less of the worst.

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Majorities always suffer.

In order to reach the more difficult consideration which is part of our subject, the case of the feeble-minded may be briefly dismissed. The control of the ready and permanently feeble-minded is morally
individuals. Whether this speculation be true or not, there can be no doubt that the moral and religious element is involved in anything which necessarily replaces uncalculating affection by calculations extraneous to the personal attraction. It may conceivably be necessary, that the method should be adaptable to many cases it must carry this loss. And the interest of true progress seems to be in securing the good—supposing provision to be certainly recognized and securely aimed at—by means which reduce as little as possible the spontaneous element.

Such means are found when definite encourage- ments and prohibitions are discarded, and we have instead some system that puts on good unions a small, hardly perceptible, but constantly repeated, premium. Is not such a system found precisely in a good social code which requires in all the cultivation of what is best; not avowedly for the sake of offspring, but for the sake of social life itself in its general aspect? In modifying the other environment in its truest sense—better ideals, more liberty, more self-respect, more respect for every citizen—that secures more surely even those special ends to which economists recall us! And is not a particular part of this really good society, and the part that most surely reacts upon parenthood, the institution of marriage itself? Where marriage is rampant, late, and inextricably hindered by human prejudices of caste, fashion, display, there it is least likely to be real. Where the true nature of marriage is well taught and firmly believed in, where the rule of marriage is faithfully obeyed, there, in constantly increasing effect, it tends powerfully to set a premium upon the best lives.

For, in the men's by its way has the freedom of the man's garland by its worth, giving an advantage in the competition of races and nations to the mono- gamous. Christian marriage, if only it were entirely true to its definition, would give this advantage in a much higher measure. The business of exchange, in the proportion in which it is true to its definition, steadily produces a society of men marked by industry, honesty, mutual considera- tion. Christian marriage, true to its definition, requires high degrees of self-government, respect for others, and respect for the other marriages, industry, sacrifice for offspring. And the qualities thus fostered are in point of fact found to be correlated, on the whole and in the long run, not only with moral excellence of all sorts, but with the other human qualities coveted, including intellectual excellence.

For Christians, in this connexion as in all others, the task undoubtedly is to guard the ideal view of life against every advance of materialistic con- ceptions, and to preserve in activity the spiritual forces of their existence. They must, in every instance, and in every sense, be bad sense, mechanical. But the difficulty is to determine what conceptions are most truly spiritual. 'The pig which makes the sty—we abandon our own peculiar quest, in which has actually been found all former real advances. But such a statement cannot pass, as it stands, among Christians who are pledged, by the doctrine of the Incarnation, to the faith that it is the busi- ness of the spiritual forces, with respect to the material conditions. Whether it be a Bill, as it was in the same year relating to the Education of Defective Children. A careful study of the measures shows that it is impossible in such an article as this
to express a reasoned judgment on their general effect. Controversy upon them has already begun, and will secure as it proceeds an examination of the thoroughly possible details of the proposed laws in concrete cases. On the one hand, urgency is pressed by those who are convinced of the danger to the race of leading defective persons in families; and although sure that large powers of detention will always be prudently used. On the other hand, men not well acquainted with the facts point to the danger of including under the compulsory powers children who are merely backward; and Sir James Crichton-Browne, one of the Visitors in Lunacy, says: 'The tendency seems to be at present most marked, in England as well as in America, to concentrate attention far too exclusively on heredity as the cause of degeneracy, and to look to segregation too hopefully as the one sure means of its prevention.'

The opinion of Dr. Auden, the School Medical Officer for Birmingham, is also worthy of attention, especially in view of what Sir J. Crichton-Browne calls 'almost a scare' on the subject of feeblemindedness. Dr. Auden says that of 159 children presented to him as mentally deficient, 64.5 per cent were made so for the sake of education and the ordinary schools; and adds: 'In view of the social disabilities likely to accrue to a child under this Act (sic), it is of the utmost importance to determine whether the intellectual retardation is temporary and he speaks of the difficulty of diagnosis (Report for 1918 to the Birmingham Education Committee, pp. 54-71).

In conclusion, while it is with hesitation that Christians may oppose reforms which have much of good in their motive, they must present a direct and unhesitating resistance, even at the cost (could it be proved) of grave delays in physical improvement and immense national expense and suffering, to all methods which can be justly described as cramps on the children of freedom, which has become natural to Christians, or as inconsistent with the method of salvation we have received to believe—a method which seeks good not by the forcible elimination of evil, but by the long road of a sacrifice in which the Highest is involved.

1 The first of these two measures (the Mental Deficiency Bill) has become an Act; and the operation of the Law as now provisionally defined is expected with very great confidence and approval.
saving truth. In the long struggle to preserve the distinctive character of the Christian faith the emphasis fell on doctrine, and it became necessary to establish that which had been taught by the apostles, through a duly accredited channel of the tradition. The claim of Apostolic succession in the episcopate and the creed were the outcome. When Constantine granted imperial favor, the Church, which was the bitterest of the contendents in the contest was vastly increased. Heresy became criminal. In the reign of Theodosius II. (382) it was made a capital offence. The effect is seen to this day in the common dread of the epithet even among Protestants.

II. SCENE OF THE HISTORY OF HERESY.—I. Its rise in Apostolic times. Almost from the very beginning of the Christian faith divergences of belief arose. These were more serious than the temporary partyism that sprang from attachment to favourite leaders (1Co 1-2). They represent real differences in the point of view from which the new faith was apprehended. Some of the ancient writers place Jewish sects and Greek schools among Christian heresies. This error points to the fact that the dangers of division arose mainly from influences emanating from these two quarters. Many of the early sects found it difficultly if not impossible to detach themselves from their inherited Judaism, while Greco-Roman culture naturally clung to the ideas connected with those religious aspirations which had found fulfilment in the Jewish message. Thus, while Judaisms threatened to absorb Christianity and obliterate its distinctive features by combining with it its legal and ceremonial forms and by interpreting its ethical and religious spirit in the terms of an abstract monotheism, the Greek spirit threatened to engulf the faith in a speculative philosophy. From the outset Jesus Himself was the theme of central interest. The conservative, unprogressive Jewish believers would have made Him a mere man; the speculative Greek philosophers would have made Him a cosmic force, and thus to introduce a cultus with secret mystic rites and their associated moral results of asceticism or licentiousness. Naturally, there was also the denial of the early Christian eschatology, especially the physical resurrection. The struggle with this movement called forth a considerable portion of the NT writings. There appears to have been no organization holding these views. Like the later Gnosticism, of which this was the beginning in Christianity, it represents merely a tendency. The Nicene Fathers are not the only party named in the NT. They are charged with anti-Judaism and loose morals. A guess of later writers traces them to the descom Nicolas at Antioch. It is evident that before the end of the 1st cent. the speculative movement that threatened the great Nicene controversies had already begun.

2. Heresies of the Nicene Age.—I. ANTINOEAN HERESY.—(a) Gnosticism.—The greater part of the Christian bittermen in the 2nd and 3rd centuries arose out of the effort to preserve the early Christian traditions in the face of philosophic and fantastic attempts to combine them with Greek speculation and Oriental mythology. The long lists of heresies given by the Church writers represent in many instances only variants of a common type. The term 'Gnostic may be allowed to stand for the whole movement that threatened the unity of the Church. For Gnosticism is not the name of a separate body of people or system of doctrines, but rather a trend of thought and practice. Attempted classifications of the phenomena of Gnosticism are unsatisfactory. They are too variegated and complex. Syncretism in religion was a characteristic of the times. The advent of the Christian faith gave fresh inspiration to the hope of attaining to a final and perfect knowledge of all being. Christianity came as a 'light (pistis); it must be elevated into knowledge (gnosis). The prevailing Neoplatonism of Alexandria, shot through with Oriental imagery, was the instrument for the accomplishment of this task. See, further, art. GNOSTICISM.

(b) Origenism.—By way of reaction a Christian Gnosticism appeared. Its centre was the catechetical school at Alexandria, founded by St. Papias. Here Philo the Jew had taught his Christian successors how to marry Hebraic tradition to Platonic philosophy by means of allegorism; and Clement, by a series of speculations supported by the fiction of a secret Apostolic tradition, and Origen, in a systematic way, built up a body of great importance and realism. Gnosticism of a type that mostly passed for Christian. It was able to do so by maintaining the appearance of preserving the Scriptures, the common traditions, and the Rule of Faith. We are here concerned only with those features of Origenic speculation on account of which he was later regarded as a heretic. First, in his attempt to identify the Logos with the Son of God without compromising the unity and supremacy of God or denying the reality of the incarnation, he postulated the real general, in eternity, of the Son from the essence of the Father. While this set the Son within the Godhead, it subordinated Him to the Father. From the standpoint of a later, more cosmic doctrine than Gnosticism, this was heresy. Second, in accordance with his scheme of the origin of all things from the highest being and its return thither, he seemed to affirm the ultimate restoration of all, even of devils, to God. This too became heresy. Inasmuch, however, as Origen's speculations became the source of the later doctrines of the Trinity and the two natures of Christ, we can say that the Gnostic heresy reproduced in Origen prepared the way for orthodoxy. See, further, art. ORIGEN.

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(e) Marcionism.—A powerful reaction against the prevailing tendency of speculation was headed by a merchant named Marcion, who came from Pontus to Rome about A.D. 140 and propagated his anti-Jewish, apparently Pauline, ascetic form of Christianity, with such success that there sprang up hundreds of churches which maintained his views. "Knowing that the Gospel was the revelation of the God of grace in Christ—the good God in contrast with the Jewish God of righteousness and vengeance—and of the Pauline antithesis of law and grace to the end, he denied that Jahweh could be identified with the God of love who suddenly revealed Himself when Jesus came to Capernaum. Life in the world created by the Jewish God was evil, and the true Christian life was the ascetic. Marriage was forbidden in his churches. In accordance with these views he framed a canon of Christian Scriptures that included, along with only ten genuinely Pauline Epistles, Luke's Gospel and Acts with the Jewish portions expurgated. Marcion's identification of Jesus with the good God gave an impulse to orthodoxy to place Him on an equality with God, and his canon of new scriptures gave an impulse to the delimitation of a true canon. Marcionism was in effect repulsed because of its two Gods and its rejection of the OT, but its moral vigour was great enough to perpetuate its churches in Italy, Egypt, Palestine, Arabia, Syria, and elsewhere, for a long time. See, further, art. MARCIANISM.

(d) Monarchianism.—Other reactions against speculation took the form of a return towards the simple early Christian view of Jesus and a rationalistic Judaism. As time passed, it was powerfully supported by the critical-historical method, and elsewhere, for a long time. See, further, art. MARCIANISM.

(e) Montanism.—The Kataklysthetic, or Montanist, heresy, which is the second principal reaction against the speculative tendency, got its name from Montanus, a Christian prophet of Phrygia. This man sought (A.D. 156) to combine the Phrygian tendency to freency and ecstasy with the mystical age, anti-Judaistic, anti-Jewish, and anti-Jewish morality of the early Church, and, at the same time, to announce the fulfillment of the promises of the Paraclete (in himself, it was charged), the Immanuel of Christ's return, and the near establishment of the Kingdom at Pepusa in Phrygia. All they received the Spirit were to be prophets; they were 'perfect,' able henceforth to live sinlessly, and would follow the ascetic life. Marriage was forbidden. Yet, recognizing the impracticability of his ideals for some, he allowed a lower grade who acknowledged two grades of sin—mortal and venial.

Montanism (q.v.) was doubtless highly moral and spiritual in aim. It sought to correct the prevailing laxity by denying a second person, and the prevalent formalism by substituting for ecclesiastical or episcopal authority the authority of immediate inspiration. Tertullian, late in life, to Montanism is an evidence of its great moral power. The movement made great headway, and only after long controversy, lasting into the fifth century, did it remain in opposition to the speculative, allegorizing school of Alexandria. Monarchianism and Montanism are the principal forms of this reaction. Monarchianism was contrasted with and rejected by the Church, in no small degree, by saying that in the intellectual and moral interest of guarding the monothetic government of the universe prevailed over that emotional-religious interest of guaranteeing the finality and perfection of salvation which became the motive of Catholic theology. Hence they fell apart in the minds of Saint Jerome. Monarchianism (q.v.) emphasized the reality of the events of His human life (though at times tending to Docetism), yet sought to preserve the highest place assigned to Him by faith, without yielding to the prevailing tendency to polytheism. Its Christology was either Adoptionist, that is: Jesus was a man elevated to Divine sonship for His obedience; or pneumatic, i.e., Jesus Christ was more than a mere man in that He was indwelt by the pre-existent Divine Spirit and thereby enabled to save. The former perpetuated Ebionism, while the latter tended toward the prevalent speculative trend. The so-called Alogi of Asia Minor, appearing about 170, is the principal form of the later Adoptionists. They opposed Montanism, were interested in Jesus' human life, repudiated the Logos speculation, and, possibly for this reason, rejected the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel which they ascribed to the Gnostic Cerinthus. Paul of Samosata represented a high type of Adoptionist at a later date. See, further, art. ADOPTIONISM.

The Montanist doctrine is contained in two directions: according as it excluded Christ from participation in Deity or not—the modalistic and the dynamicist Christology. The death of Christ was a great difficulty for both. The Dynamicists were forced to separate Him from God in His death, while the Modalists identified Him with God, and received from Tertullian the nickname of Parapastasists. See, further, art. MONARCHIANISM and SAPEREULLAISM.

(f) Paulinism.—Paul of Samosata, bp. of Antioch and high dignitary at the court of Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra, combined Adoptionism and Origenism with an anti-metaphysical view of the relation of Christ to God. Christ, born of a virgin, and inspired by the impersonal Logos, bore a personal, moral relation to God. The perfect unity of His will with God's in His earthly life of obedience became indissoluble. At the Resurrection He was raised to eternal Divine dignity. Though Paul was condemned at a synod at Antioch in 268 or 269, his views, upheld by time for Lucian the martyr (who recanted), never died out. In Persia were numerous in Persia and Armenia. Immigrants from Armenia carried his doctrines into Thrace and Bulgaria, who under the name of Paulicians (q.v.) became a root of the great medieval revolt against the Roman Church. In Spain during the 6th centuries, their views produced a tremendous controversy, in which the famous Alcinn took part. There is reason to believe that sects holding their doctrines persisted to the Reformation. 'The Key of Truth,' discovered in recent times among the Armenians at Thrace, is a typical example of the evangelical character mixed with asceticism.

1 See, Freeman, 10.
2 Didymus Alex. de Trin. III. 41; Epiph. Hær. xii. 1.
3 See Eph. Hær. iv. 15. 7-9; Bœhm. Hær. ii. 80. 11. 10; Leontius, in PG xxvi. 1265, 1266.
4 See the text, translation, and historical account of the Paulicians, in The Key of Truth, ed. F. C. Conybeare, Oxford, 1896.
HERESY (Christian)

(g) Manichaeism.—It is said that a certain Mesopotamian named Mani, a traveller in many lands, reached the Persian capital in the year 246 and forthwith began the propaganda of a new faith. His success was so great that he won the royal favour; but through the opposition of the Magi he lost it in the reign of a later king, and was crucified. His doctrine was so deeply rooted to perish, and spread rapidly. They won many followers in Italy and N. Africa (the great Augustine was for a time one of them), and ultimately developed, through the Cathari of France, Spain, and neighbouring lands, a powerful anti-Roman religious organization in alliance with a culture that promised for a time to anticipate the Renaissance and the Reformation.

At first sight, Manichaeism appears as revived Gnosticism. It united to a Christian terminology a combination of Jewish, Babylonian, Zend-Avestan, and Buddhist religious beliefs and cosmological speculations. It recognized two grades of adherents—auditors, and elect or perfect. It offered a cosmic cosmogony, a theory of cosmic redemption, and a dualistic morality. In the last particular it went further than Neo-Platonism, since it affirmed the reality and sternness of evil matter. The two principles were polar in effect and temper. The two kingdoms of Light and Darkness, ruled respectively by Satan and God, include all things and persons. In Manichaeism, the material man (not the earthly human being) to resist Satan, but he is defeated. Though rescued by God and the angels, he has lost meanwhile some particles of light. By the mixture of these with the darkness of the present evil world comes into being. The demons now create man (proper), seeking thereby to impress and preserve a portion of the light. But God provided a means of redemption by creating a system of heavenly bodies—sun, moon, and stars—to attract the particles of light and become reservoirs of it till the redemption is complete. Jesus—not the historical—and the elect assist men.

The process goes on even after death (purgatory). At the end of the world the unredeemed souls fall to the prince of darkness.

The moral earnestness underlying this imposing philosophy, its strict asceticism—marriage, lust, impure talk, animal food, and physical violence were equally forbidden—and a simple culture were attractive to many noble souls. It was weakened by a doctrine of indulgences. The influence of Manichaeism is probably found in the Essenes, the Enthusiasts, Bogomils (q.v.), Beghards, etc., of medieval times. See, further, art. MANICHÆISM.

II. NICENE AND POST-NICENE HERESY.—(a) Ariasmonism.—The long battle between Monarchianism, the Athanostochene historico-critical school of interpretation, and rationalism, on the one side, and Catholicism, with its realistic view of salvation, its allegorical interpretation, and its metaphysical of deity, on the other side, came to a head in the bitter conflict between the Arians and Athanasians at the Council of Nicaea (325). The prize to be won was not only the vindication of an interpretation of Christianity, but the Imperial support. Arius gave his name to the defeated party. Athanasius (q.v.) became the apostle of the Council's decision.

The immediate occasion of the conflict was the affirmation, by Bp. Alexander of Alexandria, that the pre-existent Son of God had a separate hypostasis (ὑποστάσεις), and that the sonship was by the very nature of God, and not by His will. Arius, one of his presbyters, controverted this position, and urged that it segregated the essence (σωφρονία) of the Father alone, and generated the essence of the Son, since He was truly son. This is to say that He was like all other persons, and not non-existent by the creative will of the Father, and in order to the creation of the world. There was a time when He was not. He was God—but by inspiration; or, better, God the Logos. Christ had a human body, but the place of the human soul was taken by the Logos. The issue was whether the Son was homoousios (ὁμοούσιος) or of the same nature) with the Father. A compromise term (homoiousios =of similar nature), offered by the mediating Eusebians, having been rejected, and the support of Constantine having been secured, the Council anathematized Arianism as heresy. The Council went so far as to posit in the Godhead three hypostases—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Christ was thus definitely transferred from the side of man to the side of God.

The controversy was not hereby settled. Not only did victory obtain for a time to the two parties strive for the political mastery, not only did the Arian view reappear in the violent controversies that rent the Eastern Church for three centuries and left it a divided body (325-431?) but Ariusianism, carried to the nations of the Goths by Ulfilas, became the faith of many German tribes. Under the Gothic rule in Italy is became the dominant faith there, and its final political overthrow in Europe was accomplished only by the Papal alliance with the Franks and the conquest of the non-Catholics. Even so, it was not extinguished, but has had its defenders down to modern times in England.

The decision at Nicaea, so far from settling the Arian controversy, provoked fresh controversy, and raised up new bodies of heretics. The numerous deniers of the homoousios, under the leadership of such men as Alciatus, Asterius, and Eunomius, bore the general name of Arianists. But the most noted was Apollinaris, bp. of Laodicea.

(b) Apollinarism.—At first a defender of the Nicene doctrine, Apollinaris began to recede from the common use by the Athanostochines of the term Thotakos ('Mother of God') to describe Mary, and also from the danger of poisoning in Christ two persons, a human person and a Divine. Attracted by the suggestions of Gregory of Nazianzus, that the human and Divine were mingled, and of Gregory of Nyssa, that the human lost its distinctive qualities by absorption in the Divine, he sought to escape the dualism of person and will by affirming that in Christ the Logos took the place of the rational soul or spirit, and that His animal soul and body were alone human. This implicit denial of the metaphysical redemp
tion was condemned at an Alexandrian synod in 362, and more formally at the first Council of Constantinople in 381. See, further, art. APOLLINARISM.

(c) Nesterianism.—The vindication of Christ's perfect manhood by the Athanostochines theologians, such as Diodorus of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopopeia, and the great Theodoret, aroused Nestorius, bp. of Constantinople (410-428), to broach the
HERESY (Christian)

against the growing Mariolatry. He contended that, since there could be no transfer of human attributes to the Logos, the Divine and human, the Church was not formed by the Bishop of Rome, affirmed the opposite view, and was supported by the Council of Ephesus (431), which formally anathematized his opponent. The Nestorian school at Edessa was broken up and the party scattered. It found an asylum in Persia, whence it spread into India, China, Tartary, and Arabia. It still continues in Kurdistan, and a branch was found on the Malabar coast. Its ritual is simpler than that of the Greek or Roman Churches, and its organisation less secession. See, further, art. NESTORIANISM.

(d) Monophysitism and Monothelitism.—Cyril's opposition to Nestorianism was carried so far by the monk Eunomius as to say that the two natures became one at the Incarnation, that Mary was in this full sense the Mother of God, and that Christ's body was not consubstantial with man. Another bishop of Caesarea, also Eunomius, and Pelagius, formed the school of Pelagianism. The Council of Chalcedon, which settled the dispute by adopting the formula of two natures in one person, was attended by many bishops, but did not satisfy the Patriarch of Constantinople and some of the Eastern bishops. The Council was attended by the Emperor Zeno, who through the influence of Pelagius, and the efforts of the Patriarch of Constantinople, was persuaded that the doctrine of Monophysitism was the true doctrine of the Church. The Council was attended by a number of bishops, who, in the 5th century, the separation became permanent. Monophysite Churches were formed in Armenia, Syria, Egypt, and Abyssinia. The monophysite doctrine of the Church, and the persecution and division, and the schism, which the Chinese were left to the Papal Church, and the heretics finally overthrown—though not finally, for the Reformation revived the movement in many respects and gave it permanence. It seems clear, though proof is wanting, that it must have been quietly spreading among the common people and portions of the priesthood for a long time before the hierarchy, preoccupied with the politics of the Church, awoke to the danger.

The causes of medieval heresy are fairly traceable. The older heresies had not been obliterated; Ari, Panlucian, and Manichean doctrines had not been carried into Europe. The early non-sacerdotal type of faith had lingered. The schools of Charlemagne and the schools of the monks had stimulated the European mind to a very active interest in scientific knowledge, and universities were coming into existence. The great revival of religion that marked the growth of monasticism, the system of the Cluny type permeated the life of the common people increasingly, and the growing certainty of the possession of the Church as the means of salvation was not dependent on priestly sacraments and was fostered by the reading of the Scriptures, now becoming accessible in the vernacular, set the individual in a position of relative independence. Moreover, the Crusades, which grew out of that very revival, ultimately revolutionized economic and social conditions in Europe, shook the feudal system, emancipated mind and body from servitude, bore in the influence of Saracen learning by way of Spain, the Adriatic, and the Danube, and at the same time put the Greek and Latin classics in the hands of students, and thereby broke for many the spell of the Church's authority.

Passing by individual heresies, such as the Predestination of Gottschalk (9th cent.), Berengarius' opposition to Transubstantiation (11th cent.), and the scepticism of Abelard (12th cent.), we may group those heresies that promote the formation of religious communities as follows: (1) Speculative anti-papism, Philadelphia, 1887; F. van Limborch, Historia Inquisitionis, et subquietae Liber Semiteriferum Inquisitorum Thesaurum, Amsterdam, 1899.
It was the Catharist rival ecclesiastical and ceremonial system that especially drew the anathemas of the Church. To them the Roman system seemed to be of the essence of the Church. For the Catholic priesthood they substituted the 'perfect' in four grades—bishop, ilius major, ilius minor, and deacon. Ordination was by the bishop. In place of the seven sacraments there were four others: the consolamentum, for adults only, consisting of a ceremonial laying on of hands through which the Spirit was given. Thereby, the subject was 'converted.' This was for the 'perfect,' and its validity depended on the purity of the administrator. By an arrangement known as covenant the credit union postponed the consolamentum till near death. On receiving it, the endura had to be sustained—a smothering or stabbing that might produce death. In the ceremony named sanctification or credencia, kneeling, received the blessing of the 'perfect.' They observed the blessing of bread at the daily meal, but denied transubstantiation. They practised ordination, but refused an oath. Their lives were blameless, and they were indomitable in enduring persecution. They managed to exist until the 14th century. See, further, art. ALBIGENSES.

(b) The Bogomils ('Friends of God') were a sect among the Slavs of Thrace and adjoining lands, also of Panetic origin, and in its ceremonial system like the Catharist, but less developed. They held a view of the Trinity similar to the Sabellian, repudiated image-worship, used a baptism as an initiatory ceremony, but spiritualized the Supper, rejected parts of the OT, and employed allegorical interpretation. The Emperor Alexius Commences (1081-1118) secured, by a treacherous profession of conversion, a knowledge of their practices and their haunts, and then massacred them. They survived for some time in the region of Philippopolis. See, further, art. BOGOMILS.

(c) The Amauricians were the followers of Amalric, a professor of the University of Paris, who was condemned for heresy in 1204. They held a speculative view of the world's history, dividing it into three stages: the incarnation of God in Abraham, the incarnation of God in Mary, and, finally, the age of the Spirit beginning with the incarnation of God in the Amauricians. External ordinances were then to be annulled. The resurrection, heaven, and hell were spiritualized. The Bogards and Bogucans were purely brotherhoods of men and women (said to have been first instituted by a priest named Begnê, who gave themselves to prayer and ministry to the needy. They never intended to separate from the Church, but represent the growing spirit of lay piety. They gravitated towards pantheism. They flourished in the 13th cent. in many parts, especially in the Netherlands. The Brethren of the Free Spirit (q.v.) were similar, and became numerous a little later, lasting into the 16th century.

ii. HERESIES OF MYSTICISM AND ENTHUSIASM.

—the Church from the 10th cent. onwards, the degradation of ecclesiastical religion and morals, the apparently hopeless brutality of the times, and the long and bloody wars of the Crusades, with the inevitable economic and social confusion that followed, produced a wide-spread feeling of hopelessness, which took the form of a longing for retirement from the world, on the one hand, and an expectation of the immediate end of the present order of things, on the other. The former led to the cultivation of mystic piety and a rapid increase of monastic orders, while the latter issued in the formation of sects which cherished millenarian expectations and cultivated the gift of prophecy.

Individualism, which is the root of heresy, is of
the essence of these tendencies. Either, if widespread, would threaten existing political and ecclesiastical organizations. The Church was able to find a place for Usurpation within the established order—and, indeed, the impossibility of a universal adoption of the mystic habit favoured the dependence of the masses on the Church—but the combination of the National Evangelicals, especially through radicalism rendered it uncontrollable and demanded its suppression.

The mystics remained in the Church; and Bernard, the great mystic of Clairvaux, was one of the bitterest foes of the heretics. Nevertheless, the great German mystics—Eckart († 1327), John Tauler († 1361), his pupil, Henry Suso († 1366), John Ruysbroeck († 1384), and Thomas à Kempis († 1471)—undeniably laid the foundation of much of that successful outburst of heresy which we call Protestantism (cf. Mysticism (Christian)).

Among the 'Enthusiasts' bodies two are especially worthy of mention, the Joachimites and the Spiritual Franciscans. The first were the followers of Joachim of Floris (1145-1202), a Sicilian, who developed an anti-Papal apocalypticism which greatly stimulated the production of this type of literature, and disseminated chivalry among the common people. He viewed the history of the world as divided into three periods—the epoch of the Father reaching to Christ, the epoch of the Son reaching to Christ, and the epoch of the Spirit thence to follow. The overthrow of the Catholic Church and the Empire was soon to come and the new age to begin. These revolutionary ideas appealed powerfully to the restless spirit of the times, and remained unextinguished at the Reformation. They revived in the teaching of Thomas Münzer, Melchior Hoffman, and Nicholas Storch; they were represented in a wing of the powerful Anabaptist movement, and helped to produce the Peasants' War and the Thirty Years' War.

The so-called Spiritual Franciscans appear in the middle of the 13th cent. as a protest against the Papal secularization of the Franciscan order of monks. The influence of Joachim is seen in the 'Everlasting Gospel' which was edited by Gherardo, a professor of the University of Paris, and conside as Joachim's prophecy, with annotations and additions. They are strongly anti-Papal. Gherardo was imprisoned, and the Spirituals were severely persecuted through the Inquisition. There is no doubt that the doctrine of the Spiritualists, and their circulation among the common people. It was thus at the first a layman's propaganda, but with no thought of a separation from the Catholic Church. Ere long these advocates of Bible-reading found themselves opposed by the Church officials; and, when two Popes (Alexander III. [1179] and Lucius III. [1183]) in succession refused their petition for the right to teach and preach, and even excommunicated them, they were driven into opposition. Their zeal smouldered all obstacles, and their messengers were soon found in the whole of Central and Western Europe.

They adopted the ideal of poverty, at that time regarded as the chief mark of religiousness, and became known for a time as the 'Poor Men of Lyon.' Their spread into Italy brought them into contact with the more radical body of the 'Poor

Peter 1 was formerly a priest. His active career lasted from 1104 to 1124. Henry 1 was a monk, coming later (1116–48). The former was burnt to death; the latter died of dysentery, but seems to have escaped. Their work consisted of an attempt to restore the democratic simplicity and pure morality of primitive Christianity by reiterating the teaching of the New Testament. They laid small stress on the OT. Their great opponent, Peter the Venerable, charged them with opposing the baptism of infants, the credence of holy temples, veneration of crosses, transubstantiation, and offerings and prayers for the dead. On the positive side this means emphasis on personal faith, spirituality, a rational view of the world, simplicity, immediacy of human relation with God, and the all-importance of the present life for final destiny.

Contemporary 2 with them was Tanchelo, who led (1115–49) a similar movement in the Rhein province, and Eudo de Stell († 1147) of Brittany. Their work was more limited in extent. Extremely important was the reform instituted by Arnold 3 of Brescia. He fought the secularization of the Church, and sought to simplify and purify the lives of the clergy and the monks, to separate them from secular concerns, and to make them dependent on popular contributions. After a career of great success he was handed over by the Emperor Barbarossa to Pope Alexander III. and burned at Rome. The Arnoldists and the Humiliati, or 'Poor Men' of Lombardy, 4 strong anti-sacerdotalists, were to some extent in his line of work. We find them as late as the 16th century.

The Waldensians.—The Waldensians 5 were the most influential of the medieval heretical bodies, and have received the most attention from students of history. There is some uncertainty as to the origin of the name. Advocates of a very early, perhaps Apostolic, source of the movement derive it from the character of the country region (Vena, Vallée, Val) of the Alps where they first appear; they are often connected with the reformatory work of Claude, bp. of Turin 6 (9th cent.); but it is altogether probable that the name arose from the work of Peter Waldo. He was a wealthy Lyons merchant, who came under the influence of the deep religious movement that affected France in the 12th cent., and, stimulated by the familiarity with the NT among dissenters, devoted his wealth to the procuring of tracts and theScriptures into the Hymnus and their circulation among the common people. It was thus at the first a layman's propaganda, but with no thought of a separation from the Catholic Church. Ere long these advocates of Bible-reading found themselves opposed by the Church officials; and, when two Popes (Alexander III. [1179] and Lucius III. [1183]) in succession refused their petition for the right to teach and preach, and even excommunicated them, they were driven into opposition. Their zeal smouldered all obstacles, and their messengers were soon found in the whole of Central and Western Europe.

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Men of Lombardy,' with whom they were able to come to partial agreement (1217). In that country there were similar bodies known as Runcorians3 (from John Runcus). The Waldensians of France, held for a time to the Catholic view of the saving value of Baptism and the Supper, and believed in transubstantiation; but, as their cause prospered and greater opposition was met with, they receded in order to create a religious body, which the common people were becoming contemptuous of a dissolute clergy and in sympathy with a simpler form of religious life than was that of the Papacy, was established. At this time, the newly founded English church was controlled by John Wycliff (q.v.), professor at Oxford University, who began a series of sharp attacks upon the Papal claims until he developed a view which regarded the Pope as the Antichrist foretold in the Apocalypse, advocated a kind of Presbyterial system of government for the Church, and repudiated the monastic orders. He sought to instruct the people by extensive writing in Latin and English, by translating the Bible into English (1380), and by sending out his "poor priests" (cf. the Waldenses) two by two throughout the land, circulating his Bible and preaching. The sentiment of the country, the upward movement of the English peasantry at the time, and the access to the work- ing men's gilds obtained by his preachers gave wide success to the propaganda. Doubtless at this time there was laid the foundation of English Protestantism, especially in the attack on the political authorities of Edward the weak Richard II. left him without support. He was driven from Oxford and retired to the parish of Lutterworth in Yorkshire, where he died in 1384.

While Wycliff's realism kept him in the Catholic Church, it also led him to a rigid predestinationism in theology which annulled the Church's pre-emptive in salvation. This led to the doctrine of a justification by faith, though it was never elaborated by him as excluding the necessity of good works. He held to baptismal regeneration, but did not exclude unbaptized infants from salvation. He rejected transubstantiation, and in the closing years of life apparently rejected purgatory.1 The Council of Constance in 1429 pronounced him a heretic, and had his body exhumed and burned, and the ashes thrown into the Severn.

Wycliffism blended with the work of the Lollards from the Continent and passed into English life as a permanent influence. It became an element in the great struggle between the Church and the state for social betterment. During the reign of the House of Lancaster, the Church was able to persuade the authorities to suppress it. The first English Act of Parliament (de Combrando Heretic) sentencing heretics to death by burning was passed in 1401, and the death of a priest, William Sature, for heresy was followed by the burning of many others. During the Wars of the Roses the religious movement was mostly overlooked, but it worked silently until it broke out again in the Reformation.

iv. CHURCHLY EVANGELICAL HERESIES.—Deeply influenced by the heresies just described are those which grew out of the recognition of the Church's corruptions and the imperative need of a moral and religious reform, but, through a realism in philosophy or an inability to admit a non-churchly Christianity, stress on separation. The chief instances are the Wyclifan reform in England and the Hussite in Bohemia. Both of these, and all that were so styled, clung to the root of their vigour to the national spirit which had grown up in those countries in opposition to Papal claims or to alien authorities. Of these the Wyclifan reform is the earlier, and to some extent also the source of the Hussite, but the latter more deeply stirred the ecclesiastical world.

(a) Hussitism.3 The old English national feeling, subjected for a time to the Norman power, revived, and by a blending of the interests of the yeomanry and the nobility was able to assert itself powerfully against both King and Pope in the times of Magna Charta. Quarrels with the Pope over rights in Scotland, taxation of the clergy by royal authority, anger at the dominant influence of the French kings over the Pope were at Avignon, the war with France, and the enactment of the statutes of Provost and Protomonsignor to prevent the Popes from deriving a revenue from England—all these tended to sharpen the antipathy to the Papacy. The reforming work of Robert

1 Lees. i. 96.
3 Vaughan, ii. 309; Leecher, ii. 504.
Stizy, both the learned and the masses became roused to the demand for a national-religious form. The University of Prague became the stronghold of opposition to the Papacy. Large numbers of English students were there. John Hus and Jerome of Prague had imbued Wyclif's ideas. When, as a result of disputes, the German emperor, who was acting against Prussia, issued in 1410, the Wyldic-Bohemian influence became supreme. John Hus (q.e.) became rector in 1408, and, with the aid of Jerome and the support of King Wenceslas, attacked the Roman clergy. After the failure of other attempts to suppress the revolt, the Pope proclaimed a crusade against Bohemia. Hus was excommunicated in 1413 and cited to appear before the Council of Constance. Notwithstanding that he came under the safe-conduct of the Emperor Sigismund, he was imprisoned, and, after some months, was burned for heresy in July 1415. Shortly after Jerome suffered the same death. Hus followed Wyclif in his doctrine of predestination, and the view of Christ's sole headship of the Church, but he was less thorough, and held to transubstantiation. His nationalism was the chief cause of his execution. After the death of the Bohemian and the idea of popular rule, people were roused to fury against priestcraft. Under John Ziska and Nicholas of Hussinor they led as leaders they assembled on Mount Tabor (whence the name Taborites), and manifested their democratic spirit by claiming the communion for the people in the cup (whence the name Calixtites, from calix) as well as in the bread. Military success, at first, was followed later by a division into two parties—the Calixtines, who sought to remain in the Roman Church while claiming the cup for the laity; and the Taborites, who followed the Waldenses in their hostility to the Roman Church. The latter founded a theocracy and gravitated to Millenarianism, but after a long struggle they were conquered in 1433. Machiavelli, who had been associated with the Evangelicals of a peaceable, somewhat Pietist, type known as the Bohemian Brethren, Unitas Fratrum, and by other names. These attached themselves to the Reformation. They became, with a similar body of Moravians, known to history as the Moravian Brethren (q.e.), and through them have persisted to the present day.

The story of medieval heresy shows that the heretics were repressed but not destroyed. The Protestant Reformation sprang largely out of these movements, of the people of dissent, and yet natural and inevitable fruit. The positions of the various Protestant bodies, including the Anabaptists, show the degrees in which the 'heretical' spirit found access to European spiritual life.

The story of Christian heresy properly closes with the Reformation. From the Catholic point of view, Protestantism is identical with heresy. And correctly so; for Protestantism stands for the prerogative of the individual. This is the root of all 'heresy.' But the absurdity of designating the whole of the most powerful portion of Christendom heretics in a derogatory sense is too evident to need proof. It is true that from the point of view of the Protestant confessional Churches, as well as of the Catholic Church, the Anabaptists (q.e.) were heretics, and were so treated. Yet they, like the schismatic dissenters, were simply radical Protestants. It is true, also, that from time to time individual thinkers who have disputed the Protestant creeds have been adjudged heretics by the Church. This was true of John Calvin, but in this there is no thought that the so-called heretic has been excluded from salvation and the fellowship of the invisible Church. The charge of heresy is rapidly becoming meaningless.

HERESY (Jewish).—The conception of heresy has always been vague in the Synagogue; for freedom of thought, though often denied by fanatics, has always been current, characterized by Judaism. Conduct, moreover, is easier to observe and judge than opinion; and, though, under stress of pressing controversies, attempts were made to define the opinions as to the observance and sharing the communal rights, it may be said that for long periods conformity to practice, both ritual and moral, would be held to cover a good deal of ecclesiasticity in theory. In recent times there has been so great a modification and relaxation in conduct on ritual matters that the tendency is growing to judge of a person's character from tests of faith. But, as there exists no central or even local authority to apply or enforce such tests, the question is decided by public opinion rather than by expert or traditional law. A Jew is always apt to move spasmodically; it soon becomes accustomed to theories which, when first enunciated, it abhors; and in the result the Synagogue may be said to be free, on the one hand, from rigidity, and, on the other, destitute of clarity as to the ideas on which a charge of heresy could be based.

Historically considered, the problem of heresy in Judaism may be said to have been for the most part dependent on contemporary exigencies. When certain fundamental dogmas or practices were being assailed, or new principles were imposed upon the Jews, for some reason, the problem of orthodoxy or heterodoxy was raised. The Jewish schismatics, in the days of the Zadokites, were distinguished for their anti-Rabbinic sentiment; the Qumran sects of the Dead Sea, for their rejection of traditional Judaism, and the Christian Gnostics, with whom the Jewish Gnostics were identified, for their rejection of the traditional practices of the Synagogue. The problem of heresy has thus been one of ecclesiastical freedom, and the answer to it has been the effort to establish a standard by which the faith of a Jew could be determined.

LITERATURE.—E. A. SCHNEEBEL, Judentum, c. 147 (foot); Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. (PG viii.), c. 184; Hippolytus, Simpudia ('Exposition of All Heresies') (PG xi.), c. 79 (foot); M. de Thaon, Les Phigmatides (PG x), c. 58; Augustine of Hippo, De Haeresibus (PG xliii.), c. 115 (foot), about the same time; Theodoret, Compend. Haeret. (Philalethes (PG lxxviii.), c. 483; Eusebius (PG li.), c. 104 (foot); St. Jerome, against Priscianus, 'In Psalms' (PG li.), c. 104 (foot). For the disputes of Byzantium in 518, see the inscription of Pyrrhus and others in the Church of S. John Lateran. For the Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431), see the Acts of the Council (PG lxxxix.), c. 104 (foot). For the condemnation of Ibasius of Hiersa (PL xxxi.), 5th century. Nearly all the early ecclesiastical writers dealt with the subject at some time.


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GEORGE CROSS.
could freely hurl at each other charges of heresy and threats of banishment. The efficacy of the charge would be determined only after considerable discussion, and the practical good sense of the Synagogue generally prevailed to soften asperities and so enlarge the place of the tent as to find room for all, if not with cordiality, at least without churchliness.

The earlier period it is characteristic that the Synagogue never naturalized the word 'heresy.' It readily admitted, to denote 'heretic,' the Greek word Epicurus (ὁ ἕρητικός, e.g. Maim. Abod. li. 14); but, though Josephus freely employs apšērē, he uses it to mean 'secret' or 'party,' and applies it equally to the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes. It was a term of contempt. It was the phrase in use that determined the selection of the commonest Hebrew word for 'heresy,' ἑφθαθή. The Heb. word ἑφθαθή (72) signifies in Biblical Hebrew 'kind' or 'species'; the LXX renders ἑφθαθή by ἔσοδος in Gn 11.4.

The latter word is applied by Josephus (Ant. XIII. x. 6) to the Sadducees (ὁ ἔσοδος ἑφθαθής ἄριστος). Further, in Christian-Palestinian Aramaic, ἑφθαθή corresponds to ἑφθαθή (cf. Schürer, Targ. 5th March 1899, and Bacher, BJ. xxxvii. [1899] 40). This equivalence may have led to the predominance of the word ἑφθαθή for 'heretic' in general. Just as the word 'people' (κόσμος) came to mean 'non-Jew,' so ἑφθαθή came to signify 'heretic.' If Bacher's view be accepted, the ἐσοφαί was originally the Sadducees (regarded to the Pharisee standpoint).

There has been much controversy as to the connotation of the term in the Gnostic and Christian contexts. The general tenor of the opinion is in favour of the conclusion that, whereas the term ἑφθαθή sometimes refers to those records to sectarians in general, and to the Gnostics in particular, yet it often describes specifically the Judeo-Christians (for particular as to the controversy, see M. Friedländer, who, in his Der vorchristliche jüdische Gnostizismus [Gottingen, 1873], maintains that under the term ἑφθαθή the Jewish Christians are at all events included).

One thing is quite certain: the ἑφθαθή was one who was, or who professed to be, a Jew; the Synagogue's concern was to deal with its own adherents, not to assail those who belonged to other religious systems. The liturgical paragraph in the Eighteen Benedictions refers not to Gentiles, but to Jews by birth (for the latter ceased to be a menace to the unity of the Synagogue, the formula was modified to apply to other varieties of sectarians within the Synagogue. Probably this is true of all religions. Christian law does not seem to have treated the Jew as a heretic; the inquisition, for instance, applied its tests of heresy rather to those who, after accepting Christianity, were suspected of relapse to Judaism. So, too, in England, the Jews in the medieval period were not subject to the heresy laws, though a Christian converted to Judaism was so subject (cf. F. W. Maitland, Roman Canon Law in the Church of Eng., London, 1898, p. 183; E. S. G. Henriquez, The Jews and the Eng. Law, Oxford, 1908, p. 66). No doubt a Jew who publicly assailed the dogmas of the Church was liable to the laws against blasphemy (such a charge is recorded in the Talmud against Judaeus). In all events, the Synagogue's concern was to keep back on Gentile Christianity; it merely tried to eliminate from its midst the Judeo-Christians who, in the language of Jerome (Ep. 88 ad August.), claiming to be both Jews and Christians, were neither.

Besides the two terms Epicureans and ἑφθαθή, the Rabbis made use of the word 'denier.' This was the word ἐφθαθή, 'denier.' The full expression is 'denier of the root,' i.e. of the fundamental principles and prevail to soften asperities and so enlarge the place of the tent as to find room for all, if not with cordiality, at least without churchliness.

They would say one who professed to be a Jew, but whose beliefs were not in line with Jewish tradition (Megillah, 13a). The term ἐφθαθή is vaguely applied. Sometimes the Rabbis ascribed sin to the lack of belief in the fundamentals. Thus Adam's sin was preceded by his denial of the root principle, the belief in God's omnipresence (Sanh. 36b). Cain, again, before he slew his brother, reached the state of mind which he asserted that 'there is no judgment, no judge, no reward, no punishment' (Targ. Jer. on Gn 4; cf. Schnechter, Studies in Judaism, 1st series, London, 1896, p. 191). There is, however, no mention of the earlier sources of these various terms for 'heresy.'

The locus classicus is the Mish. Sanh. x. 1 to which, it is remarked, the Tosafists Sanh. xii. adds further details. In the quoted Mishna certain classes are pronounced beyond the pale of future bliss: 'These have no part in the world to come;' he who asserts that there is no resurrection of the dead, that the Law was not from heaven, and the Epicurean. R. Aqiba says: also he who reads in outside books, and he who applies incantations to wounds. Aha. Sanh. says; also he who prunes the Name as it is written.' Some texts make the first clause run: 'he who denies that the Law was not from heaven. The same R. Aqiba says: 'he who reads in outside books, and he who applies incantations to wounds. Aha. Sanh. says; also he who prounces the Name as it is written.' Some texts make the first clause run: 'he who denies that the Law was not from heaven, and the Epicurean.

The phrase 'outside books' has been variously interpreted to mean extra-canonical, Judeo-Christian, or, in general, heretical books. Epicureans is not defined, but in later centuries it became a term generally applied to a sceptic or unbeliever, especially where the scepticism or unbelief was associated with a frivolous attitude towards the problems of religion.

In the 12th cent., Maimonides attempted to summarize the Talmudic statement as to the terms ἑφθαθή, Epicureans, and ἑφθαθή more closely. There are five classes, he says (Code, 'Laws on Repentance,' iii. 7-8), included under ἑφθαθή: (1) he who denies God, (2) he who asserts that the world is subject to more than one power, (3) he who ascribes corporeality to God, (4) he who denies that God was the first Creator, and (5) he who worships a star as a mediator, as well as God. The Epicureans includes three classes: (1) he who denies prophecy, (2) he who disputes the inspiration of Moses, and (3) he who denies that God regards the doings of men (cf. Jos. Ant. bk. x. at the end). The ἐφθαθή also consists of three types: (1) he who denies the complete verbal inspiration of the Torah, (2) he who denies the tradition, and (3) he who asserts (this would point to both Christian and Muhammadan polemics) that the Law has been superseded by a new dispensation. In addition, Maimonides specifies others as not belonging to the three categories just defined. In all cases, Maimonides refers to Jews who joined the various categories; for, as he plainly asserts (on the basis of the Tosafists, loc. cit.), 'the pious of the nations of the world have a share in the world to come.' It is only Jewish sectarians who are excluded by him. For 'heretic,' them Maimonides expresses himself elsewhere (in his Commentary on the Mishna on Sanh. x. 1) with uncompromising vigour. He formulated thirteen articles of faith as fundamentals (these are given in detail above, vol. iv. p. 246, where Hirschfeld points out that Maimonides had in his mind certain theories and heresies of his own
HERMESIANISM.

Hermes was the chief exponent of a movement for the Catholic Church by pure intellectualism, adopting the ideas of Kant, which passed over Germany during the first half of the 19th century. His system (Hermesianism) had a great vogue for a time, and was condemned at Rome, and is now almost forgotten.

1. Life of Hermes. — Georg Hermes (Hermannsmann) was born in 1775 at Speyer in Westphalia, of Catholic parents. In 1788 he went to the Gymnasium of Ratisbon (under Franscis- can), and soon became first in the school. In 1791 he entered the philosophical faculty at the University of Munich. Here he studied Kant and Fichte, and for a short time wavered in his faith. He then devoted himself to the study of philosophy and natural science in order to show the inadequacy of the philosophical principles of Kant and Fichte. In 1796 he joined the Theological Faculty, gaining a free voice at the bishop's seminary. In 1798 he accepted a post as teacher in a Gymnasium at Munich. He was ordained priest in 1799. He now devoted himself to the study of philosophy and natural science in order to show the inadequacy of the philosophical principles of Kant and Fichte. In 1799 he carried out his system of philosophy, and published his chief work, "Untersuchungen über die zu der Wahrheit des Christentums."

2. System. — The fundamental ideas of Hermes are: (1) an adaptation of Kant (and Fichte) to Catholic dogmas, (2) a purely intellectual or rational basis for faith, and (3) a pure rationalism, which is a consequence of the former two.

In the Talmud, Td 30 a., there is a passage which states that "the Israelites... always suspected their teacher." This passage is often cited as evidence of the infidelity of the Israelites. The idea is that the teacher is not to be trusted, and that the community should make its own decisions. This is the basis of the "Hermesian principle."
everything, even faith, till we can establish an intellectually convincing reason for it. These questions now occur: (1) Is there any truth? (2) Is there a God, and of what nature is He? (3) Is a supernatural revelation possible, and under what conditions? Truth may be either necessary (angsthaft); this certitude he calls Führwahrhaft or freely accepted (frei angenommen; this is Führwahrhaft). Necessary certitude may be from sense-impressions (Förstärkungen)—unsafe; or from reasoning (Verstandeswissen)—also unsafe, because it leads to a process in infinitum; or from immediate necessity—this last is safe.

"We find, when we seem to know something necessarily, that our consciousness is not only that we know, but also that the known thing exists. This consciousness occurs without our voluntary control; it is the result of necessary conviction, not a freely accepted one." (Buchholz, 1841).

Freely accepted certitude arrives at the same end. The practical reason tells us that we cannot obey the highest moral obligation of which we are conscious (which is the preservation of our own human dignity—the reina Darstellung und Erhaltung der Ketzerraetinwand): without only all means to that end which are at our disposal. Among these means is the use of the experience of others. So practical reason would command us to accept this experience, to admit the facts of history, even if the reason still had doubts. Hence both sources of certitude (Führwahrhaft and Führwahrhaft) bring us to the same result. From the acceptance of both truth of faith, we notice that of the historical basis of Christianity. He denies that the existence of God can be sufficiently based on necessary truths. Only the Hebrae seeks to establish it by theoretic reason. It is necessarily, not freely, accepted truth. He proposes the cosmological argument for God very well; he rejects the ontological, physical, and moral arguments, also that from universal consent.

In explaining the errors of which Hermes was accused, we are not by the difficulty that his followers found in pronouncing that these are errors, deny that he held them. The Sermen declare that what was condemned at Rome was not Hermes' teaching, but a libellous caricature of it. He himself always protested that his system did not touch any point of the Catholic faith. This he accepted entirely, in the usual sense, as does every other Catholic. Hermes held on to his philosophical basis on which the faith may be accepted. However, it may be with the points urged against him by his opponents, the errors which brought about his condemnation, but the reason is his philosophy is not a positive dogma, but the whole question was forgotten. Only here and there an old disciple of the once great man was faithful to his teaching, almost in secret, remaining (like the Jansenists in France after the Revolution) as a relic of a bygone age. Auchterfeld and Braun were recalcitrant for a long time. Either the powerlessness of their cause, which made it harmless, or a dim memory of Hermes' ancient fame made their bishop treat them very leniently. The worst that ever happened to them was suspension from public office, with leave to say Low Mass; this was removed when they offered a declaration of general adherence to Papal decrees.

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1 See art. GÜTHERSTEIN.
HERMES TRISMEGISTUS.

The name of Hermes Trismegistus stands, like that of Homer, for a whole literature. But this literature is philosophical and religious, not poetical. It presents a curious phase of human thought emanating from Egypt, and might roughly be described as "Plato according to the Egyptians." Only roughly, indeed, for the matter is far more complex than this. Take Plato, the Stoics, Philo, Catholic Christianity, Gnosticism, Neo-Platonism, and Neo-Pythagoreanism, mix them up well together, in a strongly flavoured of ancient Egypt, and the result of the brew will be something like Hermes Trismegistus as we have him.

1. The assumed author.—Plato in two passages (Phileb. 18 B; Phaedr. 274 C) mentions an Egyptian god or divine man, named Thoth, to whom were attributed many inventions—arithmetical, algebraic, geometrical, astronomical, draughts, diceing, but especially the alphabet and writing—which Thamus, the then King of Thebes, is said to have condemned as being destructive to the memory, instead of an aid thereto, according to Cicero (de Nat. Deor. iii. 56), the fifth Mercury, who was the slayer of Argus, was obliged to account to Zeus for the books Hermes wrote when he gave laws and letters to the Egyptians. 'Him the Egyptians called Thoth, and the first month of the year among them (September) is called by his name.' Here we find the equation Hermes = Thoth. Lactantius (Dei Inst. i. 6) quotes this passage of Cicero, and goes on to say that this same person founded Hermopolis, and was worshipped by the Isatis, and, though a man, was so honoured for his learning that he received the name of Trismegistus, adding in another place (de 1sa Dei, 11) that Hermes Trismegistus was far older, not only than Plato, but also than Pythagoras and the famous Seven Sages. Lactantius thus accepts the antiquity of Hermes, which makes for his purpose, with the same scepticism as Tertullian accepts the antediluvian authorship of the Book of Enoch, which must, it would appear, have formed part of the library of Noah in the Ark.

Among early modern scholars there was the same readiness to accept Hermes at his own valuation. Vergilius puts him before Moses; Patavius makes him an elder contemporary of that legislator; Flumen Candalla is inclined to put him back as far as the time of Abraham. Isaac Casaubon, Isaac Voss, and the great Fabricius stand out as exceptions to this general credulity. Fabricius begins by intimating his own opinion that the books which went under the name of Hermes were not earlier than Homer, not to speak of Moses; and ends by acquiescing in the judgment of 'certain most learned men,' who put them down as the work of a Jew or of some half-Platonic, half-Christian author about the beginning of the 2nd cent. A.D.

One of the first results of examining these works themselves is to make us deny the equation Hermes = Thoth. Hermes is represented as the father of Tat, who appears to be the same as Thoth or Thot. In the Asclepius (ch. 37), Hermes is made to claim that he is the grandson of the god Hermes, who was worshipped at Hermopolis. Hence this person has been called 'the younger Hermes.' Similarly the person instructing is declared to be the grandson of the inventor of medicine. On the other hand, the Hermes of the 'Holy Book' (Stob. Ecl. i. 298) is himself one of the greatest of dieticians, in the 6th century.
two and forty, thirty-six of which, containing the whole philosophy of the Egyptians, are learnt by the before-mentioned persons, and the remaining six by the shrine-bearers. These six are medical, and have to do with the bodily constitution, diseases, organs, medicines, epistemology, and gymnastics.

These books of Hermes, which were connected with the religion of the Egyptians, have been mentioned here in order to be excluded. Such books would hardly reconcile purely Egyptian in both language and thought, whereas the books which have come down to us under the name of Hermes—these, at all events, which we are about to consider—are Greek in language and mainly indebted to Plato for their thought. Tamburchi, indeed, states that the works of Hermes were translated into Greek in the 6th or 7th century by Diocles, a translator of the Library of Alexandria, by Nicolaus van Ravesteyn, Amsterdam, 1665. It was translated into Latin by Lebrunus, Paris, 1697; another by J. M. E. van der Keer, Antwerp, 1697; and a recent one by Louis Niépce, Paris, 1863. The work was translated into Danish, from the Latin of Patroclus, by J. G. T. Schmidt, Copenhagen, 1787; afterwards, by Niels Krus, Copenhagen, 1806. In English we have had, firstly, The Divine Poenastrum of Hermes Trismegistus, translated into English by Everard, London, 1660; professedly from the Arabic—a work which has been reprinted in many countries, and is after this title in Latin, Theological and Philosophical Works of Hermes Trismegistus, Christianization, by J. D. Chambers, Edinburgh, 1688; thirdly, the large work, entitled Three Great Hermes, by G. B. S. Heath, London, 1802.

The first Greek ed. of the Poenastrum was that of Adriano Turresini, Paris, 1554. This contains a preface in Greek by Apollonios & Sophares; also a minor work of Hermes, called Oepris peregrinorum philosophorum, etc. (also Sophares, De nominum et divinarum rerum philosophia), and the Lat. tr. of Poenastrum. The next edition was that of D. Francisci Fussini Columbus, both Greek and Latin, Bordeaux, 1774. The editor in his preface acknowledges obligations to Joseph Scaliger, who was then a young man.

The remainder of Hermes, consisting of fragments, formed part of a great work by Francisci Patricii de Aetnaeis (Latin version) (Francisco Patrizii), entitled Nove de universi philosophia, which was published at Ferrara in 1551 and at Venice in 1556. Patrizii changed the title of the piece in the Poenastrum, with a view to improving the sequence of thought. The edition of Emmanuel Celsus appeared, according to Gervinus, in the same year, and was reprinted at Cologne in 1600. It is Gairdner's text of Hermes is accompanied with what Patrizii call 'disciples,' a vast and foolish commentary. After this there was no edition of the Poenastrum until that of Gustavus Parisi, in 1624, which, as the editor remarks, was brought out at a time when the study of ancient philosophy was on the increase, and the interest in establishing, on the one hand, the vast antiquity of Egyptian history, and, on the other, the tendering works for which that antiquity was claimed to be the source of. Next in importance to the Poenastrum is the Aedepsis, which exists only in a Latin tr. attributed to Apuleius. It may be read in the Thirteenth edition of that author by Paul Thomas, Leipzig, 1806. This dialogue was designedly excluded by Fussini from his edition of Hermes, on the ground that the work of a divine philosopher had here been tampered with by an impious pagan. The Aedepsis in its Latin form was known to St. Augustine, who, in his De Civitate D(om)ni (De Deo n. c. 226), has long quotations from it which are verbally exact. St. Augustine does not say that this translation is the work of Apuleius, though he has occasion to mention that writer in the immediate context, which may have suggested the idea. The Aedepsis bears the face of it unmistakable marks of being a translation from a Greek original. A few fragments of the original have been preserved to us by Lactantius, which show that the Aedepsis is identical, so far at least as these fragments go, with the treatise mentioned under the name of Ἀδεψις ἡ Δεκατριά.4

Besides the fragments of Hermes preserved by Lactantius, there are others given by Cyril in his writings against Julian (A.D. 438), and written in Suidas, including a remarkable passage on the Trinity—which is nowhere else to be found. But by far the most important contribution to our knowledge of Hermes is that made by Stobaeus, whose own date is uncertain, but who quotes no less than six poems or fragments under the following names:—

1. We get this number by reckoning the hieroglyphic books as 10, the magical as 20, the medical as 6, and the religious as 30.
2. The following are the passages in Lactantius bearing on Hermes Trismegistus: Div. Inst. i. 9, ii. 10, 14, iv. 6, 7, 9, 10, 18, 19, xiii. 5; and in Epist. I., vi. 9; and in Legat. ii. 11; Asidae, In effect, 61, p. 876 f.; in D. Ant. "Regnum Philosophorum," etc. vii. cap. de Philo, lib. 11, cap. 33. See also De origine, 61, p. 876 f.; in D. Ant. "Regnum Philosophorum," etc. vii. cap. de Philo, lib. 11, cap. 33.
3. The following are the passages from Stobaeus, in his Anthologia Graeca, vol. ii. cap. 5, 24; and in De origine, 61, p. 876 f.; in D. Ant. "Regnum Philosophorum," etc. vii. cap. de Philo, lib. 11, cap. 33. See also De origine, 61, p. 876 f.; in D. Ant. "Regnum Philosophorum," etc. vii. cap. de Philo, lib. 11, cap. 33.($ aedepsis = 30)
4. We get this number by reckoning the hieroglyphic books as 10, the magical as 20, the medical as 6, and the religious as 30.
5. The following are the passages in Lactantius bearing on Hermes Trismegistus: Div. Inst. i. 9, ii. 10, 14, iv. 6, 7, 9, 10, 18, 19, xiii. 5; and in Epist. I., vi. 9; and in Legat. ii. 11; Asidae, In effect, 61, p. 876 f.; in D. Ant. "Regnum Philosophorum," etc. vii. cap. de Philo, lib. 11, cap. 33. See also De origine, 61, p. 876 f.; in D. Ant. "Regnum Philosophorum," etc. vii. cap. de Philo, lib. 11, cap. 33. See also De origine, 61, p. 876 f.; in D. Ant. "Regnum Philosophorum," etc. vii. cap. de Philo, lib. 11, cap. 33.
Hermes Trismegistus

The passage is really prophetic, must have been written at a time when the Galilean had already conquered.

The complaint that the most holy land, which was once the seat of shrines and temples, will be full of dead men's sepulchres is accepted by St. Augustine as directed against Christianity, and as being an allusion to the martyrs' memorials (De Civ. Dei, viii. 29 ad f.). But, if Christianity is thus in the 3rd century to be regarded as a Foemen, the passage must have been written before the Edict of Milan in A.D. 313. Now the Poemander (ix. 1) refers to the thief's hope, which appears to be the same as the Asclepius, and therefore the Poemander must have been written at least a little later. But Lactantius was familiar with the works of Hermes, and his death is put not later than A.D. 320. It seems, therefore, reasonable to conclude that these works were composed between A.D. 313 and 330.

That the author or authors were Egyptian does not require proof. That is evident from the respect shown to the Egyptian religion, and from the naive national vanity which, not content with making Egypt the temple of the whole universe (A.D. 34), confers true intelligence on its inhabitants (Stob. Eclog. i. 990). The acquaintance displayed with Greek philosophy is no argument against this. Philo was an Egyptian, and in Cicero's time remained a devout Jew. Despite the many points of resemblance in theHermetic literature to Christianity, there is no sign of love for that religion.

It is Hermes who is the guide of human kind; it is Hermes who teaches the way of salvation. In fact, the Apocryphon of James, in the Hermetic literature, is addressed to Judas for the honour of supplying the world with a religion, just as Samaria did in the Great Declaration of Simon of Gitta, who has been confused with Simon Magus.

3. Doctrines.—The doctrines of Hermes are so many and so various as to make us doubt whether they all emanate from the same mind, notwithstanding the family likeness which they bear to the works. But we must not be too rigorous in our demand for consistency. Such a contradiction as that God makes all things and yet does not make evil (Pse. ix. 7, 8) is so familiar to ourselves as not to call for comment in Hermes. But there are others which court attention. We are repeatedly told that a certain word is the mystic name of God (Pse. viii. 2, ix. 8, x. 14), and yet we read that it is the name of the savior (Pse. iv. 4). This, it may be said, is a matter of comparison. But here at all events is a direct contradiction. In Pse. i. 4 we have the words: οὐ καί τώ ὁμοιότητα εἰς αὐτόν; in x. 18, δὲ καί τών σώματα τὰ ὁμοίως καί ἀνθρώπους ἔχουσα. Again, the statement in x. 19, that it is not lawful for a human soul to pass into that of an irrational animal, is irreconcilable with that in x. 8, that, if a human soul continues to be evil, it retraces the way by which it had ascended from reptiles. Nor yet does the asceptical principle that one must hate one's body if one would love oneself (iv. 6) seem to consort very well with the denunciation of celibacy and the glorification of parentage (II. 17).

The resemblance of the Hermetic teaching to Christianity is no more than skin-deep. There is, indeed, much talk about the Son of God. But then, who is the Son of God? Sometimes he is Logos, as proceeding from Nous (Pse. i. 6). Again, he is Man (i. 12), not man as we know him, but a sonian Man, which is considered the Way, who takes after the Nous that begat him in being bi-sexual, though it is hard to understand how there can be sex in Nous. Yet again, the Son of God is the sensitive or the eye (ix. 8), as the sensitive or the eye of Plato (31 B, 92 B). The Sun is not actually called by Hermes the Son of God, but he is called 'a second God' (A.D. 29; cf. Plut. Deip. 517 B). Instead
of comparing the Hermetic writings with Christian, but it is only by being not able to describe them as pagans Gnosticism, or Gnostic mixed Christianity.

If we were asked what are the views of Hermes as to the condition of evil, we are told that this is of none of Greek God. But, then, this is identified with θός δαιμόν (Poem, vi. 4), so that we can pass to the equation God = goodness; θός δαιμόν ἀλλατικά διὰ τὸν αἰτό (vi. 1). But, further, θός δαιμόν is identified with θός δαιμόν (x. 3), which builds us a bridge to another definition: 'The essence of God is to engender and make all things' (v. 9), in agreement with which we are told in another place that 'His one glory is to make all things, and this is, as it were, the body of God, to wit, making' (v. 7).

But, again, we are told that to will and to do are one with God (Accl. 8), which enables us to pass on to another definition: 'The essence of God is to will all things to be' (Poem. x. 3). This, then, is how Hermes at his highest would have us think of God, as an ever-operative good will, bringing all things into being. Goodness is the only positive attribute of God.

'God is not mind (nous), but the causes of these being mind; he is not spirit, but the causes of these being spirit; he is not light, but the causes of these being light' (Poem. viii. 14).

Hermes even hesitates to predicate being of God, since He is something behind and beyond being (ii. 5, vi. 4, xii. 1; cf. Plat. Resp. 508 B).
thought. At the time of the Persian campaign under Xerxes, Halicarnassus, with the islands of Cos, Naxos, and Calydon, formed a small tributary State, ruled by a queen named Artemisia, of whom Herodotus tells us in high spirits to the Macedonian court, and died at Pella (Suid. a.e. Πελλας and Εὐρ υστος). As a matter of fact, we cannot say when and where he died. All that we can ascertain from his own pages is that he returned from Thrace to Athens, and that the latter city was his home till the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War (A. K. B. H.), "Über die Abfahrt aus dem herodotischen Geschichtswerke," in A.D.W., 1888, p. 16 ff. His travels in Asia and Egypt, and the composition of his History, fall in the interval between his return from Thrace (c. 440) and his death (c. 425).

2. Travels. — The narrative of Herodotus is compiled to a considerable extent with what he had learned in the course of his travels, upon which he may have started when comparatively young. Just as he explored Samos, so he may, with that island, also the city of his birth, as a centre, have become familiar with the adjacent districts, and, in course of time, with the Agean Islands and the coast of Asia Minor. We know for certain that he visited the helmeted places on the mainland of Greece, as, e.g., Thermopylae (vii. 198 f.) and Platea (ix. 29, 49 f.). He sought information from the priests at Delphi (ii. 52), and in Delphi he heard a rumour about the fall of the city of Croesus to the Persians, and he borrowed from being plundered by the Persians (viii. 59); here, too, he was shown the numerous and magnificent votive gates. He also visited Athens (v. 51 f., vii. 67), and gained a knowledge of both Greek and Lydian history as read by the Delphic priest. In Sparta he made investigations regarding the earlier history of the city, and then proceeded to the Spartan expedition against Samos, and inspected the mines of the city (vi. 47). He seems to have visited the Macedonian court, as appears repeatedly in the royal family, and supports its claim to be of Hellenic descent (v. 29). He then made his way towards the Black Sea through the Hellespont, the Propontis, and the Bosporus, gaining some knowledge of the more important cities on the route (iv. 14). Proceeding by way of Istris (li. 33), he reached Oinias, visiting the fertile island (iv. 30 f.), and making the immediate neighbourhood (iv. 59 f., 81), and gathering information regarding the formidable peoples of Scythia. The Sea of Azov (iv. 85), the Crimea (iv. 93), Colchis (ii. 104), and—on the south coast of the Euxine—the city of Themiscyra (iv. 96) are also known to him. He likewise made a journey to Sardis, probably from Ephesus (ii. 145), and describes from his own observation the mountains of Alysses in the former city (i. 98). His account of the royal road between Sardis and Susa, on the other hand, is not based upon personal knowledge (v. 99). Susa and Babylon were probably visited by way of Syria. He writes of Babylon in considerable detail (i. 178 f.), and his having been in Susa is shown by the narrative (vi. 118) regarding Ardericus; but his description of the royal castle of Agbatas, the capital of Media, makes it evident that he had not been there (i. 98).

In his visit to Egypt. Herodotus travelled from Canopus to Elephantine, and then back again to Pelusium. It is a very singular fact that he should say nothing of the great temple of Memphis, which he refers only incidentally to the temple of Amen at Thebes (ii. 42, 143). Whether he passed from Egypt to Syria could not be determined, but at all events he describes the route from Eadytos (Gaza) by way
of Lake Sperone as one who had traversed it (iii. 5). He must also have visited Cyrene, for he speaks of its capital from personal observation (li. 161), and gives an apt description of the terrain-like configuration of the country (iv. 190). It was there probably that he obtained his information regarding the Libyans and the interior of Africa. But his account of the region between Egypt and the Greater Syrtis are more to the point than what he says of those living further to the west. He may have gained a knowledge of Southern Italy and Sicily while in Thuri. He writes also of the Etruscans, the Ligurians, and the Venetians, but makes no mention of Rome or the Latins.

There has been much discussion as to the period of his life in which Herodotus undertook these journeys. But a slight consideration of the facts will show that he could not well have travelled in Persian territory before the opposing parties came to terms. This was brought about by the so-called Chosorean alliance. In fact, at that time, however, the interest of Herodotus was fixed upon Thuri, and it was only after he had left the colony and returned to Athens that he was in a position to begin his extensive pilgrimage. Nor, again, could he have travelled in Egypt before the conclusion of peace. Athens, however, sent still further assistance to Amyclae in 480 B.C. But it is clear from Herodotus' account of Egypt that the days of commotions and conflicts were long past. For those reasons Meyer would assign the longer journeys to the years between 460 and 450 B.C. (Forschungen, I, 151 f.; in II, 163, more definitely, 460-450 B.C.).

3. His sources.—On these numerous and extensive journeys, Herodotus was constantly adding to his store of knowledge. From the most likely persons, the ambassadors of the Persian king, and the priests of Egypt, he sought information regarding the history of their several countries. In many parts he found interpreters (Φηνομενοι) who acted as an intermediaries between Greeks and non-Greeks. The numerous 'tales' which he incorporates in his work were derived from professional story-tellers (Λεγομενοι), who were to be found plentifully in Greek-speaking lands; such are, e.g., the stories of the marriage of Agarista (vi. 135 ff.), of the fortunes of the Cypselid dynasty (iii. 46 ff., v. 62), of Creusa, and of Ales and Areteus as related by Hyginus.

To the principles on which he judged what he heard he refers in two passages as follows: i. 123, ἔμειναι δὲ σεβαστοὶ φήναι τοῖς ἔργοις τῆς τῆς λέγοντος ἡμῶν, ἐμφανίζει τὸ μισθὸν τῆς λόγου; vi. 152, ἐπιστολὴν, για τὴν στηθήναν ἐβλήμα. But he also availed himself of documents, precisely as do others of the plays of the present day. Herodotus twice makes reference to Herakles of Miletus—the most eminent of the logographers—as his authority (i. 145, vi. 157). In other passages he challenges his statements, especially as regards geography, though without naming him; or else he simply reproduces his narratives (Diels, 'Herodot u. Hekataios', Homer, xxvil. (1887); Meyer, Forschungen, I, 183 ff.). Of his indebtedness to other logographers we have no clear proof; it would probably be confined to a few dates and memoranda, insomuch as such sources, though not unknown, contained little but legendary history. The story of Democedes (iii. 129 ff.) is probably based upon a written narrative. In the account of the Persian expedition undertaken by the Elymians (Herodotus, ii. 211 f.) recognises a documentary original in the section extending from the masting of the army and its departure from Caelum to its arrival in Tharsis, but admits that Herodotus has here made many additions from his own knowledge. With the list of peoples given in this section are closely connected the Cilicians, Eij, and the Saks, the account of the royal road from Sardis to Susa (v. 621 ff.) and they are presumably all derived from the same source.

4. Accuracy of his history.—That Herodotus delivered lectures on history may be inferred from references in his own pages (i. 193, iii. 80, vi. 43), and also from Thuc. i. 51 f. Plutarch (de Herodoti ⇒Malysigas, xxvi.) says that, according to Dий, he received ten talents as a remuneration from the Athenian State, and later writers assert that this was given as a honorarium for a public recitation of his History. Meyer (Forschungen, I, 200 f., ii. 229), however, is of the opinion that the pension which was granted him in recognition of his eminent services on behalf of Athens. Certainly he composed his work with the one object of giving prominence to what Athens had accomplished for Greece; and he did this, moreover, at a time when that city's policy was exposed to the severest criticism. He wrote at the beginning of the decisive conflict between Athens and Sparta. Only a knowledge of the past could furnish the criterion for a true judgment of the present. At the same time the writer's verdicts and descriptions are coloured by the conditions of his own day. Thus, the conduct of Theseus and Corinth at the time of the Persian war is set in a very different light; that of Themestocles and Argus is palliated; Sparta is treated with a touch of irony; the Alcmeonidi are, for Pericles' sake, exonerated from censure. It is in all respects the Athenian point of view that finds expression in his account of the wars, and yet it would be wrong to charge him with intentional misrepresentation. He regarded it as his duty to relate what was reported to him (vi. 183). His impression of the actors in the drama he seeks to exhibit in their speeches and actions. But these, on the contrary, often lend a touch of irony to this man of the world; and, of discussing the best type of government. In military matters he does not speak as an expert, but, without any real comprehension of them, he simply reproduces popular tradition.

Hence his incredible figures, the purely imaginary character of which was first demonstrated by H. Deller (Die Perserkriege u. die Burgunderkriege, Berlin, 1897).

It has been frequently asserted that Herodotus did not carry his work to its intended conclusion, but there is nothing to show that this was the case. His purpose was to write the history of the Persian wars, and these ended with the battle of Mycale and the capture of Sestus in 479 B.C. The aggressive war of the Greeks against the Persians began in 478 B.C., and are not to be reckoned among the Maked. He certainly begins somewhat further back; he depicts the conflicts between Greeks and Barbarians; and within these bounds he finds it possible to incorporate the abundant results of his own inquiries and researches (iv. 30, τωρισμοὶ γὰρ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις τα ἐφώτην ἄρητα). It is unnecessary to suppose that he had published these results in previous books, and tradition does not lend the slightest support to the idea. The only separate work of which he speaks is the projected Ἀρισταρχα λέγει (i. 184); but this was almost certainly never written.

5. His 'Weltschauung.'—Herodotus knows nothing of historical criticism, nor does he think of tracing out the ultimate causes from which historical phenomena spring. He proposes simply to relate what he saw and heard, and to do so with a mind clear of preconceptions. But he regards as true only what he has learned from experience or witnessed with his own eyes. Thus he refuses to believe in the Hyperboreans (π. v.), as there is no credible evidence for their existence; if they did exist, there was at least a minute description (iv. 30). Similarly, he will not accept the report that the Phoenicians in their circumnavigation of Africa had seen the sun upon their right hand (iv. 48). He rejects the idea that there is a race of men with but one eye (iii. 116), though he speaks else-
where of the one-eyed Arimaspi without offering as a task (Hdt. vi. 37); he repudiates the hypothesis of an ocean flowing all round the world, saying that the name was invented by Homer or some other poet (Hdt. ii. 23, iv. 8, 36), and he utters a stern reproof regarding the river Eridanus and the Cassteride Islands (Hdt. i. 115).

He surveys the affairs of the world and the institutions of mankind with an impartial eye, though he adheres to many traditional errors and misconceptions. He does not take it ill that men should regard their own customs and practices as the best, and says that none but a madman would make sport of foreign usages (Hdt. iii. 38). But experience had also taught him that the destinies of men are influenced by a supernatural power. The gods exist, and they in some degree intervene in the affairs alike of individuals and of nations. It was the Divine wrath that pursued the sons of Sperthias and Bullis to the death, so that the crime of slaying heralds should be duly expiated (Hdt. vii. 157). It was Demeter herself who, at the battle of Platea, prevented the fleeing Persians from taking refuge in her sacred grove, thus punishing them for their having burned her sanctuary in Eleusis (ix. 66).

'For great crimes great penalties are inflicted by the gods' (Hdt. ii. 120). But, even where there is no crime as such, the gods may bring disaster on men (ὑπὲρ Καρκανίδος γεγονέναι κακὸς (I. 8). The higher powers keep jealous watch over man to make him profoundly afraid of himself, and bring him lower evil if he either does not fear them (Hdt. vi. 106). Xenophon was impelled by a vision of the night to make war upon the Greeks, even against his will, and was thus driven to destruction (Hdt. ii. 13). Amasis fears the envy of the gods (Hdt. iii. 40). And not in dreams only, but also by oracles, do the gods manifest their utterable designs. As the oracle of Apollo declared (Hdt. ii. 20), Dio Chrys. (or 91), he had offended his fifth ancestor (I. 91). It was decreed by the oracle that the whole of Attica should fall into the hands of the Persians (Hdt. viii. 53). The gods are lord of all; even the worst deeds must undergo the severest afflictions, and thus no one should be called happy till he is dead, and death is better than life. This interpretation of life is precisely what we find in Sophocles; a profound and sincere pietist animates both the historian and the poet (cf. H. Fohl, "Tragische Kunst bei Herodot, Borna-Leipzig, 1914").

With philosophy as such Herodotus had no direct concern. He refers to the philosophers only so far as their ideas fall within the circle of ordinary knowledge. Thus he mentions the Orphic-Pythagorean doctrine of metempsychosis merely because that belief is met with among other peoples, and he traces it to Egypt. He refers to the eclipse predicted by Thales, and to the gnomon and Anaximander's map of the world. He mentions and discusses the various theories regarding the inundation of the Nile. Further, in his pages we may recognize the influence of the critics which directed against the popular religion by Xenophanes and Heraclides. His conception of history likewise is rationalistic, though not always to the point; here he follows his forerunner Hecataeus. Faith and criticism commingled in him ('mélange de scepticisme et de foi') (Hauvette, "Herodote, historien des guerres médiques, Paris, 1894, p. 353").

6. His dialect.—Herodotus wrote his History in the Ionic dialect, the prevailing literary language of his time. The knowledge of this particular type of Greek was also spread, not by oral tradition, but by means of books, and spurious forms were introduced into his text by the copyists. This 'Hyperionism' made its effects felt to a remarkable extent, and has been fostered by modern editors. The inscriptions and the poet's performance furnish us with the authentic forms. The older literature relating to this question is given in R. Meller, "Die Monogrammen des Herodot, Leipzig, 1893, p. 771 f.; cf. also H. W. Smyth, "The Sounds and Inflections of the Greek Dialectes: Ionic, Oxford, 1894; O. Hoffmann, "Die griech. Dialektes", ' Der ionische Dialekt,' Göttingen, 1886; A. Fritsch, in "Verhandlungen der deutschen Philologen u. Schulmänner in Bremen, Leipzig, 1900, p. 188 ff.


HEROES AND HERO-GODS.


Buddhist (T. G. PINKUS), p. 642.

Buddhist.—See Saints (Buddhist).

Celtic.—See CELTS.


Egyptian (K. SETHE), p. 647.

Greek and Roman (A. C. PEARSON), p. 662.

Hebrew and Roman (A. C. PEARSON), p. 662.

Indian (H. JACOBI and W. CROOLE), p. 663.

Iranian (L. H. GRAY), p. 663.

Japanese (M. REYON), p. 663.

Musul.—See Saints (Musul).

Sanskrit (J. MACAULAY), p. 664.

Teutonic (M. F. BRATON), p. 667.

HEROES AND HERO-GODS (General and primitive).—In dealing with generally, one must distinguish between a man-a or ancestor-cult arising out of beliefs in ghosts and spirits and the worship which in course of time may come to be offered to the personage, of semi-divine and other mythic, it is with the latter that the present article is concerned, and not with mythology as such.

The term 'hero' is usually applied to one who stands out from among ordinary mortals by his superior quality or qualities, conspicuous bravery or sustained power of endurance being the distinguishing features. But there is a large class of persons in oral tradition and literature who stand out from their fellows by reason of their inventiveness, or moral or intellectual qualities, by the introduction of new cults, and, above all, by what they have done to improve the various conditions of human existence—these are usually spoken of as 'culture-heroes.' Amongst the renowned dead there are a good number of traditions from the men who are recognized as mere mortals to those of such transcendent powers that they may be classed as demi-gods or gods; indeed, it is often impossible to say where the possession of true godship begins. Literary records, however, have been so thoroughly worked over in many cases that a more precise definition is impossible. A hero is nearly always regarded as the spirit of a dead man. His origin may be unknown; his mortal birth may be recorded; or he may have had an unguessed origin, possibly as a son of a virgin, or of partly divine and partly human parentage; or, again, he may be the son of supernatural parents; but in all cases he is supposed to have lived as a mortal amongst mortals and died as they do.

The belief in the continuity of life may be taken as universal, death being merely an episode between two phases of continuous existence. Under normal conditions the individual possesses the same character after as before death; and, since most persons are friendly to their kinmen and willing to help them, so spirits, though theoretically resident in a land of their own, are ready to assist those who have not passed through the intermediate state of death. The practice of appeasing, especially when danger is imminent, to the spirits or ghosts of men is very widely spread among various peoples. This practice may take the form of an invocation or of a prayer, or simple rites may be performed, generally at stated times; thus an incipient worship may be performed which could readily pass into a definite cult. At what stage this process is interrupted depends largely upon the social and religious institutions of the people in question; and the extent to which the recognition of heroes attains may vary from time to time, as is shown by the progressive vulgarisation of hero-cults by the Ancient Greeks. The hero-cult of Ancient Greece resembles that of the Semitic and of the dead, and was quite distinct from that of the later Olympians. A blending of the two is seen in the case of Heraclius:...
said by some to have instituted the shrine that makes coco-nuts abundant (u sago). A great cult of coco-nuts, the natives did not come from New Guinea, whether he returned after visiting the western and eastern islands of Torres Straits; he instructed the aboriginal people in language, stocked the several reefs with the much-prized cone shell, and notably introduced plants useful to man. He was a very amatory person, and valuable economic plants sprung up as the result of his amours—one of the many examples of the close association in the mind of savage peoples of the sexual act with agricultural fertility. In the islands he was generally called Sido, but there appears to have been some confusion between Sido and Soido. Sido, as Landman informs us (*Postskrft til Ed. Westernscentes*, p. 60), was a great and highly paid priest in his lifetime, though he became a mischievous character during his wanderings after death. He was the first death, which was also a murder, and all men must die and follow the route of his wanderings; eventually he seems to have become the chief of the after-world. Soido is essentially an agricultural hero.

Certain death-ceremonies were introduced from the neighbouring mainland of New Guinea into some of the islands by two culture-heroes, Naga and Waiai, the relative importance of whom differed according to the island from which the information was obtained. Naga knew how to make masks and headdresses in the form of animals, and instructed men in singing and dancing and in everything relating to the sacred or ceremonial ground; he is stated to have lived on Nagog, Waiai, who, according to one legend, lived on Mabulai, stole a famous fish-mask from Naga. Waiai was represented by a rude and imperfect wooden image which was lodged in a square house on the neighbouring islet of Widal. Only old men had anything to do with the shrine, and whenever the house was rebuilt they held a special death- or spirit-dance, *sava marma*, which was also danced by them after the usual death-dance. This was held on the first day after the death, or other death, of the chief of the tribe, the great funeral ceremony or death-dance, during which the people thought about what Waiai did. We are told that Naga went to Uga, one of the eastern islands, where he taught the people how to perform the death-dance, and that Waiai went to the Murray Islands. According to the Murray Islanders, Waiai (as they call Waiai) introduced the *sava marma* and other death-dances. In Waiai, the smallest of the three Murray Islands, Waiai was represented by a turtle-shell image of a man, which rested against the rafts of a model of the platform of a canoe. No women were allowed to see these sacred objects, which were kept in a cave. There was an annual pilgrimage of all the men of Mer and Dukum, the other two islands, to the shrine; the men and novitiates were segregated on one side of the island, and the women and children on the other, this being the occasion for an elaborate initiation ceremony. The essential cult of Waiai on Waiai, so far as our information goes, was of an erotic character.

Kwoiam, the warrior hero of Mabulai, who fought natives of various islands, and even successfully and single-handed attacked a village in New Guinea, is said to have been the brother of Waiai and his sister's son. This family-group constituted what may be termed the 'social unit' of a matrilineal community, the father being so unimportant that his name has not been handed down. Kwoiam is said to have had the shoehoned skate for his totem (*auvog*), which, amongst other circumstances, points to the Kwoiam cult as consisting of a long list but containing a turtle-shell model representing respectively a hammerheaded shark and a crocodile, and under each of these was a stone in which the spirit, the so-called *auvog*, resided, and to them were attached human skulls and jaws. Outside the enclosure which screened the shrine from profane gaze were two heaps of shells, woiam made two crescentic objects of turtle-shell, which biased with light when they were worn at night, and which he nourished with the savour of cooked fish. These objects were called *auvog* (presumably because the totem shark was called *auvog* by the natives; some people call them), and they became the insignia of the two phratries into which the totem clans of Mabulai were divided, and each totem shrine was known as the *auvog* shrine. Connected with the cult of Kwoiam were two heaps of shells, called navel of the *auvog*, which were constructed to show that the two *auvog* emblems originated there; and, when it was deemed necessary to fortify the latter, they were placed upon their respective navel-shrines. The cult of Kwoiam was associated with warriors, and when attacking an enemy the warriors formed in two columns, each of which was led by a headman who wore the Kwoiam emblem to which he was entitled. The moral value of the *auvog* in war must have been very great, and the natives themselves recognized the fact; as one man said: *Suppose we have not got an *auvog*, how can we fight? It is recorded on one occasion the victorious Mabulai men refused to continue fighting the Moa men on account of the temporary absence of the two *auvog* emblems associated with Kwoiam, but these were less potent than those of Mabulai, because Kwoiam belongs to Mabulai and not to Moa.* The *auvog* had a weapon which was considered to be a weapon in the eyes of the enemy. The Moa had a weapon which was considered to be a weapon in the eyes of the enemy. The Moa had a weapon which was considered to be a weapon in the eyes of the enemy. The Moa had a weapon which was considered to be a weapon in the eyes of the enemy. The Moa had a weapon which was considered to be a weapon in the eyes of the enemy. The Moa had a weapon which was considered to be a weapon in the eyes of the enemy.
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shrines were so sacred that no uninitiated persons might visit them, nor did they know what they contained; they were aware of the existence of Sigai and Malana, but they did not know that the former was a hammer-headed shark and the latter a crocodile; this mystery was too sacred to be imparted to the common herd. When the heroes or deities were addressed, it was always by their human names, and not by their animal or totem names. Warriors would be enabled to go immune whither they liked if they sang certain songs at the shrines. They prayed as follows: 'O Augud Sigai and Augud Malana, both of you close the eyes of these men so that they cannot see us. There was also a naval-shrine of Sigai on Tutu (Yam and Tutu were inhabited at different seasons by the same people). Before going to fight, the men stood around it, or around it on Yam, and thrust their bows and arrows into it so that they might not miss their aim; and during the fight they called upon the names of the heroes.

Judging from the human face-mask decorated with human skulls from Aurid, which almost certainly represents Kuliska, we may surmise that there was a cult of that hero there, which was preserved in this way. So far as the Murray Islands are concerned, it appears that Bomai, who was often spoken of as Malai, was comprised as a sogo, i.e. something sacred; he was represented by a human face-mask, with a beard of human jaw-bones. Later, Malu arrived with a fleet of canoes from various western islands in search of Bomai. Malu also became a sogo, and was represented by a mask in the form of a hammer-headed shark. The foreigners exhibited certain dances in order to please Bomai and then returned home. The Bomai-Malu cult predominated in the Murray Islands over all other cults, and the sacred men in connection with it attained a considerable power, which they often used for their private ends. This cult elaborated and prolonged initiation ceremonies, and appears to have been a secret society or religious fraternity, which took upon itself disciplinary functions; indeed, it was very similar to some of the secret societies that are found in Melanesia.

In the western and central islands are not particularly fertile, so the natives spend a good deal of their time in fishing, and there is considerable intercourse between the various island groups due to trade or warfare. Here the hero-cults developed into war-cults. The isolated Murray Islands are fertile, and the people are much given to horticulture; thus there was little inducement for the hero-cult to develop into a war-cult, and it concerned itself more with the social life of the people, and the three temporary sacred men were on the way to become priests.

Totemism was still in force in the western and central islands at the time of the arrival of the hero-cults, but it had probably already disappeared in the Murray Islands. Everywhere, but perhaps more particularly in the eastern islands, there were numerous small family or local rituals, most of which were concerned with improving the food supply. A religion then appeared which replaced in the west the indefinite communal association of a totem with its clan by a definite personal relation with a supernatural being that was associated with trade, being carried from island to island. These cults also provided both the Western and the Eastern Islanders with a synthesis which had hitherto been lacking, as the men could now meet as members of a common brotherhood, and a feeling of intense pride in new cults was engendered. An interesting parallel to these hero-cults of Torres Straits occurs in Fiji. The people of Viti-Levu are divided into two groups, the Kai Veina and the Kai Rukuruku, which trace their descent from Veinaia and Rukuruku, who drifted across the big ocean and taught the people the cult associated with the large stone enclosures, sangi. Veinaia arrived first, and where he landed the turmeric plant sprang up near the heroes. They were addressed, it was always by their human names, and not by their animal or totem names. Warriors would be enabled to go immune whither they liked if they sang certain songs at the shrines. They prayed as follows: 'O Augud Sigai and Augud Malan, both of you close the eyes of these men so that they cannot see us.' There was also a naval-shrine of Sigai on Tutu (Yam and Tutu were inhabited at different seasons by the same people). Before going to fight, the men stood around it, or around it on Yam, and thrust their bows and arrows into it so that they might not miss their aim; and during the fight they called upon the names of the heroes.

The great mythological personages of southern Melanesia are Qat of the Banks Group, Tagaro of the New Hebrides, and certain of their brothers. Qat, who had a mother but no father, is usually regarded as a spirit (such) that never was a man, though in some places he is said to have been a great man of old times. Codrington (Melanesians, p. 158) says:

'Tis impossible to take Qat very seriously or to allow him divine rank.... When he is said to create, he is adding only to the furniture of the world in which he was born.'

It is related of him that he made men, pigs, trees, rocks, as the fancy took him, and also night. He was always ready to play tricks on his envious brothers, but not in malice. He disappeared by his canoe (in which was his wife, brothers, and all living creatures) being washed out to sea in a deluge. At the legendary home of Qat, 'there is still the stump of a tree which Qat cut down for his canoe; men who are cutting a canoe make sacrifices at this stump, throwing down money there that their canoe may be swift and strong and never wrecked' (p. 162). The people of the Banks Islands, which may be called a prayer, is strictly an invocation of the dead. The Banks Islanders have no belief that living persons are properly made only to the dead; yet the spirits, e.g. Qat and Marahu [skull sparrow, a friend of his] are addressed in the same way' (p. 165).

They were prayed to for success, riches, safety when at sea, and other blessings. In the New Hebrides Tagaro takes the place of Qat. In the Banks Islands and northern New Hebrides there is an institution called Qat, into which a rigorous secret initiation is necessary in order to become a warrior. It is a very elaborate and difficult dance in which the performers wear lofty hats or masks. Codrington says that 'the name Qat refers to the hats and not to the rest' (p. 86), and he goes on to say: 'It is to any connexion between the dance and the spirit. It is evident that there is yet a great deal to learn about Qat and Tagaro, and what has been said above probably holds good for various mythical personages in Melanesia. Qat (Tagaro) apparently represents a human ghost in process of being sublimated into a pure spirit.

The case of the Polynesian cosmic hero, Miti, is a good example of the difficulty with which a hero can become an actual and worshipped deity. The Miti legends, in a complete or fragmentary form, are found all over Polynesia and in parts of Melanesia and Micronesia; they are undoubtedly of remote antiquity, and certainly date back to the prehistoric Polynesians; indeed, several hints of Hindu influence have been detected in them. Miti is generally spoken of as being one of the four brothers who descended from the same name. There is much diversity of opinion as to his ancestry, though it is generally stated that his parents were supernatural beings. Although he lived a thoroughly human life, he was possessed of supernatural power in addition to an inventive mind and a very tricky
HEROES AND HERO-GODS (General and Primitive)

and mischievous disposition. He was 'the fisherman who pulls up islands,' and he improved fishing and rendered fish-hooks and fish-spears more efficacious by adding barbs. According to different Polynesian legends, Maui raised the sky, which till then had not been separated from the earth, and thus rendered the earth habitable for his race of fellow-men. He was also 'the enemaker of the sun,' permitting him to pursue his course only on the condition that he went more slowly in order to increase the length of the day. Maui, by the aid of his cunning and magical powers, gave fire to mankind, and some legends make him the fire-teacher as well as the fire-finder, as he taught men how to make fire by the friction of two sticks. In seeking immortality for man, Maui lost his life. There is a native saying: 'If Maui had not died, he could have restored life all who had gone before him, and thus succeeded in destroying death.' 'Maui's death by his ancestors the Night fifty ends his solar career' (Taylor, F.C.I. 246).

Westervelt, from whom some of the following information has been borrowed, remarks: 'It is a little curious that around the Polynesians, there is so little record of temples and priests and altars. He lived too far back for prietest customs. His story is the rude, menial view of the days when of church and civil government there was none, and worship of the gods was practically unknown (Legends of Maui, p. 113). In consequence, the Māori, says J. Taylor, 'thought himself one of the greatest and most powerful, and sought the dark corners of the forest in order to find fishing' (Te Iha o Maui, p. 132). The religious life was worship of the gods, and except by the exigencies of war and the family, it was Maori, and yet even he does not appear to have achieved it.

Yates points out that 'Tangaroa and Maui are found blending in Polynesia even to the point of identity. It is neither easy nor safe to fix to definite origin the Proto-Si shapes of South Sea mythology, but on the whole the native myths are apt to embody cosmic ideas and the idea of the Sun preponderates in Maui, so the ideas of the Hunga in Tangaroa' (op. cit. ii. 246).

The Polynesian Creator is called Kanaroa in Hawaii, Tauros in Tahiti, Tangaroa in Mangæa and New Zealand, Tangalo in Samoa and Tonga. In Tahiti some maintained that 'Tauros was only a man who was deified after death' (Ellis, Polyn. Researches, i. 325), though by others he was spoken of as the progenitor of the other gods. Tangaroa was not a very important personage in Mangæa, for he had only one mame, or altar, and that was almost neglected, the only offering ever presented being the first fruits of newly planted and coconuts (Gill, Myths and Songs, p. 19). He can be linked up with Tagaro of the New Hebrides and with Sai of the Samoan Islands, whose brothers were known as the Wai-Tangaroa the Fool, etc. It would be tedious to detail the various heroic fijgers that appear in the legendary lore of Oceania, but the samples selected will suffice to indicate their general character, which finds parallels all the world over.

The majority of tales about heroes belong to those classed as myths, since their object is essentially etiological. The residu'e are more correctly termed legends, being narratives of what is believed to have happened, though these hero-tales in many cases may be regarded myths. It has often been stated that mythology is the source neither of religion nor of morality, but of science, philosophy, poetry and history. The tale or myth about a hero may serve to explain natural phenomena, may be in itself an interesting and amusing narrative, may inculcate social observances or illustrate the danger of neglecting them, may stimulate the listener to high endeavour, or may evoke the feeling of mystery and awe. All this may be accomplished without the hero being worshipped; it is no worship accorded to the culture-heroes—often 'transformers' and even tricksters—of the North American Indians, more especially those of the north-west coast, which fact may well be due to the absence of any mana-

cult and to the existence of the belief in mana. It is probably very rare for all the myths of a given people to be borrowed along with other cultural elements at various times. With the myth comes the hero, and, whatever he was in his place of origin, he speedily becomes native to his new home. Wherever certain incidents took place are pointed out, and many rocks or other natural objects testify to the truth of the tale, nor does it matter though these should be reduplicated in various localities. The vitality of the myth depends less upon its explanatory significance than upon the personality of the hero, but the development of a cult of the hero would seem to depend upon the socio-religious condition of the recipients.

From an examination of the evidence from Torres Straits, it would seem that, though several men of olden time may fairly be termed culture-heroes, yet no practical notice is taken of them—another illustration of the remark that a prophet has no honour in his own country. Those who have attained such recognition are Kwoiam the Australian, Wastait and Bomai and his companions, who came from New Guinea. For what came their may we assume that they were honoured? The answer here seems to be that it was the introduction of a new religious cult that reacted socially. The introduction of te had a direct influence on the social customs and the ceremony. The ideas of the deities, the ceremonies and the sacrifices were all transferred. The religious feelings of the recipients. The valorous deeds and evident supernatural power of the Australian ber."
HEROES AND HERO-GODS (American).—

1. Extent and distribution.—Primitive America is, in a sense, the land poor excellence of heroes and hero-gods. Among the most characteristic myths and legends are those which deal with the birth, growth from infancy to manhood, expiation, and achievements of such more or less divine or wonderful personages. Nor is the role of hero-god confined to man or superman alone, for the whole animal world, in its most remarkable diversities of kinds and of species, finds representatives also in the numerous diversities and semi-divinities on record—in the mythologies, national legends, etc., of the American Indian tribes from Alaska to Tierra del Fuego, and over the broad expanse of the double continent from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean. D. G. Brinton, the first ethnologist to devote to a special monograph, says, in his American Hero-Myths (p. 27):

"The native tribes of this Continent had many myths, and among them there was one which was so prominent, and recur often with such strangely similar features in localities widely scattered, that it has for years attracted my attention, and I have been led to present it as it occurs among several nations far removed from each other in time and culture. This myth is that of the national hero, their mythical civiliser and trainer of the young, as some one who, as the supreme deity, the creator of the world. It is the fundamental myth of a very large number of American tribes, and on its reception and interpretation depends the correct understanding of most of their mythology and religious life."

George Catlin, thus on the same subject (1837, p. 278):

"Probably every Indian tribe, north and south, had its early achievements, and the story of its hero or teacher of all early teachings, from the ten-thousand and Manabozho of the Red Iroquois and Algonquin to the Quetzalcoatl, the Bodica, and the Viracocha of the more cultivated Aztecs, Mayas, and Quichuas of the mild southland.

The range of the culture-hero and hero-god among the American Indians is very great:

'Among the living tribes of the north this hero is hardly more than an expert magician, frequently degraded to the level of a common trickster, who, after ridiculing the world of giants and supernatural beings and teaching them a few temp arts, retires to the upper world to rest and smoke until such urgent necessity again requires his presence below. Under other southern skies the myth takes more poetic form, and the hero becomes the deliverer and teacher of children, a very Christ, worthy of all love and reverence, who gathers together the wandering nomads and leads them to the highest civilization, where he instructs them in agriculture, house-building, and the art of government, regulates authority, and introduces a peaceful order of life. Then at last his work is well accomplished, he bids farewell to his sorrowing subjects, and goes away to the distant land of sunshine.' (94.)

Such a figure, e.g., was the Mexican Quetzalcoatl, the God of History, the destroyer of their native culture, thinking that he was their hero returning. Elsewhere in primitive America the white man (but very briefly, since his acts soon betrayed him) has been thought a returning hero or divinity. With these ancient hero-gods of theirs some of the Indian peoples were prone to identify the Christ of the European religions.

The culture-hero idea is often more typically American than that of deity. After pointing out that 'gods are a conception that does not flourish among the primitive American, and that it is the subject of this sketch or 'Types of Indian Culture in California,' A. L. Kroeber says (p. 91):

"The Indian place for the deity is the culture-hero. The god comes by the introduction of character he can be differentiated, and the interaction of distinct deities makes god many as the myths are many. Where he occurs in several personages in one mythology, these are only repetitions of one another. In North and South America he is the same. Now he is a benefactor and teacher; now more noisome, entertaining, obscene, and ridiculous. Rarely does a Indian vary these qualities from episode to episode in the same mythology. But he is always the same, and he is always alone in his world. He makes the world or remakes it from existing earth brought him by an assistant animal; he does not create it. He changes the society of the species to suit his own, and he always the same, and he always stands alone in his world. He makes the world or remakes it from existing earth brought him by an assistant animal; he does not create it. He changes the society of the species to suit his own, and he is the one and the only possible character of American mythology; he is the Indian himself in his nakedness.

Of course, there are exceptions to this general statement, but Kroeber remarks that 'even those specific cases that are exceptions usually rest on a wider basis that conforms with the conditions here described' (p. 92).

2. Human heroes.—The child as hero and hero-god among the American Indians has already been touched upon (see art. CHILDREN [American], vol. iii, p. 626). Many valuable information concerning human heroes in the mythology of the N. American Indians will be found in Lowie's monograph on 'The Tent-Theme' (J.A.F.L. xxii. [1906] 97-145), where the conclusion is reached that 'a majority of North American test-tales have human heroes and a human setting' (p. 132). He remarks further (p. 134):

"So far as the tales related of sun and moon are concerned, far-reaching similarities distinguishing them as a group from human folk-tales cannot be detected. Solon, the hero of the sun is a human being named after, or somehow identified with, sun and moon." Again (p. 183): 'The test-heroes, in their fundamental ideas, the imposition of a difficult or dangerous task and a human or supernatural trial of strength, is evidently derived from human experience.

Among the test-themes noted by Lowie in N. American Indian tales are the following: Flight to the sky, mapping-door, tests by cruel relatives spine-seat, wedge test, capture of animals, fights with animals, striking trees, waggis dances, sweat-house, fire ordeal, trials of strength, trip to the under world, pushing hero down a precipice, attempt to drive hero away, tests by fire, ice, and water, and tests by clan, fish, etc., hero sent to get berries in winter and errands, imitation of boar, killing monsters, etc.

Lowie discusses briefly, under the head of heroes, these types:

Western ('transformer') myths, myths of the Californian Maidu, 'lodge-boy' and 'thrown-away' cycle (Plains Indians, etc.), Pueblo twin myths, rabbit-cycle (Ponca, Menominial), blood-clip cycle (Blackfeet, Pawnee, Dakotas, Gros Ventres), star-boy (Crow, Pawnee, Dakotas, Arapaho, Kliow, Gros Vincent, Blackfeet).

Details concerning some of these heroes will be found in Denslow's Blackfoot Lodge Tales (1900) and Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk-Tales (1889)."
HEROES AND HERO-GODS (American)

by Radin (see art. ESKIMOS, vol. v. p. 303), who assigns a larger rôle to animal actors in Eskimo legends. Bogoras, who has made a comparative study of the folk-life of north-eastern Asia and that of north-western America, informs us (Amer. Anthropol., new ser., iv. [1902] 606) that 'the general character of the Chukheie and Eskimo tales is quite alike, and the same ideas are to be found on both sides of the Bering Sea are about the same.' Hero-children and human heroes are common in both. The prevalence of human heroes in the folk-tales of the South American Indians (see art. CHILDREN [American]) will doubtless appear when we know more about this rather neglected field of primitive mythology, and the characters interpreted as personifications of sun and moon are revealed in their true nature, as has been the case with so many other myths and figures in the mythology of the northern continent.

3. Typical heroes and culture-heroes. — The Aztec Quetzalcoatl, the Mayan Itzamna, the Chibchan Bochica, and the Quechuan Viracocha have been discussed at considerable length by Brinton in his American Mythology (1878); the Myths of the New World, etc., and by more recent authorities. They are fairly comparable with some of the great culture-heroes of the Old World. The deeds that they accomplished include the cleaning up of the monster-ridden world, the establishment of society and human civilization—all things, from the earth fit for man to making mankind fit for the new earth. As in the Old World, so in the New, their memory is connected alike with the Paradise that once was and with that which is again to come. Besides such great figures as these there are scores of others less majestic and less attractive.

Concerning the culture-heroes or some of the tribes of the north-west Pacific coast, F. Boas says (Indianscbe Sagen, p. 389):

'What gives the traveller (or wanderer) tale its character, in its wild, unpredictable, and even the wonderful, is the element of wonder, mystery, and romance.' Either the Golias of the Chinook, the Quita of the Coast Salish, the Quottow of the Comox, the two Travellers of the Nootka, the K'ing' Ing of the Neweats play, in connection with their culture-mission, such tricks as do the Raven in British Columbia, the Gosecap of the Mmakie, the Nanaboozhoo of the Ojibwa, the Nap of the Blackfeet, the Coyote of the tribes of the southern Rocky Mountains, or the 'Bokman' of the northern Athapascans.

Such tricks are not entirely lacking, but are transferred to different animals or other beings, such as the Bluejay among the Nootka, the Squaw and the Raven among the Coast Salish, Comox, and Neweats, as Kwootah, the Min, and the Raven among the Nootka. The Saveau have not made so sharp a distinction, and, therefore, the influence of the separation is not so clear among the Fraser River tribes as among the other coast peoples. The tradition is clearest among the Coast Salish and the Nootka. The Coast Salish of Puget Sound have sounds like names we had of the place, which also had to do with the world.

Boas has also discussed the question of the hero and the transformer in his Introduction to Teit's Traditions of the Thompson River Indians of Brit. Col. (Mem. Amer. Folk-Lore Soc., vi. [1898] 1-12).

The general character of the hero-myth of the Californian aborigines is briefly sketched by A. L. Kroeber in his article on 'The Religion of the Indians of California.' The primary feature of the mythology of the Indians of the north-western part of the State is 'a very deeply impressed conception of the world, and its inhabitants, race, who, by first living the life and performing the actions of mankind, were the producers of all human institutions and arts as well as of some of the phenomena of nature'; while the most important of the myths dealing with culture heroes more or less trickster types familiar from so many other parts of North America' (p. 345). In central California, where these ideas are apparently in a truer position of the world, man, of mankind, and of its institutions, the creator seldom has 'tricky exploits or defeats' attributed to him — such things belong to an anthropological secondary creature, usually the Coyote. In the northern half of the central area, however, the creator is generally anthropomorphic; if not, he is merged into one personage with the more or less tricky Coyote. In some California tribes the long origin-myth of a thoroughly south-western and Pueblo character. The mythology of the southern part of California resembles that of the south-west region on both sides of the Bering Sea in its prevalence of the culture-hero and trickster over the creator.' The Maidu of northern central California furnish us with Kodooyane (Earth-Namer, or Earth-Maker), a trickster and inventor of all things; also Ooiitono, 'a supernaturally born destroyer, conqueror, and avenger.' The northern Wintun conception of Olekia 'shows a developed and a lofty conception of a creator, while among the southern Wintun there is little antithesis between creator and Coyote in the creation myth.' In the mythology of the Shasta, Coyote is both creator and trickster, although the myths of the south-western area is not so great. The Klamath (or Lutuam) K'muukameth, or Old Man, is 'not the same as the Maidu Wintun, Yuki, and Wishoek; he is deceitful, with the character of the typical culture-hero trickster.' In many things, indeed, he suggests the Algongian Manabozho.

The Ojibwa Nanibozho or Nanaboozhoo, the Misissaga Nanaboozhoo or Waniboozh, the Sauteux Ojibwa Nanaboozhoo or Nanabouch, the Ottawa Nanaboozhoo, the Mesquiqs Nanaboozho, and the Nipissing Nanaboozho, all correspond to the Cree Wiskitskebok, and more or less, to the Blackfoot Napli or Napiu, the M'mac Gosecap, etc. The stories of the deeds and exploits of this hero-god, who figures in the creation-myth and the deluge-legends of these Indians, who taught them many of the arts and institutions of the world, were received as well as helped them, have been correlated and discussed by Chamberlain (JAF, iv. [1891] 193-213). The most detailed account of some of the deeds of this Algongian culture-hero is given in W. J. Hoffman's article and monograph on the Menomini Indians (14 RBEW, pt. i. pp. 3-328). The culture-hero of the Sas and Foxes (also Algongian) is Wissak. A contest with the manitous appears in the story of Wissak recorded by Jones (Fon Texts, pp. 336-379), which includes the flood legend.

'The theme of the following story is the struggle of the culture-hero to subdue the manitous and make the world ready for the people who were to come after. It is the sacred myth of the Foxes; and with the Sauks it is the myth on which rests the midwinter, a religious society which preserves the most sacred forms of religious worship. It is in two parts: first, the struggle of the culture-hero with the manitous, in which the death of his brother, the flood, and the defeat of the manitous are the leading events; second, the pacification of the culture-hero by the manitous, and the restoration of peace, preliminary to settling the world in order for a home of the people' (p. 336).

This subjugation of the manitous is also one of the labours of Manabozho or Nanaboozhoo among the Ojibwa, etc. The culture-hero myth of the Sas and Foxes has been recorded by H. W. Beebe (L. xiv. [1901] 225-239). After preparing the earth for mankind and driving off the manitous, who had sought to destroy him, Wissak proceeded as follows (p. 237):

'Wissak then created the people, making the first man and the first woman out of clay, that was as red as the redder blood (hence the Indian name of the Foxes, Mawka, Red-Feather). And he made them after the race of his mother. He taught them the true position of the world, man, of mankind, and of its institutions, the creator seldom has 'tricky exploits or defeats' attributed to him — such things belong to an anthropological secondary creature, usually the Coyote. In the

Then he left the people, going away to live in
the north, but promising to return one day to take them to their new home in the west, where they were to dwell for ever with their kindred who had gone before them. Wiasaká was always described as being ever youthful. The culture-myth relates in detail 'the divinity's benevolent acts toward men, his teaching the people the way to live, and his protection of them of a home after death in the spirit world.'

In his "Peo Texts" (1907) Jones published (pp. 259-279) a number of stories of the culture-hero Wiasaká, concerning whom he observes (p. 264): "The stories to follow are typical of that mass of narrative in which the culture-hero moves, now as a boojum doing tricks to others and having them done to him, and now as a benefactor and as an allegorical character. Sometimes he is prehensile and whispering, like a spied child, and scoots to stoop most degrading for the accomplishment of an end; and again he rivets attention as being always represented as dwelling with his grandmother, whom he calls "The Old One." In one instance only is Wiasaká referred to as having wife or children. In some of his difficulties his grandmother comes to his aid. He comes to grief often in trying a trick on his grandmother, e.g., skunk or duck); he accepts challenges, and thereby becomes a victim of his own foolishness.

The culture-hero of the Micmac and closely related Algonkian Indians of Maine, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, Charles G. Leland says, in his "Myths of the New World," that "there was an appalling giant in his conquests with huge monsters and other creatures, and the only circle he is the most benevolent of gentle heroes, and has his oft-repeated little standard jokes. Yet he never, like the Mananau-Flawatha of the Chippewa, becomes silly, over-fond of little jokes, and proves to be quite a creditable giant, even as Thor went fishing in hero fun with the frost god, but never low on character.

He informs us further (p. 12) that 'Glooscap is always a gentleman."

"The "Wissakah" Texts," Publ. Amer. Ethol. Soc. li. (1906) xi says of one of his Indian informants, who is 'theoretically a Methodist, but in mind-content to all intents and purposes an unadulterated Indian, that 'he implicitly believes in the truth of all the myths he narrated, no matter how poetically or ribald they might seem. Coyote he considers as worthy of the highest respect, despite the ridicules and lascivious side of his character; and with him he is strongly inclined to identify the Christ of the whites, for both he and Coyote lived many generations ago, and appeared in different forms to tell the old stories.

Other culture-heroes are recorded from the various American Indian tribes, besides the "transformers" of the North Pacific coast region treated in The Master of the Bear, in his "Indianische Sagens" (1896), and in the mythological data of the Jeeb Expedition, published by the American Museum of Natural History (New York) and besides the cycle of animal and bird heroes and semi-heroes of the Pacific slope, such as Raven, Blue-Jay, Coyote, and Mink. The following may be mentioned: Elamath Kuskamot; the "Old Man" of many western tribes of North America; the Eddiges Irawamps; the Mandan Hunkotukuncha; the Arizona Mishapa; the Cherokee West; the Chayennes Vinbik; the Tarascan Curcutberia; the Cuumb American Kubulan and Veta; the Mero Aruma; the Guayro Abanaw; the Topulon Cauesug and Main Moun; the Paretel Uamis; the Guayacan Karazas; the Buhair Kukatu; the Alkupi Ebal; the Arawak Ramn; the Guarani Tarco; the last of the tribes of the Uaupes; the Guaranian Abayu.

Some brief details concerning many of the South American heroes and culture-heroes will be found in Thure Thure's "Die Mythen und Legenden der siedenamerikanischen Ureler" (Berlin, 1905).

4. Culture-hero, clown, deceiver. In an article on 'The Hero-God of the Algonkins as a Cheer and a Lascivious Spirit and Algonkian Antiquarian' in 1885 and then again in his "Essays of an Americanist" (1890, pp. 120-124), D. G. Brinton called attention to the curious fact of the attribution to certain culture-heroes of the Algonkian Indians of the characteristics of trickery, deceit, lying, and clownishness of various sorts. This was illustrated from the name of the culture-hero of the Micmac, Glooscap, which is called "whistle with words," 'word-breaker,' 'deceiver,' and a similar meaning was said to attach to the Cree Wiesakok, the analogue of Glooscap with this western Algonkian tribe. Speaking of Michabo, to whom innumerable tricks are attributed, Brinton says ("Essays of an Americanist," p. 123): 'Michabo does not conquer his enemies by brute force, nor by superior strength, but by craft and ruses, by transforming himself into unexpected shapes, by cunning and strategy. He thus comes to be represented as the arch-deceiver; but in a good sense, as his enemies on whom he practises these wiles are also those of the human race, and he exercises his powers with a benevolent intention.

'Thus it comes to pass that this highest divinity of these nations, their chief god and culture-hero, bears in familiar narrative the surprising titles: 'the liar,' 'the cheat,' and 'the deceiver.'"

In The Myths of the New World, however, Brinton gives this other view of the matter, as follows (p. 194):

"In many of the tales which the whites have preserved of Michabo he seems half a wizard, half a simpleton. He is full of pranks and wiles, but often as a loss for a meal of victuals; over-licking to try his magic arts on great hearts and men meeting ludicrous failures therein; envious of the powers of others, and constantly striving to outdo them in what they do best; in short, little more than a malicious butt for the author's amusement in practical jokes, and abusing his superhuman powers for selfish and ignoble ends."

But this is a low, modern, and corrupt version of the character of Michabo, born of the bad influence of, and ancient one than the language and acts of our favour and the Apostles in the cause, Mystery Plays of the Middle Ages do to those recorded by the Spaniards."

That some of the Indians under Christian influence may have turned to ridicule their old gods is quite possible. J. A. Coone (Les Algonqns, Montréal, 1886, p. 'Wissakak,' p. 443), e.g., says: 'The word Wissakak is now employed only derivatively by Christian peoples. With them, Wissakak, like Naskapi, is about synonymous with monkey (vigne) in a figurative sense. Thus, it is said of anybody who indies what he is: 'He is a Wissakak.'"

J. D. Prince, in his introduction to Kukokap, The Master, says concerning Kukokap (Glooscap), the culture-hero of the Micmac, Passamaquoddi, and Penobscot (p. 33): Kukokap is a god-man of truly Indian type who undoubtedly respects the principles of good, and particularly good nature, as opposed to his twin brother Malcon the Wolf, who may be called the Abrimken of the Wabanaki, although this is almost too dignified a term."

He remarks further (p. 54): The tendency of Kukokap, in spite of his name, was essentially benevolent. Oddly enough, Kukokap is called "the liar," from a stem Wissk, "lies," as "a man, person, one who stands." . . . This appellation, uncomplimentary as it sounds, is not an evil word, for the Indians. Kukokap is called "the deceiver" not because he deceives or injures man, but because he is not "true" to his own nature. He is thus an enemy to the enemy's enemy, or, as it is called in the Indian, the last hope of the earth, the highest possible virtue to the early American mind."

This explanation is much the same as one put forward by Brinton; but, even if it did explain (it hardly does so satisfactorily) the name of the culture-hero, in his capacity of 'deceiver,' it fails to account for the clownish actions, ridiculous escapades, and mean and despicable things attributed to him. Nor does it take fully into account the rather numerous occasions on which he is completely outwitted, e.g., in the contest with the baby, with certain animals, and even with trees.

Clark Wissler, in his 'Myth of the Blackfoot Indians' (pp. 6-12), discusses the character of the culture-hero of these Indians and his relations to the other figures in their mythology. Of Old Man, or Napiw* (the Napi of various other writers), we are informed (p. 9):

"That the Blackfoot formerly had a well-defined creation-myth, in which the Old Man took the initiative in producing and transforming the world, is indicated by several writers. Those noted give more or less in detail a running account of the peopling of the earth and the instruction of mankind in the art of living. While these incidents do not occur in detail..."
in the Old Man myths recorded in this paper, they are occasionally implied. Such origins are not present often associated to the Old Man without the formality of a myth.

It will be noted that the greater part of the tales collected by the writer takes place rather generally incidents in the Old Man's career. No ritualistic or ceremonial practices are found associated with these narratives, though it may have been otherwise with the past. On the other hand, connected with them are a large number of origins for many aspects of material culture, such as the buffalo-dance, the making of weapons, methods of dressing skins, etc. A considerable number of places and topographical features are associated with his adventures; as Old Man's River, Tongue Peak River, Old Man's Gambling-Place, Old Man's Riding-Place, Rolling-Bones Creek, etc. In fact there seems a tendency to give all of his adventures a definite location in Alberta."

Wissler says further (p. 9): "For several decades at least, the Blackfoot have considered the Old Man as an evil character, in most respects trivial, who long ago passed on to other countries. Whenever the writer asked the question "What was the Old Man?" the usual reply was: "No, he had no enough confidence in him to make excited." In the daily conversation his name is often used as a synonym for immorality. However, it is not implied that he is regarded as an evil spirit. His name is especially associated with things obscene, and pertaining to sexual immorality. I have heard the Piegan say that Brand-sk-

must be trying to be like the Old Man; he cannot be trusted with women.""

It is quite probable that here, as with other Indian tribes, the culture-hero has suffered from the same disposition seen among civilized peoples of the present day to attribute actions of a certain character to a specific figure. Wissler, therefore, seems quite justified in his statement (p. 10):

"We have occasionally noted a tendency to assign modern obscene anecdotes to this character, and it may well be that many of the tales long attributed to him have been accommodated by some responsible person to his connection. The unfortunate human tendency to perceive clearly in such anecdotes seems sufficient to account for their survival and accumulation long after belief in and respect for the Old Man as a creator, teacher, and benefactor."

Taking everything into consideration, Wissler inclines to the opinion that certain Old Man myths are survivals from a much larger group constituting the ancient basic beliefs of the Blackfoot, and that there has been a disintegration of the creative and cultural origin myths concerning Old Man. Today the Blackfoot make Napi (the Old Man) and Natos (the Sun) different characters, the former secondary. According to Wissler, the Blackfoot and the Crow 'culture-heroes' are closer together than the Blackfoot and those of the Arapaho and Gros Ventre. Those of the Blackfoot, Crow, and Arapaho seem all, however, to be 'entirely human,' with no traces of any animal qualities. Wissler, in his opinion, gives the Blackfoot a much space to Old Man and the myths about him (pp. 357-348). He says concerning his character (p. 357 f.):

"The character of Old Man, as revealed, even in the more serious of the myths, is a strange composite of opposing traits. He is a creator, wise in word and deed, and of benevolence and malignancy. He associated intimately with the people, and was much conversed with them and understood their thoughts and language, and he understood him. Although believed to be the creator of all things, and as having omnipotent power, he was often helpless and in trouble and compelled to seek the aid of his animal friends. His was, in fact, like an animal's intelligence in a way which, strange to say, were exerted in conjunction with his supernatural power."

The power of Old Man was 'uncontrolled by reason, and wanton in its exercises,' and he was a 'deceiver and a trickery, and his name was a synonym among the Blackfeet, at least in later years, for mischievous and immoral adventure' (p. 338). Of some of the Old Man myths, McClintock remarks (p. 357) that they 'are samples of Indian humour, told as we tell fairy tales and using Old Man for their central figure.'

Many of the myths recorded by the writer are not commonly known among the southern Piegans of Montana have been published by G. O. Uhlenbeck in the "Journal of American Folk-Lore" and "Journal of American Folkslore" (1912). Uhlenbeck's style Napi (or Nago) 'trickster-hawk' was.

Robert H. Lowie, who was among the Chippewyan Indians (of Athapaskan stock) about Lake Atha-

bases in 1936, reports ('Chippewyan Tales,' 1912, p. 173) that 'the Wiskakotch myths were becoming part and parcel of Chippewyan folklore.' He remarks further: "While the Cree name of the hero was the only one used by any informant, and even the name of the Chippewyan, and partly Cree extraction) was used to have no Chippewyan origin of myths for many aspects of material culture, such as the buffalo dance, the making of weapons, methods of dressing skins, etc. A considerable number of places and topographical features are associated with his adventures; as Old Man's River, Tongue Peak River, Old Man's Gambling Place, Old Man's Riding Place, Rolling-Stones Creek, etc. In fact there seems a tendency to give all of his adventures a definite location in Alberta."

The Wiskakotch myths obtained from the Chippewyan Indians are given on pp. 186-200, and are of the Wiskakotch was traveling time. This passing over of an Algolian cycle of myths into the mythological 'Creek' of the Athapaskan Chippewyan came important fact in comparative folklore; it suggests the possibility of similar occurrences elsewhere in primitive America.

The correspondents of the Algolian Nanaboozhou and similar characters in the mythological 'Creek' of the Athapaskan Chippewyan came important fact in comparative folklore; it suggests the possibility of similar occurrences elsewhere in primitive America.

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HEROES AND HERO-GODS (American)

defined as 'the culture-hero and friend of mankind. The predominance of the elder brother characterizes many other Indian myths.

The twin-hero-striks of the Zuñi are Ahalyuta and Mátásiláma, spoken of as elder and younger brothers, and 'accounted immortal twin yonths of small size. Their deeds are detailed by Cushion in his Zuñi Folk-Tales (1891). They are also styled 'the twin gods of war,' and are looked upon as the 'right-hand' and 'left-hand' beings of the sun. As Cushion found 'the myth of the miraculous twins and war leaders among the Uinta Utes of the Shoshonean stock in north-eastern Utah (JAFPL xiv.), a characteristic of the Zuñi people, the twin myth is the Bakairi story of Keri and Kame; the former, wiser and more powerful than the latter, is, according to K. von den Steinen (Die Kabieth-Sprache, Leipzig, 1892), the chief hero in the legends of these Indians. The names now borne by these heroes are those of the sun and moon, and, curiously enough, it is the weaker, and not the stronger one, who has the name of the sun. Among North American twins, brother-pairs, etc., may be mentioned the following:

- The Two Brothers of British Columbia;
- The Two Brothers of the Dena (Alaskanian);
- The Twin brothers of the Yavapai and the Tohono O'odham (Apachean);
- The two sons of the Sun (among the Poncas and various tribes of the Iroquois).

From Mexico and Central America may be cited:

- Quetzalcoatl and his three brothers, among the Aztecs (the Huexotzinco); and the Maya; among the Celestes (of the Group of Cofan Rain.)

From South America the following:

- Amalacua and Yocil among the Tamoacans of Venezuela;
- Tamoacans and Artukas among the Brazilian Tupis; Karu and Raira among the Mundurucus; Tiri and Karu among the Yurucuara; the two sons of Huanac among the Chocarana Pucacocha and Vicrama among the Yunkas; Apoalequiu and Figurene among the Guaraníes; and Keri and Kame among the Chontalas.

The legends concerning these heroes embody a great variety of incidents—so-operation, opposition, etc.

6. Re-incarnations of the hero-gods. In the literature relating to the conflict of the Indian peoples with the white man, the Mexican monarchs, the 'Ghost-Dance' religions, etc., we meet with references to beliefs in the return of the ancient divinities and culture-heroes, to the return of the white invaders, other, and restoring the land to the red man, in all its pristine beauty and fertility. This is sometimes a feature of the 'new religions' of the American Indian, as advocated by Chamberlain (Jews, Relig. Psychol., Vi. [1915]-46). Among the Ojibwas, e.g., the 'prophet' Tenakwatawa (a Shawnee settler-born of 'a new religion,' in 1805—1812) came to be looked upon as an incarnation of Manabosko. The revolt of the Mexican Zapotecs in 1850 was led by an Indian priest, who declared himself to be an incarnation of Quetzalcoatl.

After the departure of the culture-hero, some Indians, according to the legends of not a few tribes, succeeded in making their way to his far-off abode. Laaland (Algonq. Leg., 1865) records (pp. 94—108) two Miamic tales of the men who went to Glooscap for gifts, and Jones (Fox Texts, pp. 332—337) gives the Fox Tales of how 'The Red-Hearts went to where Wiss-ká-wá was.' Upon this story he remarks (p. 332):

'This narrative is but another version of a familiar story known to other Algonchina tribes. It is the account of the visit of four men to the culture-hero at his distant home, and of how each obtained what he asked for. The visit itself, the root, with the right places where the culture-hero had departed from this world, it is not stated in the text, but the place of the home is at the frozen north.'

In the Miamic story the departed Glooscap is represented as dwelling in a land of magic and of beauty.

7. Interpretation of heroes and hero-gods. Both in his Myths of the New World and his Essays on Americanism, and in other writings as well, Brinton sought to interpret the heroes of the American aborigines as personifications of light, dawn, etc., calling to his aid, not infrequently, Max Müller's 'disease of language' theory. The Algonchina Michabou, the 'Great Rabbit,' was a light-god, because of the relationship of waboo (i.e., 'white one'), the term for rabbit, and wábbo (also 'white', 'the word for dawn'; and Manabosko was disposed of in a similar manner.

The Iroquoian Ioseha, Atseo, Quetzalcoatl, Mayan Itzamna, Chibchuan Boochko, Peruvian Rupacoco, and many other figures, he made out to be essentially the same. The often-occurring contest of two brothers or of the twins, e.g., the Iroquoian Ioseha and Tonawasko, the Algonchina Manabosko and Chokamipok, he explained as the contest of light and darkness. The culture-hero, as was sung of Itzamna, 'son of the morning, or born in the east.' To cite Brinton's own words (Amer. Hero-Myths, p. 29):

'The most important of all things to life is Light. The primitive savage felt, and, personifying it, he made Light the beginning of the whole. Light is the beginning of the world. Light comes before the sun, gives it forth, creates it, as it were. Here, the Light-God is not the Sun-God, but his Antecedent and Creator.'

This is somewhat different from the solar and lunar theories of hero-heroes revived in recent years, in particular by Piéron and shared also by Ehrenreich, in his monograph on general mythology (p. 233), where he identifies 'culture-heroes' with the sun, the moon, and Venus; in his special treatment of South American myths (Myth. und Leg. der südamer. Ureinw. 1900, p. 24), he says of the so-called culture-heroes 'that they all bear more or less the character of sun or moon beings.'

As noted above, the unsatisfactory character of the naturalistic theory for the explanation of American hero-heroes and hero-myths has been pointed out by Lowie, who emphasizes their interpretation on grounds of human experience. Not more successful than the solarists and the lunarists are the Frendian school of psychology, with their strict dependence upon sex and sex mores. One outgrowth of Frendianism in this field is Otto Rank's Der Mythos von der Geburt des Helios (Leipzig, 1900). Wundt's conception of the hero as a projection of human wishes and hopes may perhaps hold without either the solar-lunar basis of Proboenius-Ehrenreich or the more pathological substrata of the Frendian school. Here, as else-
HEROES AND HERO-GODS (Babylonian)

—The amount of material furnished by the native traditions, Bab., and the Greek writers on and deal with Bab. mythology indicates that the literature treating of this subject was exceedingly extensive. Moreover, not only are the narratives which have been handed down attractive and entertaining; they also reveal to us the opinions of the more cultured Babylonians concerning the origin of created things, the relationship of the gods to the world, Akkad. and the religious beliefs, to say nothing of the fancies and the inventive power of their minds; and the stories of their hero-gods are, in certain cases, not without a historical value.

I. BABYLONIAN HEROES MENTIONED BY BEREUS.—1. Aloros and five of his successors.—After having conquered Amurana, the best and the Greek writers on the god Anu, another one called Odakon (cf. Sumer. Utuk, a name of the sun-god), or Apophis, arose from the sea. The British Museum, tablet K. 643, shows a four-armed man dur-]{\text{1}}{\text{an-ki}}' king of Sippur,... beloved of Anu, Bel, and Es,...... whom Sama and Addu (Haddad) had placed on a golden throne.' He was a diviner, versed in all sacred things, and the perfection of his person served as a model for all who aspired to the priesthood after him.

3. Annunna, Opetes, and Xisthmas.—The eighth ruler was Annunna of Larana, who ruled for 10 sari (36,000 years), but of this personage nothing more is known. The ninth, however, was of much greater note, being none other than Otieras (a scribe's error for Opaties, the U(m)boru-Tutu of the Flood-legends). The Gr. text describes him as being of Larana, but the Flood-story in the Legend of Gilgamesh seems to make him a native of Sirius, pok, now Fars, in the Euphrates. He ruled for 8 sari (28,800 years), and was succeeded by his son, Bishithur or Xisthmas (Hasia-other, Hesperaeother, Hesperus of Homer, Hesperus, the Farsian, wise'). This is simply a title which was given to Bab. heroes, and the patriarchal name seems to have been the designation for the god Anu, or the name of the god of the sea of the same name (the land discovered by Messner). Xisthmas ruled 19 sari (64,800 years). He probably passed for the greatest of all the mythical kings of Babylonia.

The most important, however, was probably the legend of 'Es and Atar-basis' (a variant form of Atra-hasis). Unfortunately the mutilation of the text renders the sequence and bearing of the events which it records exceedingly doubtful. A series of years up to 7 are mentioned in which distressing things occurred among the people (cf. On the life, parents and offspring being unnatural towards and malicious of each other. There was scarcity of water and corn, and children were not brought forth. Owing to this, Atar-basis appealed to the god Enlil, and the latter Anu, his abode and, however, took no notice, and the cries of the tormented people rose on high, troubling the god Enlil; so various sicknesses were sent among them, silenced their complaints. This apparently gave Atar-basis opportunity for a fresh appeal, and the god this time answered, but the text is too mutilated for the sense to be gathered.

In the considerable gap which occurs at this point, it is not improbable that the intention of the god to send a flood upon the earth is announced. If so, the Pierpont Morgan fragment (Scheil, 27 xx. [1897]) probably gives the text. Though exceedingly mutilated, there appears to be a conversation between Es and the patriarch, whom the former seems to advise to ask (the other deities), 'Why wilt thou kill the people?' Whether the Hilprecht fragment (see Assy. xx. [1898–1902] 354 E) belongs to the Musurus Centaurs (cf. 5 A-mas, 'luminaries of heaven, possibly the sun), or Annoctus, half man and half fish, from the Persian Gulf. The fifth mound was Magulares (Metaurus), also of Pantibilia, who reigned for 18 sari (64,800 years). The sixth reign was that of Deos or Damos, the shepherd of Pantibilia, who reigned for 20 years; see below, IV, 5, 'Tammus.' In his time four composite beings, Evedamis (Sumerian En-es-dugga), Eunamancis

(?) Sumeria, En-es-ganu), Enubalus, and Amentes, arose from the Persian Gulf.

2. Euedoreschus.—With the seventh name we have a clearer historical personage, Euedoreschus (En-es-de-er-si, possibly 'the lord of the word binding heavens and earth'), also of Pantibilia. The hero's relation is to his time another hero called Odakon (cf. Sumer. Utuk, a name of the sun-god), or Apophis, arose from the sea. The British Museum, tablet K. 643, shows a four-armed man dur-an-ki' king of Sippur,.... beloved of Anu, Bel, and Es,...... whom Sama and Addu (Haddad) had placed on a golden throne.' He was a diviner, versed in all sacred things, and the perfection of his person served as a model for all who aspired to the priesthood after him.

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From this point onwards the text is wanting until the last column of the large British Museum tablet (K. 3809-3804), which refers to 14 pieces of clay, out of which seven beautiful males and females were created by the god of generation Mami (Sutu a1, 'the lady of the gods,' also called Aruru, the creatoress). These lumps of clay would correspond with the hero of the Flood and his wife, who were thrown behind them in the legend of Deucalion's flood (E.E. iv. 554). Concerning the death of Atra-hasis nothing is known.

Such was the hero-king of Babylon until after the great Deluge; and, notwithstanding the fact that the Babylonians believed in their historicity, there is no doubt that they are wholly mythical—though historical personages of later date may have been transferred into that remote past which the Babylonians pictured to themselves so clearly. It is doubtful whether the first kings after the Flood can be looked upon as more historical, but it is to be noted that the successor of Xisuthrus or Atra-hasis—Evakhu, Evakho, Euxaia, or Enkhuwa, who reigned for 4 years (2000 years)—is identified by Synclus with Nembrod (Nimrod), and the latter, if really Mudach (IV. 2 below), was the first great Bab. hero-knight of the kingdom, whose name is Babel, etc. (Gn 10). He is said to have succeeded by his son Khomaselus, who reigned 4 years (2000 years). He is said to have founded the city of Eš, of which he became king, perhaps on account of his vineyards and press of being there. The length of his reign is given as 100 years. As in the case of Sargon of Agadé afterwards, events of his reign are quoted in the omen-tablets.

II. THE BABYLONIAN HERO-KINGS MENTIONED IN THE NATIVE INSCRIPTIONS. — 1. Gilgameš.—Gilgameš was, in all probability, the first important hero after Merodach, and may be the Khomaselus who succeeded Merodach. The full form of his name seems to have been Gipil-gam-k, and his capital was Ereh (Uruk suwari), 'Ereh of the eminences'; he was called king of the kingdom, whose name is Eš-babbanu, the sage Enki-du (En-baان), who dwelt in the wilds among the beasts of the earth. Enticed to Ereh, Kūmū-Bel, the mother of Gilgameš, tells her son that it is time for him to be his companion, and he accepts him at once. Gilgameš and Enki-du go together on an expedition to the land of the Abzu, where they cut off. Later, the renown which Gilgameš acquired attracted the attention of Utar, the goddess of Ereh, who wished to espouse him. Notwithstanding her divinity, he had a very low opinion of her morality, and rejected her advances with reproaches. Angered, Utar complained to her parents Anu and Anatu, and a divine bull was sent down to overawe the hero and avenge the goddess. Undismayed, Gilgameš and Enki-du killed the animal, over whose remains Utar and her maids lamented. Probably owing to Utar's hostility, Gilgameš was smitten with an incurable malady, and he also had the misfortune to lose his friend Enki-du. In despair, Gilgameš roamed about the world seeking a friend to restore him, and to find relief for himself. Many were the people whom he met, and the wonders which he saw, and he arrived at last, accompanied by Ut-napišti (Xisuthrus or Atra-hasis [see above]), the Bab. Noah, had been translated, there to dwell for ever after the Flood. After an account of the calamity (E.E. iv. 559-551) and Ut-napišti's explanation that he had retained immortality as a reward for his faithfulness, certain ceremonies are performed which restore the hero to health. Later, when on his way back, he finds and loses a plant which would have given him the life and youth which he sought. Bewailing his loss, he reaches Ereh, and takes measures for the restoration of his wealth. The exceedingly imperfect 12th tablet details the raising of his old companion, Enki-du, who describes to him the state of the good and the wicked after death. The last days and death of Gilgameš are not referred to. (For other details, see E.E. ii. 515.)

As handed down, the legend of Gilgameš appears as the life-history of a great and energetic ruler. H. C. Rawlinson, however, thought that the 11th tablet of the series, with the story of the Flood, corresponded with the 11th zodiacal sign, Aquarius; and the creation of Enki-du in the likeness of the hero might be held emblematic of the constellation of the Twins. In its present condition, however, the story does not lend itself to satisfactory analysis, at least from the spiritual point of view.

Whether the infant Gilgameš, son of Sebekkhor, thrown from a tower, and caught by an eagle (Allian, de Nat. Anim. x. 21), refers to Gilgameš or Gibil-gameš is at present uncertain.

2. Asag-Bau.—Though a woman, this ruler seems to have been looked upon as the hero of fame. According to the chronological list published by Schell (CAH, 1911; Exeg. xxi.), she had been a serious rival of Sargon of Agadé. She is said to have founded the city of Kis, of which she became queen, perhaps on account of her vineyards and press of being there. The length of her reign is given as 100 years. As in the case of Sargon of Agadé afterwards, events of her reign are quoted in the omen-tablets.

3. Sargon of Agadé.—This ruler, whose name in Bab. is Sarru-kīn, was the great royal hero after Gilgameš. His autobiographical legend states that his mother was a priestess or devotee (of some deity), and that he knew not his father (who had possibly visited his mother without making himself known to her). After the child had been brought forth in a secret place at Arupatu on the Euphrates, his mother placed him in a little basket that made water-tight with bitumen, and set him afloat on the river. Carried by the stream to Akhi the libation-priest, he became his adopted son. How he attained royal rank is not stated, but he had a long and renowned reign. The omen from his reign state that he crossed the Eastern sea, and conquered those of the West. Besieged, during a revolt, in his capital Agadé, notwithstanding his advancing years he made a sortie, and defeated his foes. After this he subjugated Suhurtu, and made the boundaries of Agadé equal with those of Babylon. He probably died in consequence of the anxieties due to a famine.

4. Naram-Sin.—This was a ruler hardly less renowned than his father, Sargon. He conquered all the regions around the State of Agadé—Arpakan, Suhurtu, Media, Elam, Tihan (Anatol., and the W. coast of the Persian Gulf), Mānan, and Malušu, capturing, in all, 17 kings, with 90,000 troops. Unfortunately, less than a sixth of the inscription dealing with his reign is preserved.

5. The historical and deified hero-kings. — Though the exploits of Asag-Bau, Sarra-kīn, and Naram-Sin may be largely legendary, those of the preceding kings, Gilgameš, Lilit, Utar, Āku (or Arab-Sin), Rūm-Sin, Išlam, Dagan of Isin, and the apparently non-deified Neushadherānu, are well within the range of history. Colophon-dates and contemporary inscriptions show that they carried on campaigns, performed ceremonies, and worked for the welfare of their people by digging irrigation-channels,
administering justice, and building temples. The records of heroic deeds on their part are, it is true, wanting, but a fragment, whose colophon contains the name of Dungi, gives an account of one of his pious works, implying that such were preferable to deeds of prowess on the battle-field. Libi-itšar, too, although 'his weapon prevailed greatly,' enjoyed much renown because he set up some monument 'for the admiration of multitudes of people,' and his sacrifices and prayers seem to have been acceptable to Enlil, the old patron-deity of Nippur.

In the case of Nebuchadrezzar I. (c. 1120 B.C.), the historian compares him with a lion and with the god of the land of Sumer, and with lions with men's heads. Finding his country wanting in prosperity, he prayed to Merodach for Babylon and his temple E-sagila; and success against Palestine (Amurrum) and Elam were promised—success which, as we know from the historical inscriptions, was realized. The glory of his nameakes of later date, surrounded the Great, is known to all. Had the Babylonian nation continued its career as an independent State, there is little doubt that the two Nebuchadrezzars would have figured with equal renown among its great heroes.

III. OTHER LEGENDS OF HEROES FROM THE NATIVE RECORDS.—1. Adapa.—This hero is described as having possessed all the wisdom of Ann, the god of the heavens, as well as the fire, sun, and stars, in whose city, Eridu, he dwelt. He bore the title of nasratimmu, which seems to indicate one who had the protection and distribution of sacred food. He was also a fisherman of that city, which in his time lay on the shores of the Persian Gulf.

While he was sailing out one day, the south wind came and sank his vessel, and Adapa found himself in 'the house of the fish.' He threatened to break the wings of the wind, and this was forthcoming accomplished. For a week the south wind continued to blow, to the annoyance of the god Ann, who summoned the wind and Adapa before him. Ascending to the heaven of Ann, Adapa saw there the god's door Tammus and Gil gid, two deities who had disappeared from the earth. Adapa explained to Ann why he had broken the south wind's wings, and these two deities, speaking for him, appeased the wrath of Ann, who, however, was displeased with Ea for having thus caused to be revealed 'the heart of heaven and earth' to a man. The food of life was now offered to Adapa, but he refused it, explaining that he was acting in accordance with the instructions of Ea. He had apparently declined to eat it, having under the impression that it was the food of death. Seemingly as a compensation for the loss, rule over the people of the earth was conferred upon him; and it may be supposed that, like Atra-hasis, he attained immortality in the end at the hands of his own god, Ea. It has been suggested that Adapa is the Alaparos of Berosus, written for Alaparos; but the r would, in that case, seem to be intrusive.

2. Etana and the Eagle.—This legend is also exceedingly imperfect. At a time when there was no man who lived near royalty, and apparently not even the insignia of royalty, itar, seeking a ruler, had come upon Etana, whose wife expected a child, destined by the gods to govern the earth. The bird, however, forsook her, and Etana bought a remedy for this delay—the divine 'herb of bearing,' which it was thought that the eagle would be of use in obtaining. This bird, unfortunately, continued a dreadful snake, and, having descended to carry out this intention, had his wings broken by the enraged reptile. The eagle having been in so sad a state, Etana, clinging to its body, attempted to reach the throne of Ištar, who is elsewhere called 'the mother of those who bring forth.' That giddy height, however, they seem not to have attained, as Etana refused to be carried so far, and they descended to earth again. How the legend ends is uncertain, but the attempt may have been successfully repeated, or the coveted herby may have been acquired in another manner.

3. Other legends.—Numerous other legends existed, but in many cases the titles (first lines) are all that remain. Among these are 'The legend of En-men šu-nuna,' (probably Amennon [see above, i. 1]), the fourth pre-historic hero-king), by Enlil-baš-kudurrus son of Išu-meme; and 'the legend of Si-da,' by Sinašu the ancient (apparently an autobiography). 'The legend of Liddu, the sage,' of which fragments are extant, is rather a philosophical work, treating of the miseries and the disappointments of life, than the story of a hero.

IV. BABYLONIAN HERO-GODS.—1. Enlil and Ninlil.—The story of these deities is contained in a bilingual composition of unusual beauty. Enlil and Ninlil are described as the youthful hero and handmaid of Dur-an and Nippur (identified with the Calneh of Gn 10:19), and dwelt there, as well as in Dur-Šarrukin, 'the date palm fortress,' with its holy river, its food-store, well of sweet water, and holy water. Therein Ninlil had the comfort of her mother Kiel-azaga, and the protecting god Dur-an. Ninlil made the water flow. After a gap, the text seems to speak of the ceremonial entrance of Enlil and Ninlil into Nippur, when unclean or undesirable things were to be sent forth. In their approach, Enlil calls to the gate-keeper announcing the lady Ninlil's coming, and admonishing him not to reveal her (Ninlil's) abode. Repeating his call, Enlil says:

'Man of the great gate, man of the lock—
Man of the bolt, man of the holy lock—
Thy lady Ninlil cometh—
Thy lady Ninlil cometh—
Let none woo her, let none kiss her—
Ninlil so bright, so shining.'

From a kind of catch-line, it would seem that Enlil entered the city to pronounce certain decisions, but the second tablet, which would give the sequel, is wanting. For details of this deity, see EZE II. 319; also 6 and 7 below.

2. Merodach.—Though not the oldest of the deities of the Bab. pantheon, Merodach is the most important from the present standpoint, on account of his probable title. The full form of his name was Amuraduk, 'the steed of day,' i.e. the sun in his growing strength. It is noteworthy that one of his names was 'the right of the god (? of day),' and the character by which this is represented was read as Amari, compared with the Egyptian Osiris. (In cuneiform, as in Egyptian, it is composed of the signs for 'city' and 'eye.') He was also one of the gods designated by the character for 'king,' in Sumer, probably Layal, and in Sem. Bab. Surss and the above-named Mr-er. Concerning Merodach's earthly kingship we know nothing, but the royal title may refer either to that or to his heavenly office. In consequence of the hostility of Timat (cf. EZE II. 129), the gods decided to destroy her and her brood, but none of them had the courage to attack so terrible an adversary, and Priests, and Etana bought a remedy for this delay—the divine 'herb of bearing,' which it was thought that the eagle would be of use in obtaining. This bird, unfortunately, continued a dreadful snake, and, having descended to carry out this intention, had his wings broken by the enraged reptile. The eagle having been in so sad a state, Etana, clinging to its body, attempted to

1 Ct. Ennun (Babylonian).
Other legends concerning Merodach are lost, but one of them, beginning, "When Merodach was in Sumur and Akkad, may have referred to his earthly existence. A record of Merodach, the glorious lord, who was placed over the heavens," by Gimm-Mula. For Merodach in his divine character, see ERE II. 311.

4. The myth of Ura.—In this we have the legend of a seemingly purely divine hero, without any suspicion of a human origin such as attached to Merodach and Tammuz. Ura (or Ira) seems to have been so called as 'the perfect one' (gishba) [630]. But the epithet with which the name is written is that for servant, perfection of service (to the gods, or to the unworthy). In the inscriptions, Ura appears as one of the forms of Ninurta, the god of war, famine, plague, and destructive things in general.

The legend, Ura, the god of heaven, gives Ura seven evil spirits to support him when prompted to 'kill the dark-heads' (mankind), and smite down the beast of the field. In a daze, he overthrew the king of the gods, Merodach, himself. The destruction wrought in Bab. cities is referred to—that at Babylon, which caused Merodach to utter 'an unloosable curse'; and at Erech, whose goddess, Istar, was moved to wrath. Ura justifies himself, and shows his impartiality by stating that he has not spared Dér, his own city. Secure in his own justice, Ura speaks of further punishments which he intends to inflict, and 1-stm promises to follow in his footsteps, whereas Ura is pleased, and finds his words 'as sweet oil.' It is thought they were not given, to spare even the king of the gods, Merodach, himself. In any case, civil war was to ravage the seacoast, Mesopotamia, Elam, the Kassites, the Quittu, and the Lulubites; land would not spare land, or house house, or brother brother, but they would kill each other, until the Akkadian came and overthrew them all. I-dum turned, however, first against Sarrac (the Amorites), destroying the mountain of the land and its vegetation. Ura was also engaged in this work; and, when he rested, all the gods bowed down to him. He then explained to them that he had destroyed mankind on account of former sin, and he seems to ask why he should make a difference between the just and the unjust more than the others. He would favour those who glorified him and sang his praises.

5. Nergal and Ereš-ki-gal.—These deities were the king and queen of the gods, and were also the lord and lady of the land. The legend relates that the gods made a feast; but, as Ereš-ki-gal was not allowed to attend the feast, a messenger was sent to seize her portion. This she did, and all the gods except Nergal stood up when the messenger entered. This enraged Ereš-ki-gal, who sent and demanded that the deity who had thus failed in politeness should be delivered up to her. Nergal tried to escape his doom by hiding behind the other gods, but was discovered, and sent down to Hades with fourteen companions.

Leaving these last to guard the fourteen gates of Hades, he entered, seized Ereš-ki-gal, and dragged her from her throne to cut off her head. Begging for mercy, she offered to be his wife and was accepted. Kissing her, and wiping away her tears, Nergal granted whatever she had asked of him for months past.

6. Enlil, Tīpuk, and the Labbu.—Here we have a legend which seems to supply something similar to the stories of combat with dragons in the Middle Ages. The people of the old Babylonia (sighed and complained on account of a giant serpent (mud-gala) which plagued them, and which Enlil had designed in the heavens. Its length was 60 leagues, and it had members in proportion. Who, it was asked, would kill this creature, and save and rule over the wide land? Apparently the god Tīpuk (Ninap as god of instruction) volunteered, and was ordered to go. The imperfection of the record leaves us in doubt whether it was he or another deity who accomplished the dragon's overthrow; but this was done by holding up before the creature the seal of life, and its blood flowed (from a wound) for 3 years, 3 months, 1 day and 10½ hours [3]. Brony regards the Labbu as typifying the sea—seem very probable (cf. ERE II. 315).

7. Zô the storm-bird, and the Tablets of Fate.—Though told at some length, this legend needs but few words. A deity had a dream, so that he saw 'with his eyes' the Tablets of Fate, and, coveting Enlil's power, decided to take possession of them, and mount his throne, and rule the Iipis (gods of the heavens). Taking advantage of the moment when Enlil was performing his daily ablutions preparatory to mounting his throne, Zô seized them, and flew to the top of the mountain. Enlil being thus rendered powerless, Anu, the god of the heavens, addressed himself to the gods and goddesses, asking them to get them back. All, however—Anu's son Addu (Hasad), his daughter Istar, Bara, Istar's child, and others—seem to make excuses, and are ordered not to go. After this Nin-igi-zanga (Za as god of deep wisdom) speaks to Anu, and it seems possible that he volunteered, but after this the text is wanting.

The narrative is possibly continued in what seems to be another version, known as 'The out-writing of Zô.' In this (a bilingual document) Ingul-banda (Zô as the fighting-cook) goes forth to the distant mountain of Za, 'to catch the bird Zô what was right.' He would allow Za's wife and son to sit down to their meal, and, with the aid of the wise woman Siris (wine), prepare an intoxicating drink. The text here is wanting, but in all probability the result was successful. Who it was who rose from Za's nest, and made an unknown place in the mountain his refuge, is uncertain.

The possible meanings of the legends.—Notwithstanding the simplicity of these legends of heroes and hero-gods, there is apparently in each of them some hidden teaching, concerning either the early kings of Babylonia, or the gods whom they worshipped, or the dealings of those gods with men—kings, heroes, or the people in general; and in some cases it is clear that attempts were made to reconcile the seeming hardships, meted out to the innocent and the guilty alike, with the existence of the beneficent deities whom the Babylonians worshipped. There seems also the desire to reconcile the different beliefs which prevailed from time to time in Babylonia—the discard- ing of Enlil in favour of the milder rule of Ea, and that, again, for the divine direction of 'the fortunate Merodach.' In these cases, the older deities (their names are practically records of the supremacy, at the time of their greatest influence, of the cities of which they were the chief patrons)
seem to have been classed, by the majority of the population, with those who, like Nergal, the plague-god, or Adad (Hadad) the storm-god, brought disaster upon men. Thus it comes that Enkil, 'lord of the air,' leads the gods who wish to destroy mankind by means of a flood, and forms the Levi, or, so it is said, the Hoya, under him like vassals, the really malignant deities, like Ura (Nergal), or the demon of the south wind, destroy mankind by means of the powers of Nature, and Eresh-kigal (Pemphigus) exacts the presence of Tammuz in the under world, producing winter and its sterility.

HEROES AND HERO-GODS (Chinese).—As might be expected in the case of a people with so long an existence, the Chinese nation has produced many persons who, on account of their pre-eminent qualities in their capacity of king, may rightly be called his heroes, and whose names are preserved in its national tradition and history. Moreover, local tradition and the system of local records have preserved the fame of many other heroes, though not attaining to the rank of national heroes, have a restricted celebrity. As tradition and history there supply the Deities who the Chinese easily allow their transformation into gods.

The famous names in ancient Chinese history belong to the semi-mythical period, have been revered by the whole nation under its successive dynasties, and through all its political vicissitudes. Such names are to-day still appealed to, and must be to some extent a living force both in public and in private life. To Hwang Ti, whose reign is dated 2697 B.C., is attributed much of the beginning of Chinese polity, and for this reason it was proposed to date the Republic from his era. Yao (2595 B.C.) and Shun (2554 B.C.), virtuous monarchs of antiquity, are professed by the President of the Republic as his ideals; and in the sphere of private life a popular tract exhorts one to behave as if he beheld Yao in the cottage and Shun on the wall. These examples of heroes and gods are taken from the most ancient times, and the long course of Chinese history supplies the names of many others which, being sufficiently well known to be appealed to habitually, may be called heroic. The fame of some of these has been preserved by the salt of some pithy saying, as, in the case of Yang Ch'ien (A.D. 124), famous for his integrity, who refused a secret bribe, saying, 'Heaven knows it, Earth knows it, you know it, I know it, how can you say that none will know it?' Others have a vigour in proverbial allusion, such as Chang Chang (85 B.C.), who, on the eve of unmerited disgrace and dismissal, being seized at by an enemy as 'Prefect for but five days,' summarily vindicated his rapidly expiring authority on the spot by the plainest of his adages: 'The sequestering phrase survives as a classical allusion to unslacking fulfilment of office. Others, again, find a place in one of those numerical categories under which the Chinese are fond of grouping men and things worthy of note, e.g. 'the Three Good Men of the Yin dynasty' (1130 B.C.), or 'the Four Sages' (Shun, Ya, Chow Kang, and Confucius). In addition to those thus commemorated in national history and literature, there are the more numerous worthies peculiar to each locality. Many of these worthies, whether of a general or of a merely local fame, remain exemplars only.

But in accordance with what is called, perhaps not quite accurately, the animistic strain in the religious conceptions of the Chinese, it may be said that they all either become objects of worship, and take rank therefore as gods. Of those who have already attained divine honour, some have been raised to the same rank as the Supreme, or have become objects of worship in the case of others, their divine rank has been conferred or recognised by Imperial decree. Thus, the reputed inventors of some of the fundamental arts of Chinese civilisation, and an infinite number of writing, the empress Si Ling She, of silk-worm rearing, Ki, of husbandry are deified. The being everywhere worshipped as Genius of the Soil figures in history as one of the ministers of Hwang Ti. The fourth of the ministers of the same emperor has been 'metamorphosed into one of the controlling spirits of the under world and regarded as god of fire' (W. P. Mayer, Chinese Reader's Manual, no. 87). A skilled mechanician has become the god of carpenters. The case of Kuan-u well illustrates the way in which a hero becomes a god. A warrior of the era of the Three Kingdoms, famous for fidelity to his chief and for martial prowess, he was finally captured and beheaded by his enemies (A.D. 215). His name may rightly be called his hero, and his name has preserved the fame of many other heroes, though not attaining to the rank of national heroes, have a restricted celebrity. As tradition and history there supply the Deities who the Chinese easily allow their transformation into gods.

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HEROES AND HERO-GODS (Egyptian).— From Herodotus ii. 50 (rapallwv óv de uphros wv Ím xwrakodn) it might be inferred that the worship of heroes was unknown among the Egyptians. Yet later works show that they worshipped Sheerakas (ii. 42) and Penwak (i. 11) as if it is true, can here apply only to Khonsun and Min respectively, i.e. to gods in the proper sense of the term. In the latter, there was in Egypt a city which was actually designated 'The City of Heroes' (Hwrw wvd). The Egyptian monuments likewise show that the religion of the country had recognised a place for the worship of personages who, as being defined men, must be designated heroes or hero-gods. Hence, if we are not to regard Herodotus as in conflict with himself and with facts, his words are not to be taken to mean only that there was among the Egyptians no such cult of heroes as corresponded exactly with that found in Greece. In point of fact, the Egyptian deities who may be styled hero-gods do not, like the Greek heroes, occupy a position intermediate between gods and men. They are not demi-gods, but have human characteristics. In the New Kingdom they are personages who, as being defined men, must be regarded as heroes or hero-gods. Hence, if we are not to regard Herodotus as in conflict with himself and with facts, his words are not to be taken to mean only that there was among the Egyptians no such cult of heroes as corresponded exactly with that found in Greece. In point of fact, the Egyptian deities who may be styled hero-gods do not, like the Greek heroes, occupy a position intermediate between gods and men. They are not demi-gods, but have human characteristics. In the New Kingdom they are personages who, as being defined men, must be regarded as heroes or hero-gods.

Before these heroes became gods, however, they too passed through a stage of semi-divine worship, which, as in the case of the Greek heroes, was associated with their tombs, and which may have developed from the ordinary cult of the dead to something in the nature of ancestor-worship. According to Egyptian beliefs, the 'spirits' of the dead stood midway between the gods and the king and queen (Hood Papyrus, published by G. Maspero, in Études égyptiennes, ii., Paris, 1868). Manetho, in one particular instance where he refers to the practice of ancestor-worship, calls them xéwv Ím xwrakodn (see below, i. 2). The Egyptians themselves, referring to the same practice, sometimes speak of these ancestral spirits as gods, just as they often apply the term 'god' to the semi-divine king. The line of demarcation between a real god and a defined human spirit is thus far from clear.

As regards the heroes of the Greeks and other peoples, the question often arises whether the hero-gods worshipped by the people were originally men who had been promoted to divine honours by reason of their achievements, or were at first real deities to whom a human form and human experiences came to be ascribed; or, finally, whether they are literary creations who, in the way of literary fancy, found a footing in popular belief. But no such question can arise in the case of the Egyptian hero-gods, except perhaps in a single instance (II. 28). For, on the one hand, they are invested with human activities and regarded as kings who ruled upon earth in the far distant past (e.g., the sun-god Re, i.e. 'sun', the earth-god Geb, i.e. 'earth', the hawk-shaped Horus, and his adversary, the animal-shaped Seth—both originally local gods), in other respects so lacking in human traits that their divine nature cannot be doubted for a moment. Then, on the other hand, the Egyptian deities who may be called heroes or hero-gods are without exception deified men, a number of whom lived in the times, as of history, and of whose earthly existence we in some cases possess authentic indications.

It is to be noted that the deification of human beings in ancient Egypt was of two kinds, viz. (1) general deification, which all who occupied a certain position in life, or suffered a particular fate, shared in an equal degree—at least, as it were, and independently of any action on their own part, much in the same way as the fallen warriors of the Teutons were all admitted to Valhalla; and (2) individual deification, which was attained only by individuals of special eminence. The latter class comprises those who, as akin in character to the heroes of Greek mythology, are the genuine hero-gods, who were always also Egyptian kings as if they had been real gods; the former is composed of the semi-divine beings from whom proceeded the hero-gods.

I. GENERAL DEIFICATION.—x. It is a well-known fact that the Egyptians, from the earliest traceable period of their history, believed their kings to be embodied inhippopotamuses, in the form of hippopotamuses, in the form of

[Further text not visible due to the limitation of the provided image]
HEROES AND HERO-GODS (Egyptian)

queens, after death was performed simply by 'servants of a genius' (ήμ-κέρτ), i.e. priests of the dead, and in a house of a genius (άσ-κέρτ), i.e. chapels of the dead.

It is nevertheless probable that the ancient kings of Egypt were not honoured with divine worship in their lifetime at least we have no evidence of such worship. When the reigning monarch appointed one of his courtiers as a άμ-κέρτ, i.e. 'servant of a god', at his pyramid (J. H. Breasted, Ancient Records of Egypt, Chicago, 1906-07, 1. § 307), this did not imply that the person so honoured was to act in that capacity during the king's life; on the contrary, the office, with its duties, honours, and emoluments, was conferred upon him—and probably also upon his descendants—in anticipation of the king's death, i.e. for the time when the latter should be worshipped as a departed spirit. The first of the Egyptian kings to have divine honours paid to them while still alive and in conjunction with their ancestors were the Hellenistic kings of the Ptolemaic period.

2. In Heliopolis, which in the pre-historic age was for a time the capital of the whole country, a special group of ancestor-worship seems to have been accorded to the names of the contemporary (pre-historic) kings. They were worshipped there as 'souls of Heliopolis'. Similarly, 'souls of Hierakonpolis' and 'souls of Buto' were worshipped in these cities, the respective capitals of the two states into which Egypt was eventually divided prior to the foundation of the historical centralized State under Menes ('the union of the two lands'). As these predecessors of Menes had, in particular, worshipped the god Horus, the latter two companies of spirits were known also as the 'servants of Horus'. Moreover, they are variously designated, according to the connexion, as 'kings', 'spirits', or 'gods'. In Manetho they are called τεκτάνες of the two states. The 'souls of Buto' were treated, like gods, as members of the human and animal family, exactly like the local fetish deities of the Egyptians; the souls of Hierakonpolis have the head of a jackal, those of Buto that of a hawk, and the dead king is always portrayed as a jackal in the Ptolemaic time when jackals were still kept as pets in the palaces, and in the cities.

3. After the fall of the Old Kingdom (c. 2400 B.C.), the identity of the dead with Osiris, which had been customary in the case of kings, was gradually extended to others—first of all to members of the royal family, then to the feudal nobility (who at the same time also arrogated to themselves other privileges of royalty), and finally to all human beings without distinction of rank. The logical result of this should have been that in the realm of the dead there existed rules only, and no subjects. But in point of fact the attribute Osiris seems very soon to have lost its original force. The deceased N, who is called 'Osiris N', was in no sense identical with the god Osiris, who continues as before to be king in the realm of the dead, and therefore rules over the 'Osiris N' also. The dead who are so designated worship Osiris, justify themselves before his judgment-seat, etc.

4. A special apotheosis seems in later times to have been accorded to those who were drowned in the Nile, probably because, according to the legend, Osiris had suffered a like fate. Those who died in this way were regarded as having been peculiarly distinguished by the gods, and were styled 'glorified' (άγαύνος), a term which at an earlier period appears to have been applied more generally to all the blessed dead (cf. βασιλικά). According to Herod. ii. 50, the bodies of the drowned were entombed with peculiar pomp (cf. Griffith, in Zeitschr. f.oug. Sprachw. xlv. [1909-10] 132).

5. That a cult of the deified high priest of Heliopolis and Memphis existed at Pithyus in Ptolemaic times is evidenced by a number of papyri (Griffith, Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the J. Rylands Library, Manchester, 1908, ill. 133, n. 9).

II. INDIVIDUAL DIGNIFICATION—II. Deified kings and queens.—(1) The earliest instance of this may have been Osiris. This deity, so highly honoured in later times, was in some remote stage of his career already considered as it would seem, a hero in whose person the ideas of the unity of the Egyptian people came to be embodied: hence the myth of the dismemberment of his body and the distribution of the parts among the Egyptian names. He was regarded as having been a good and noble monarch, who was treacherously murdered by his brother Seth, and whose name as Osiris, which he assumed under a purely human fashion, with certain symbols of royalty which pertain to him alone among the gods—the Upper Egyptian diadem adorned with two ostrich feathers, as also the aorpa feathers, and the crook, the primitive emblems of soverengy. It is possible, however, that these symbols may have been transferred to him from an ancient local deity with whom he was subsequently identified (see below). In the earlier religious literature of the 'Pyramid Texts' Osiris very seldom plays an active part like the other gods. The theme of interest is, nearly everywhere in these texts, found in his experiences, his death, and his resurrection. What had happened to him would happen also to the deceased king, who is, in fact, generally identified with him.

The suffering Osiris, thus conceived of as purely human, was in the same time little a god of vegetation or of the dead as was Christ, with whom he has many points of resemblance. He, too, founded a consecration as a religious and ethical stamp, which forms a most decided contrast to the numerous Egyptian local cults based on fetishism, as well as to the Nature-religions indigenous to Egypt from primitive times (worship of the sun, the sky, the Nile), and which in the course of centuries gradually extended its range, to some extent with a conscious rejection of other forms of religion (the mysteries, communal life).
The earliest triumphs of his cult must certainly go back to a very remote past. Even while Heliopolis was the capital of a united Egypt, and when the Heliopolitan theology instituted the great divine emnem of Heliopolis, he not only found a place in that group as one of the representatives of the primeval gods, the great cosmic deities (sun, air, sky, earth) and his national god came into the southern kingdom of Upper Egypt, which had been overthrown by the kings of Lower Egypt, and was now subject to it—but he actually became the centre of the whole artificial system. He was the son of the divine pair, Heaven and Earth. Horus again, who, as the national deity of the dominant lorddom of Lower Egypt, represented the present, and therefore remained outside the emnem, became the son of Osiris. Seth, the god of the Upper Egyptian kingdoms, now the last member of the emnem, was branded as the slayer of Osiris, and the arch-villain who had been guilty of dismembering the kingdom. These three local deities, Horus and Seth, were originally of a purely fetichistic character, and had at first no more to do with the hero Osiris than had the cosmic deities who had come to be recognized as his parents. Thus the Heliopolitan theology was even then completely under the influence of the Osirian faith.

Osiris seems to have become the god of the dead (Khmunet, 'the chief of the Westerners') and the god of Abydos only in the historic era, and probably in consequence of the deceased king's identification with him and of the fact that the tombs of the earliest historical kings (1st and 2nd dynasties) were situated at Abydos, the necropolis of This, their capital. It thus came about that this god was also identified in Abydos, and was found among the ancient royal tombs there. The function of the god of the dead and the designation 'chief of the Westerners' would have been transferred to Harsheb by the people of Lower Egypt.

If originally Osiris had no connexion with Abydos, he would seem to have had as little with his other sanctuary, situated in the Delta, and subsequently named Busiris ('Houses of Osiris') after him. Here, too, he either superseded or absorbed an older local god, the 'lord of the dead' depicted as an idol in the form of a falcon. It was presumably from this deity, who was in the earlier religious literature is called 'the chief of the Eastern nomes' (of the Delta), and may perhaps have been the god of a small kingdom comprising these nomes, that Osiris acquired the symbols of sovereignty by which his images were distinguished in later times.

In Memphis, likewise, Osiris seems to have been identified with the fetish worshipped there,² the magnificent Ded-pillar, as also with Ptah and Sokar, only after the Old Kingdom was at an end. The violent death which, according to the legend, he met with in the waters of the Nile brought him into close relations with the sacred river itself. Like the Memphite Ptah, Osiris now came to be identified with him, and the idea of his resurrection fitted in with the annual inundation. His life and death were interpreted as referring to the growth and decay of Nature. He thus eventually became the god of vegetation, from whose corpse the corn was supposed to spring.

(5) King Sesostris III. (1867-1850 B.C.), who completed the subjugation of Northern Nubia begun by his predecessors, and protected this new province of the Egyptian kingdom by the erection of fortresses, had already come to share in a district in the time of the New Kingdom, and, along with the ancient Nubian deity Dn-fm, was worshipped under his sacred name of Khu-enuw-re², which denotes his relation to the sun-god Re² (the Re-name). Thutmoseis III. (1501-1447 B.C.), who, in similar fashion, completed the conquest of Nubia begun by his own predecessors, erected in that country temples, and instituted sacrifices and festivals, for the deified Sesostris.

The latter was thus thus thus and altogether like a god, but he is portrayed and designated as an Egyptian king, exactly as in his lifetime.

See Hitzig, Untersuchungen mit dem Namen Osiris, 210 ff., and Hermann, Die Geschichte des Nubiens, 14, 150 ff., 153 ff.; see also the works of the last century on the subject.

(3) King Amenemmes III. (1849-1801 B.C.), the builder of the so-called Labyrinth near Hawara, at the entrance to the Fayyum, became subsequently a tutelary deity of that oasis, for the economic development of which he is regarded (following Herodotus)² must have done good service. Under his Re-name of Le-ns-ri³ (Amenemmes), in his abbreviated form Ma³-re³ (Amenmes, Amenem, Amenemô), or, with the addition of 'Pharaoh,' the later Egyptian term for king, as Me-namô, Amenô, he is frequently mentioned in monuments of the Greek-Roman period from the Fayyum, and especially in the vicinity of his pyramid and his mausoleum (the Labyrinth). He is there depicted in the stereotyped form of the god, except that his head is that of an Egyptian king and bears the royal head-band.


(4) Menes (c. 3300 B.C.), the deified founder of the Egyptian centralised State of historical times, is believed by Wilcken to be identical with the similarly named deity Menô or Mentô, who is frequently mentioned in Greek papyri from the village of Tehnis in the Fayyum (Mitteleich, Grundzüge u. Geschichte der Dynastieher deersyn-

(5) King Amenophis I. (c. 1551-1535 B.C.), son of that King Amenophis who expelled the Hyksos and founded the New Kingdom, was regarded, from c. 1300 B.C., as a guardian deity of the Theban necropolis. In that capacity he is often portrayed in tombs and coffins of this period—mostly in the form of a reigning king, but in other representations (the concluding scenes) as a king in the crook and flail, as borne by Osiris. In his honour was observed the festival of Pa-amun-bôt (the festival of Ammonophis), from which the month of Phamenoth derived its name.

(6) Amenophis III. (c. 1415-1380 B.C.), whose reign seems to mark the zenith of Egypt's position as a world-power, instituted in his own honour a divine cult in the temple of Soleb, in Nubia, built by himself, his name here being 'Neb-ra-re², the lord of Nubia,' or 'N. the great god.' In the sculptures which adorn the walls of this sanctuary, the god is depicted as being worshipped by the king himself, and is called by him 'his living image upon earth.' In the inscription the king dedicates the temple to the god, and speaks of himself as being beloved by the latter. In short, Amenophis treats his deified self in every way as an independent divinity. The god is represented as a king wearing the royal head-band, but as having around his ears the twisted ram's horns peculiar to Amun in Nubia and in the oasis of Ammon (Siva), and upon his head a small crest.

¹ About 1000 years before the dawn of the historical era, at the time of the birth of the Hyksos, the Egyptian calendar was introduced (1448 B.C.).
² Heaven and Earth were formerly believed to be the parents of the sun-god Re², but Re² is now at the head of the emnem and their grandparents.

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HEROES AND HERO-GODS (Egyptian)

(modius) bearing the moon's crescent and disk, as worn by the ancient lunar deities, Thoth of Shmam and Khonsen of Thebes. He thus comes before us as a fusion of Amun and Khonsen.

Cl. Lepsius, III. 85-87; Breasted, Ancient Records, II. p. 895 ff.

In the Greco-Roman period, the king who thus divided his identity and was identified with Memnon, the legendary king of Ethiopia who came to help the Trojans. His colossal statues in Western Thebes, which bore the name 'Ne- 

ma'-rā', lord of lords' (Lepsius, III. 142, 144; Burton, Recueil Hieroglyphique, Cairo, 1825-30, p. 30), are the famous colossi of Memnon, one of which, after being overthrown by an earthquake in 27 B.C., used to give forth a resounding note at sunrise, until it was restored in the reign of Septimius Severus (Lechmere, 'Le Statuie vocale 

de Memnon', in M.A.J.S. x. (1885) 243). An association with the Memnon of Greek mythology can be traced back to the Ptolemaic period, and is, therefore, of earlier date than its property of emitting sounds. In Greek documents of the middle of the 2nd cent. B.C. the name rā Mēmā-ra is used of the locality called in Egyptian Djēmō, the modern Médinet Habu, in which, situated not only the sepulchral temple of Ammonia III. with the two colossi in front of it, but also a great palace belonging to him.

It is evident, from various guigypoeuses, that the identification of Ammonia III. with the Greek Memnon is based upon his rā-name, Neb-ma'-rā', which in that age was apparently abbreviated to Mēmō, and denoted the 'Intercussions, i. 61, n. 1; ii. 6, n. 2). In the Babylonian letters from el-Amarna, dating from the king's own lifetime, his name is rendered by Ninmursa or Mimnurra, and its con-

niscation may, therefore, have been something like Nemmāra or Memmāra. It is thus not inconceivable that the Greek mythical figure of the Egyptian or Ethiopian Memnon, whose name is not unlike the form just given, was in reality the final residuum of Egypt's three centuries' supremacy in the Eastern Mediterranean, which, as has been indicated, culminated in the reign of Ammonia III. Moreover, it is precisely the names of this king and his consort that are met with repeatedly on objects of Egyptian origin found at Byblos and in Rhodos.

Among the Semitic peoples, again—all unless the evidence is at fault—the memory of this monarch would seem to have survived in the traditions regarding Nimrod, the mighty hunter of Cushi (i.e. Nubia); and, as a matter of fact, Ammonia III. in his memorial scarabs, which, like commemorative coins, were designed to keep in remembrance the important events of his reign, has recorded not only the expansion of his kingdom from Cari in Nubia to Naharin on the Euphrates, but also his prowess as a hunter of lions and wild oxen (Breasted, op. cit. ii. p. 860 ff.).

(7) A deified king of unknown name is found in the 'Pharaoh of Sinai' (i.e. the Island of Buge), wor-

shiped in the Greco-Roman temples of the Island of Phile. In the temple sculptures he is represented as an Egyptian king with the so-called war-helmet of his head. In a Greek inscription from the Island of Sehel he is called Horus-ērē, 'the god of Buge,' and is identified with Hermes (Setha, in Zeitschr. für dgypt. Sprache, xlvii. (1910) 186).


2. Deified individuals not of royal rank.—(1) It- 

m-bōtep ('It-is-bētēp'), chief architect to Thothmes of the 11th Dynasty (c. 2500 B.C.), the king who built the temple of Sakkara, the oldest edifice of brick stone in Egypt, is said to have discovered the art of building with that material, but was renowned in later times also as a physician, an astrologer, and the author of wise writings. In the period of the New Kingdom, i.e. after 1650 B.C. (one instance found in Thebes under Amenophis III.), it was the custom with writers, in beginning their work, to make a libation from their water-

bowl in honour of It-m-bōtep as their patron (Scharer, in Zeitschr. für dgypt. Sprache, xxxvi. (1898) 147; Gardiner, fl. 130 (1905) 146). By this time, therefore, he seems to have become a kind of demi-god, and to have lost his human character.

Afterwards, in the Persian period (from 525 B.C.), he became a god in the full sense, was actually concerned with healing, and was subsequently identified by the Greeks with Asklepios. His cult was attached to his tomb, which, according to Egyptian usage, was situated beside the Pyramid of his patron; and here stood the Asklepieion often referred to in Greek poetry from Saqqara. To this new hero-god, as being originally a Memphite deity, was assigned a divine father in Ptah (Hephaestus), in place of his actual father, Ra-nofer, who is known to us from a genealogy dating from the beginning of the Persian period. His mother, Khene-djübelt, and his wife, Rospet-

nopret, were also raised to divine rank, and are often found in association with him. Their names and titles clearly reveal their human origin.

In the numerous statuettes of this god which have come down to us, and which were, no doubt, dedicated to his temple mainly by persons restored to, or in search of, health, he is figured as a 

whole human, as a learned man sitting on a chair and reading a book (A. Erman, Ägyptisch-Religion, Berlin, 1905, p. 174). He is generally represented with figures on the temple walls which, while still giving him a human form, show him in the attire and with the bearing of the gods, but these figures date only from the Greco-Roman period. In that age we frequently meet with his cult also in Upper Egypt, as, e.g., in Thebes and Esna, as well as in Philae, where Ptolemy Epiphanes erected a small temple in his honour.

Even after his apotheosis It-m-bōtep frequently receives, in addition to the epithet 'Son of Ptah' expressive of his divine origin, his erstwhile human titles, 'reciting priest, expert in affairs,' etc., but only in cases where the reference is to his achievements as a man in the remote past. It is worthy of note that here he is also designated as 'Ibis,' i.e. as the sacred bird of the god Thoth, who was believed to have the form of that bird—a designation which re-appears in connexion with the deified individuals discussed below (pp. 2 and 3). It would thus seem that the sages of the past who were subsequently exalted to divine honours were thought of as incarnations of the god Thoth, somewhat in the same way as was indicated in I. 2, above.

Cl. Setha, 'Inhotep der Asklepieion der Ausger' (Unter-

suchungen, ii. (1902) 68 ff.)
(2) A counterpart to this deified sage of old is met with in the Temple of Amun, which dates from the 26th dynasty, when the god of wisdom, who appears to have been worshipped there under the designation of 'Horus, Theos of the Firmament' (Thoth, the god of wisdom), who was thus identified with the god of wisdom, and hence also designated as 'the Ibis'. This would seem to be the same person as the Ibis who is mentioned above (II. 1 (6)). We possess several original monuments of him, as, e.g., a portrait-stone which represents him as an old man of eighty years, and the inscriptions on which contain moral apotropaic words (Catal, general du Musée du Caire, 1896, p. 128). Leopold, Statuta et Edicta, 1896, 43, 19, where a second bears an autobiographical inscription (Breasted, op. cit. ii. § 913 ff.). A third statue, four metres in height, from the temple of Amun, and now in the museum of Cairo, likewise contains an ostensibly autobiographical record, which, however, presupposes his deification, and speaks of him in exactly the same terms as the temple inscriptions of Amenophis II. This monument, to judge from its style and orthography, comes earlier than the Greek-Roman period, and it bears, as a Greek dedication to the name of the Emperor Augustus (BTAJ XIX. 1897). 13.

(3) Amenophis II is also frequently mentioned in the monuments of his royal master. Manetho, who wrote his history of Egypt in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, refers to him, under the name of Amun-Seti-Rhakhat, as the king of the Amomites (i.e. the son of Apis), as a wise counsellor of a king called Amenophis. It is clear, from what Manetho says of him, that Amenophis had not yet been deified in his own person, but was regarded in his being as a god all date from the reign of Amenhotep IV. (Amenhotep, xiv. 1896, 127). Ptolemy Euergetes I. in all probability was in that reign that he first became a god. With this accord the fact that, in contrast to I-msetep, he is still portrayed, in the temple sculptures, as a man, and not as a god, must be regarded as a typical human fashion: he still wears the garb of his time, and his bearing is only in part that usually assigned to the gods. Moreover, though, like I-msetep, he is still a man, he is named the son of his father, in addition to his human mother—named '—a divine mother in the form of the goddess of the snake-goddess of the Ophite (ibid., xvi. 168), and the name of his father, Apis, was interpreted as indicating the sacred bull Apis, yet Amenophis still retains his human titles.

As we meet with the cult of Amenophis II only in temples of Western Thebes, it would be most improbable to associate with his tomb, which, according to the custom of his time, would be situated in the Theban necropolis and nowhere else. The sepulchral chapel attached to his tomb is referred to in a protective ordinance which survives in a later inscription, executed probably some four hundred years after the death of Amenophis II, (Möller, in SBA, 1910, p. 925 ff.), and witnesses to the long survival of his cult as a departed spirit. Amenophis II, I-msetep, also in being a healing god. 'I expel all disease from thy body'—so he speaks to the king, offering sacrifice to him (Leopold, xvi. i. 1899), i. 139 ff. (Catal, general du Musée du Caire, 1896, 1900; J. G. Milne, Greek Inscriptions, Oxford, 1895, p. 37). He is also said to have composed with the scribes, and in fact a number of the sayings attributed to the Seven Wise Men of Greece were ascribed to him (Wickson, in Aegyptiaca, 1897, p. 142 ff.). Cf. Sethe, in Aegyptiaca, 1897.

(4) Ptolemy Euergetes II, in whose reign, as has been said, the deification of the sage Amenophis II, the son of Apis, seems to have taken place, erected in Medinet Habu, in Western Thebes, a small temple in honour of Thoth, the god of wisdom, who appears to have been worshipped there under the designation of 'Thoth, Theos of the Firmament' (Thoth, the god of wisdom), who was thus identified with the god of wisdom, and hence also designated as 'the Ibis'. This would seem to be the same person as the Ibis who is mentioned above (II. 1 (6)). We possess several original monuments of him, as, e.g., a portrait-stone which represents him as an old man of eighty years, and the inscriptions on which contain moral apotropaic words (Breasted, op. cit. ii. § 913 ff.). A third statue, four metres in height, from the temple of Amun, and now in the museum of Cairo, likewise contains an ostensibly autobiographical record, which, however, presupposes his deification, and speaks of him in exactly the same terms as the temple inscriptions of Amenophis II. This monument, to judge from its style and orthography, comes earlier than the Greek-Roman period, and it bears, as a Greek dedication to the name of the Emperor Augustus (BTAJ XIX. 1897). 13.

(5) Another deified man of the later era (after 900 B.C.) must—if we are to judge from the name—he was recognized in the god Poteus or Peta-wishe (i.e. Egypt. Petes-wishe, the possessor of the crocodile), who is said to have been the god of Memphis, named Socho gave'). In Pliny (HN xxxvi. 64) he is erroneously identified with the king who built the Labyrinth. This hero-god was depicted as a crocodile, like Suchos, and ascribed the ownership of the Fayyum, from whom he took his name. Here perhaps we have a parallel to the designation of the deified sages as 'Ibis,' the sacred bird of Thoth (see 1-3 above).


(6) In the temple of Denderah in Lower Nubia, built in the reign of Augustus, there were worshipped, among others, two brothers named Poteus and Peta-wishe, the deified sons of a certain Kwp or their name seems to point to the later period. In addition to the usual designations of the dead, 'Ostis' and 'justified', the titles 'the epithet 'glorified' (bdeis), or 'glorified in the necropolis,' and for this reason Griffith conjectures that they had died by drowning. Peta-wishe sometimes receives the title 'the maker of death' (the make of death) and denoi) or 'the chief (chief) before his own name, and, accordingly, as a human title. The two brothers are portrayed in human form, but in their bearing and garb altogether in a human fashion.

Cf. Griffith, in Aegyptiaca, xvi. (1900-10) 184; A. M. Blackman, The Temple of Denderah (Late Temple Immortal of Isis, Dublin, 1911, ibid.)

(7) Finally, the two hero-gods just mentioned, who may possibly have owed their apotheosis to a death by drowning, would find a parallel in the story of Antinoos, the celebrated favourite of the Emperor Hadrian. While accompanying the Emperor on his Egyptian journey, he is said to have thrown himself into the Nile in order that he might by his own death save his patron from imminent peril. On the spot where this took place Hadrian founded a Roman city, which he called Antinoopolis, and in which he in all likelihood instituted a cult in honour of the youth, as a city-hero, or, as the saying went, of the 'heavenly'—as in the proper name Cernaves (Thoth, the chief of th). This story is told by Strabo (iv. 214), and in 1026 (O498 5664 1026) would compare with it.
HEROES AND HERO-GODS (Greek and Roman).—The belief in heroes plays a very important part in the development of Greek religion, and to an extent which literature, taken by itself, has not yet measured. The conception of a hero arose from the prevalence of ancestor-worship, when the spirit of the dead man was canonized by his descendants. Remembering the identification of demons with the spirits of the departed (see DEMONS AND SPIRITS [Greek]), we shall not be surprised to find that demons and heroes are sometimes treated as indistinguishable (e.g. Plat. Apol. 27 D). But, when a distinction was drawn between them, demons, though inferior to gods, were, in their turn, regarded as superior to heroes (Plut. de Raf. Oct. 19, p. 416 B). This classification, which is the product of later reflection, may be traced ultimately to the verses of Hesiod, who makes the demons the representatives of the Golden Age (Op. 123), but regards the Age of the Heroes as immediately prior to his own (5. 159 ff.). These are they, he adds, who fought before the gates of Thebes, and crossed the sea to bring back fair-haired Helen from Troy; and after death they dwell free from care in the islands of the Blessed beside the stream of Ocean. The heroes were definitely understood by Hesiod to have been men of renown, who lived in the age celebrated by epic poetry, and whose exploits had been immortalized as the achievements of a semi-divine race (Hom. Hymn. ii. 23 ; Hom. Hymn. xxiii. 18 f. ; Simonid. fr. 38). Though there is thus one point of view from which demons are preferred to heroes, it is equally true that the demonic being is a more primitive conception; and that the hero, with his clearly-marked personality and more intimate relations with his worshippers, is the product of a more advanced stage in religious thought. Further, demon is the wider term: every hero might be described as a demon, but not all demons were heroes. Although the derivation of the word is uncertain, it is generally assumed that it was originally an adjective bearing some such meaning as 'strong' or 'noble' (Hesych. s.v.), so that it may have been an honorable title intended to distinguish the souls of those among the departed whose protection and favour it was desired to secure.

The old view that hero-worship arose from a weakening of the belief in gods can no longer be maintained in the light of recent research (Roehle, Psyche, 145 ff.). The ritual facts, as will presently be shown, are decisive against it, and the transition of thought which it assumes is by no means characteristic of the tendency of an early society. E.g. Manetho (Conc. ad Ptole. III, 11) conceded that old divinities might be re-fashioned and assimilated to gods, but that it was not possible to prove that heroes were ever derived immediately from a god. The heroes in their original form, as ghosts of ancestors, were neither demi-gods, if that term is used to describe living warriors, nor demons, who have never been incar- nated in human body. It is more difficult to account for the fact that hero-worship, which can be shown to have flourished in the 7th cent. B.C. or even earlier, can be hardly any influence on the practice of Hellenic society. Somehow or other, old beliefs in the power of the dead, which were temporarily obs- cured during the flourishing period of epic poetry, sprang anew into life and dominated popular thought in the Graeco-Roman world, without the classical era. Or it may be that, as the political system which supported the courts of the feudal chieftains fell away and decayed, the voice of the commoner, whose primitive superstition had remained unchanged, became articulate in later literature.

There are many facts which attest the connexion of heroes with human society and with the ghosts of ancestors. The central heath of the house, under which the hero was buried (cf. Plat. Phoc. 37), and near to which a precinct was re- served for him, was an object of special veneration in family-worship (cf. art. HIAERTH [Greek]). Or an image of the hero might be set up close to the house-door (Callim. Epig. 26), in order to protect the inmates against the approach of their enemies. At every family meal the second libation was poured out in honour of the heroes (Pint. Qu. Rom. 25, p. 270 A), and to them belonged all the broken fare which fell from the table (Arist. fr. 180 R.). In regard to the hero in death, Athenians (427 B.C.) states that dead kinmen are actually the recipients, and it is not to be doubted that the pouring of the wine on the ground was for the benefit of the family ancestors.

Heroes were kept in remembrance by their graves, as may be seen from the case of the shrine erected in honour of Polyphemus on the shore of the Thracian Chersonese, which, though plundered by the order of Xerxes (Herod. ix. 118), was still an object of veneration in the time of Philostratus (Her. iii. 1 f.). The grave itself was a mound of earth (χώρα) situated within a sacred enclosure (θυρεός, or, more strictly, σχῆς [Poll. i. 6]). Over the mound a small chapel (εἴδεμ) was raised, the precinct was planted with trees, and its limits were marked by a stone wall (βάσαρυς [Paus. ii. 42. 8]). The most distinctive feature of the locality was the cavity (θησεῖον) communicating with the interior of the grave, into which the blood of the victim was poured or other offerings were cast. Thus, the tomb of the hero actually served as an altar (βαυάδω) for his worshippers, and might be so described (Eur. Hid. 547, with the present writer's note). Strictly, however, since no elevation was essential, a circular hollow in the ground (ερείσσα) was sufficient, and the appropriate receptacle for offerings to heroes. The sacrificial terms applied to hero-worship belong also to chthonic worship in general (for εἰρέσσα, as distinguished from δεσμός, see Herod. ii. 44), and the ritual was the same: the victims—generally black bulls or rams—were slaughtered so that the blood from their throats fell into the hollow of the altar, to be drunk by the ghost (αλβακελλή) ; their heads were pressed downwards so that they looked towards the earth (ερείσσα, as explained by schol. Hom. ii. 430); none of the flesh was eaten, but the whole of it was consumed by fire; or—since the employment of an animal victim was by no means universal—when firstfruits of all kinds were offered to them, none of the gifts must be touched subsequently by the human worshippers. There is the same sinlessness of touch, and the gifts offered to heroes were often made by night or towards evening (Pind. Ist. i. 33; Ap. Rhod. i. 887); in the custom of beheading the ground (Soph. Fas. 460), or of slaying the victim (Pind. Ibid. 453); and in the annual recurrence of the cere- mony to commemorate the hero's death. The institution of formal games over the dead hero was a common custom (e.g. Paus. viii. 4, 5), and it is generally supposed that such was the
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origin of the four great pan-Hellenic festivals, which were afterwards brought into connexion with the cult of an Olympian god.

See Robbe, 145; Eitrem, in Pauly-Wissowa, vili. 1126. An attempt has recently been made by F. M. Cornford, in J. E. Harrison's Themis, II. 4., to explain the goddesses of originally and independently New Year processions (pp. 264 f.). He has appealed to the general argument of the anthropologists that the hero is a later concept. This view was correspondingly with the general argument of the anthropologists that the hero is a later concept. This view was correspondingly

A remarkable feature in the worship of a hero is that he was supposed to appear in the form of a man. So Cycon was maintained that the snake, and Erichthonius at Athens (Paus. i. 26. 1, i. 24. 7).

Vergil describes the arrival of an enormous snake when Neasos was celebrating the anniversary of his former's death below the general cult.' At his tomb (Zeus, x. 84 E). The supernational man in Theophrastus (Char. 16), if he saw a snake in the house, at once erected a small chapel on the spot. The snake was also frequently depicted in the class of reliefs known as the Dead-Feast type, in which the hero is represented as partaking of a meal (Souls, Gr. Vind. 37). In his Life of Cleomenes (39), says that, after Cleomenes had been put to death by Ptolemy and his body impaled, a snake came on to his head; and certain learned men explained the occurrence by propounding the theory that snakes are produced within a human corpse by the thickening of the juices of the married. The explanation, which is also given in a speech of Pythagoras recorded in Ov. Met. xvi. 388, is perhaps due to the rationalizing tendency of popular opinion at a time when the superstition had ceased to be credible. Although the association of the snake with death and the grave appears to be free from doubt, it has, nevertheless, recently been maintained that the snake, attribute of a hero points to his origin as a fertility-daimon, and symbolizes the resurrection of life in the new year (J. E. Harrison, Themis, 271, 310).

The cult of the hero in the primitive Panhellenia cuminates in the worship of a hero as the representative of the family. He is no longer one of a class in which all the members are equally entitled to veneration. There has arisen a belief that, in accordance with the measure of their contributions, distinguished men are to be held in esteem after death, and that in virtue of their mysterious influence they can exercise a wide range of power over their former haunts. Thus, one who has become famous as a ruler or a warrior is selected by his immediate successors. If he has been of supreme position as eponymous founder of the clan (μητρικής). In this sense Cercopes may be said to give his name to the Cercopes, the rivals of the Eteobatides, Aclus to the Eacles, and so forth. It may be true that some of these name-givers never had any individual existence, but that their names were projected, so to speak, in order to express the unity of a clan-group (J. E. Harrison, op. cit. 267). But, however the actual particular facts may have come to pass historically—and it is unlikely that the development was uniform in every group—the conception of the hero in the classical age figured him as the remote forefather to whom the members of the clan were historically related. The widespread belief that gods and men were of the same race led to the further conclusion that the most glorious of mankind must have been of divine origin; the eponymous heroes of the clans were the sons of the gods. There is thus a difference not only of degree but of kind between the class of heroes and their mortal descendants; the progress of the religious system results in the transformation of the supernatural beings capable of recruitment from the ranks either of gods or of men (Eitrem, 1129).

The relationship of the hero to the gods must now be examined in detail. It frequently happens that the chapel or grave of a hero is in the temple of one of the great gods. Saron lay in the temple of the Sarmonic Artemis (Paus. ii. 30. 7), Iphigenia in that of the same goddess at Brauron (Eur. Iph. Taur. 1426). Telmessus was buried under the altar of Apollo at Telmessus (Clem. Alex. Protr. ii. 45), Strymon in the temple of Athene Pallene (Eur. Herod. 1025), and Euryleas and the prison of the Helene at Argos (Herod. i. 31). The list might be very largely increased; but, in order to appreciate its significance, we must rule out any suggestion that the shrines of these local worshipers were superimposed on the existing sanctuaries of the Olympian gods. We should rather infer that hero-worship was a survival from an earlier system of religion, which preceded the establishment of the greater cults.

There are other indications which point to a conflict between the representation of an older and a later system. Apollo drove out Hycactinus at Tarentum (Polyb. viii. 30. 2); Artemis came to terms with Calliste in Arcadia (Paus. viii. 30. 8); and Aphrodite was identified at Naxos (Plut. Thea. 20). Sometimes the supernumerary hero assumed the functions of founder of the new cult, or of minister and sage to the new gods. Thus we read that Aristeeus built an altar to Zeus Iakinos in Coos (Ap. Rhod. ii. 592); and hence the numerous stories of a god welcomed by a mortal, who was held in high repute, and to whom certain names are given on that account, as when Dionysus was welcomed by Icarus and Pegasus. Sometimes the god took over the honours instituted for a hero, as when Zeus succeeded to the funeral games at Neaestos as a memorial to Archermous (Arg. to Pind. Nem.), or when the Rhodian celebration dedicated to Telephorus was transferred to Helos (schol. Pind. Ol. vii. 146). Sometimes, again, the Olympian has entirely effaced the reputation of the hero, whose name has been forgotten: Pausanias (i. 3. 4) mentions that there was a temple dedicated to certain unknown gods and heroes, and also that an altar which was inscribed to an anonymous hero was known by antiquarians to belong to Andronoe. Whenever the hero has been subordinated to the god, but the recollection of his former eminence has not entirely passed away, a preliminary offering made to the hero precedes the celebration of the chief sacrifice. In this way Pelops was honoured at Olympia (schol. Pind. Ol. i. 149), and Sceous at the festival of Apollo Agyieus at Tages (Pana. ii. 34. 3). When Pycasus is addressed as a hero in the old ritual chant of Ellis (Pest. Lyr. Gr. iii. 665)—the earliest example of the cult title—an explanation is drawn from his recent association in amours with the daughter of Cadmus. The growth of legendary stories about the gods, or the introduction of their names into the genealogical tables of princely families, accounts for the pre-eminence of the Dioscuri and Helen, of Aeselinus and Heraclus, of Theseus and Amphiarious. Another view has recently been advocated: that the conception of an Olympian god is always later than that of the
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...the advent of the fully-developed forces of the greater gods. The usual result was that they lost their identity, and survived only as epithets attached to the names of later gods. Thus, for example, when the Ares of Olympia (Ares, the god of war) and the Zeus of Athens (Zeus) were combined to form the god of war, the new god was called Ares, who was thought to have been born on Mount Cithaeron near Thebes.

Concerning the worship of these deities, it is said that they were worshipped in temples or shrines dedicated to them. It is also said that they were worshipped in public places, such as markets and crossroads. The worship of these deities was often connected with certain festivals or ceremonies, such as the Olympic Games or the Panathenaia.

There are several stories about the origin of the gods and heroes. One common story is that the gods were born of the union of a mortal and a god. This is the case of Zeus, who was born of a mortal woman, Danae, and a god, Poseidon. Another common story is that the gods were born of a union between a mortal and a Titan, a semi-divine being. This is the case of Heracles, who was born of a mortal father and a Titan mother.

The study of the gods and heroes is important for understanding the religious beliefs and practices of ancient Greece. It is also important for understanding the values and ideals of ancient Greek society, as these deities were often associated with certain virtues or vices.

...the importance of religious silence, and corresponded to the Doric hero Euphemus, who, however, is known solely from the inscriptions. The name Euphemus is also found in the name of the Argo, the ship on which Theseus sailed, and in the name of the god Euphemios, who was worshiped in the island of Euphemia in the Aegean Sea.
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36. 1.—(8) Health in time of sickness was especially
invoked from Machaon and Podalirius, the sons
of Asclepius, and others of his descendants
such as Polemocrates, who healed in Thyreatis
(Paus. ii. 24. 3) and elsewhere, and Helen is said
to have cured a young priest. His a beautiful
woman (Herod. vi. 61).—(9) The function of divina-
tion was regularly exercised. All over Greece
were oracular shrines, where the tutelary hero
foretold the future, and imparted his advice to the
inquirer by means of a dream. The most famous
was perhaps that of Trophonius at Lebades in
Boeotia, the procedure at which is described in
detail by Pausanias; but many more are noted by
the compilers of the list. We may select as representa-
tive the sanctuaries of Alcmene near to Thebes on the road leading to
Thebes, of Heliodorus at Thasius near Leontia,
and of the seer Amnis—the father of the three
Elagoboups—(Delos (Rohde, 176)).

The ritual of incubation, the tachmythis, the
help corresponded with the measure of their revenge if slighted.
They might bring defeat, as they did to the
Periers in punishment of their impiety (Herod.
vii. 16), or destroy their enemies, as when
Actaeon in anger ravaged the land of Oreosmos,
and when Thesmespun punished the
Thasians for flinging his statue into the sea, be-
cause it had fallen on one of his enemies and killed
him (ib. vi. 11. 6 ff.).

The hero Anagryos executed a terrible revenge upon an old man who had put
Longinus' wife, and killed herself; the father blinded his son and
begged him in a vault. Finally, the old man
haunted himself, and the woman threw herself into a
well (Suid. s.v. 'Anagryos). No wonder that
men dreaded to come into the presence of such
beastly spirits, that they passed by their sanctuaries
in fearful silence (Alciph. iii. 69), and
averted their eyes lest they should encounter their
spirits (schol. Aristoph. Ave. 1483). To the
vulgata the heroes seemed more disposed to injure
than to help; but it is a hyperbole when they are
described as responsible for all the sufferings of
mankind (Babr. 63).

The belief in heroes and their worship can be
shown to have been firmly established in Greece
from the 7th cent. B.C. onwards, so long as the
framework of the ancient Greek civilisation con-
tinued to persist. The ordinance of Draco com-
manding the Athenians to worship gods or heroes
in accordance with inherited tradition (Porphyry.
dc. Abst. iv. 22) proves that in his days hero-worship
was no innovation; and its permanence is shown by
the regular incorporation of the names of heroes
with the gods in the oaths taken upon solemn occa-
sions (Dinarch. i. 64). The reforms of Cleisthenes
recognised the importance of the heroic ancestor;
whose presidency was exercised by the sphere of
the clan to the artificial units of tribe and deme.
The hero, as local demon, had sometimes merged
his identity in the name of the settlement, as may
be observed from Protesilaus to Mars, Corinthus,
and Corinthus. In other conditions he was re-
garded as the leader and founder of the newly-
established State, as was Danaus at Argos, Battus
at Cyrene, and Timoleon at Rhodes. It was a
natural consequence in historical times that the
personage to whom a new society owed its origin
or its prosperity should be advanced to the rank
of a mythical chieftain. Thus we find the
cult of Miltiades established in the Thracian
Ceressos; and in the same neighbourhood at
Amphipolis, where a festival had been founded in
honour of Hagnon as a savior, the citizens after-
wards transferred their veneration to Brasidas by
ancreating his tomb and investing him with the
annual honours of games and sacrifices (Thuc. v. 11).

Other military and political services were recog-
nised in the same way: the cult of Leonidas
survived at Sparta until the age of the Antonines
(Paus. iii. 16. 1), and Herakles, at Athens, received
honourous at Athens (Pollux, viii. 91).

But political merit did not stand alone in earning
this posthumous honour. Cleomeides of Astypalae
and Euboeas of Dyme were canonised as Olympian
victors (Paus. vi. 9, 3, vi. 3. 4); Bia of Priene for
his wisdom (Diog. Lecr. i. 88); and Phileppus of
Croton for his beauty (Herod. v. 47). Here may be
the otherworldly memorials established to heroes
celebrities, among whom may be mentioned Homer,
Hesiod, Archilochus, Pindar, and Aeschylus. The
case of Sophocles was peculiar. He was enstated
in his home, and honoured him with
regular and formal worship, and consequently
he was himself worshipped as a hero after death,
beneath the title of Deceylon, 'the Entertainer' (Etym. Mag. 226).
The philosophical schools were
organised as religious societies (θηατρος), and it
became the rule to honour the founder as a hero
(Wilamowitz, 'Aegleos ex Hermes', Berlin,
1881, p. 293 f.). There is less of historical certainty
in the heroism of Dracmas, the leader
of runaway slaves in Chios (Ath. 265 D), and
of Pizodorus, the Ephesian shepherd, who directed
the officials charged with the building of a temple
to a quarry of beautiful marble (Vitruv. x. 7).

Throughout historical times the inhabitants of
the Delphic oracle in recommending the establishment
of a heroic cult (e.g., Herod. i. 187) was very
commonplace; for the Delphian Apollo was regarded
by every Greek as the greatest of seers in all that
appertained to the worship of gods and heroes.
The priests, we may well believe, shared the
sacrifice of the age, even if they
pursued a policy of self-interest by spreading cults
which owed the charter of their establishment to
Delphi (Rohde, 180).

The belief was ultimately degraded by the
heroization of living men. The earliest recorded
example is perhaps the Syracusan Dion (Diocor.
iv. 29). The servility of the age
which was reflected in the extravagance of the rewards
showered upon Demetrius by the Sicyonians (ib.
xx. 105). Posthumous honours, not merely heroic,
but divine, were granted to the representatives of
dynasties of Ptolemy and Seleucus; and the
second Ptolemy took a further step forward by
permitting himself to be raised to the rank of a
god during his life.

An entirely different cause—the increase of
affectionate regard for the dead—contributed to
the secularization of hero-worship. The practice for religious corporations so to honour one
who had held high rank in the society, or even for
private individuals to endow a religious foundation in honour of themselves or members of their
family. The best-known example of the latter is
the will of Epicteta of Thasos, who left directions for the heroization of herself, her husband, and
her two dead sons (Hiller, Gesch. der Griech. und
veneration will be found in the heroic relics,
which—from prehistoric days to the last period of
Greek art maintain their connexion with the dead 1 (Bouke, 28). (For the details, see Deneken, in Ergebn. i, 18 ff.; Eitrem, 114 ff.; also Littmann, Thesm. 312.) In Bocotia and Thessaly the word 'hero' was used from an early date as a customary epithet of the dead (lheros xoq). Later, as the prestige of Roman power spread, it was applied even to children and to slaves. In this connexion may be mentioned the declared intention of Cicero to build a shrine in honour of his mother's dead (Cic. Att. ii. 18). The last phase of hero-worship returns to the point from which it started, the family-worship of the souls of the dead.

Here-worship was entirely alien to the native religion of Rome (Mommsen, Rom. Hist. i. 174, Eng. tr. [ed. 1877]), but the fully-developed notion of the hero as a warrior of Homeric epoch and as a superhuman or semi-divine being passed over to the Romans as part of the mental equipment which they borrowed in consequence of their contact with Greek civilization. As the Romans had no heroic past of their own, they re-established their ancient traditions by introducing Greek heroes into Italy, or by assimilating the forms of their native kings to the foreign pattern. The legends of the exposure of Romulus and Remus, of the translation of Romulus, and of his apotheosis, are demonstrably of Greek origin. The story of the assistance given to the Romans by Minerva at the battle of Lake Regillus is exactly typical of the epiphanies of Greek heroes; and it has been shown that the details were transferred directly from a Greek account of the battle at the river Lebetus, then between the Locrians and the people of Croton (G. Wissowa, Religions u. Kultur der Römer, Munich, 1902, p. 240. Later we build a city of heroes entirely after the Greek manner, as when Horace put Nummi and Cato on the same level as Hercules and the Tyndarids (Od. i. 12), or when Vergil propounded thoughts which a child would be born in Pollio's consularship would join the throng of gods and heroes on equal terms (Ed. iv. 18).

2. Traces of mythology.—So far, then, we have a historical fact, with which, as may be seen, a certain amount of mythical and legendary matter has in some cases been combined. Legend and myth, or speculation as to such, in the full sense of the word, first meet us when we ask about the answer the question whether, or in what specified instances belonging to the period preceding the conquest of Canaan, the hero was in the mind of the primitive Hebrew identical with one form or another of Deity.

HEROES AND HERO-GODS (Hebrew).—1. Hebrew heroes. —The record of heroes among the ancient Hebrews, viewed apart from the mythological idea attaching to the second part of the title at the head of this article, must be allowed to have been a particularly great one. The Book of Judges alone, with its long series of heroic struggles under the successive (and partly contemporary) leadership of men of extraordinary daring and valor, is sufficient to attest the presence of a very high degree of the heroic quality among the Israelitish settlers; 1 and the exploits of Saul, Jonathan, and David fitted round off the tale of deadly conflicts which ended in complete victory over the hostile forces on all sides.

In the history that follows this event the more distinctly spiritual type of heroism overthrows—

1 Even Wissler, whose mythological theories may be said to reach to the farthest possible limits (see under § 26), cannot help admitting the historical background of the history of the Judges (see K.A.P., 326-316). Concerning Samson, see note on p. 620.

2 No opinion is here, however, intended to be pronounced on the question whether in any given case an originally human hero became a divinity (in accordance with anachronistic principles), or whether an original deity later on acquired the character of a human hero. In many cases the question of priority in this problem is, in the present state of our knowledge, probably impossible. Our Biblical mythologists (Wissler, Sch. Mann, and others) as will be seen later, assume the second assumption.
the two aspects of the case appear, in a manner, combined.

(a) The myth in question is contained in Gn 6:4. It is there related that the sons of God (or, rather, "sons of the gods") took human wives, and that the offspring (Rv's giants), the same having been "the mighty men which were of old, the men of renown." The literal meaning of this passage was for a long time naturally acceptable to both Jewish and Christian interpreters. The former (in the Targums, etc.) therefore explained the term "sons of God" (בנֵי-הédom) to mean sons of judges, i.e., the noble and chieftains of the land, whilst to the latter the narrative referred to intermarriage between the godly men of the line of Seth and the sinful women of the line of Cain. Modern scholars are, however, undoubtedly right in regarding the passage as a genuine "torno" of ancient mythology. As Driver puts it (Westminster Com., in loco):

"The expression "sons of God" (or "sons of the gods") denotes elsewhere (Gen 6:2 NRSV) "a demi-god, supreme demi-god, the demi-god," e.g., as in Genesis 6:4, as in Genesis 6:4, as in Genesis 6:4, as in Genesis 6:4, as in Genesis 6:4. And this, which is also the oldest interpretation of Gen 6:2 (LXX 60 10 412), and as far as I am aware, is the only sense in which the expression can be legitimately understood today."

The Nephilim, who are in Nu 13:31 identified with the sons of Anak, therefore represented a race of giants1 who were believed by the Israelites—in common, no doubt, with others—to have been the offspring of gods and human women, thus blending in their persons the character of deity with that of the human hero. As they were not racially connected with the Israelites in the existence of these hero-gods cannot, of course, serve as a point d'appui for interpreting the nature of genuine Hebrew heroes on a similar principle; but the belief must all the same be regarded as a genuine part of the mythological ideas prevalent in Israelitish circles (on Hebrew ideas concerning giants among other nations, see also Gen 6:1-4, 11, 12).

(b) A mythological theme of a different kind confronts us in the cycle of ideas which several modern writers connect with the Biblical account of the patriarchs and other personages of early Hebrew history.

There are at present in the field three main modes of interpreting the history of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and Joseph (to lay special emphasis on these great Biblical figures, without, however, intending to confine ourselves to them absolutely).

(1) They were real persons, and their histories are, in outline at any rate, true. If so, they lead the list of the genuine Hebrew heroes of the purely human type, such as lie before us in the history of the conquest of Canaan (2) They are historico-genalogical—that is to say, they originated, not individuals, but tribes or nations. In any case, they are absolutely, to be regarded as mythological figures whose

1 As the clause stands ("the sons of Anak are some of the Nephilim"), an identification, or rather a genealogical connection, is naturally intended; but the clause reads like a gloss (see Gen 4:26, Gen 5:24, etc.), and may represent a later genealogical interpretation. The word עֲבְרָי, app. means "originated in," a "people," in allusion to their gigantic height; cf. De 4:5, where the bedstead of Og, king of Bashan, is described, though that king is stated to have belonged to the Canaanites. For these are—like the דָּגָן—in all probability connected either racially or in the manner of descent with the דָּגָן. The etymology of the term עֲבְרָי is, however, very doubtful (see, e.g., F. Schwab, Das Land nach dem Tode, Giessen, 1896, p. 64 f.). On the whole subject, see, e.g., art. "Giant," in HDB II. 1006. The term דָּגָן, which is obviously related to the word דָּגָן, is also represented in the Semitic language generally read ʿakṣub and ʿebṣub in the List of Semites 1, and occurs in the Targum of Isaiah in the Midrash, and Jacob and Joseph were originally names of tribes or clans. The reference to his original mythological theory is that the narratives of Berosus and Ptolemy, which were collaboratively with him in the preparation of the papyri of the Dead Sea Scrolls (see p. 246 f.).
Meyer, and their respective associates and predecessors may differ as to the special form of the mythological scheme to be adopted, they are all in full agreement on the main point; the declaration that the patriarchs were originally divinities, and that the elaboration of their histories as human heroes is a late interpretation of the myths, the order of development being the exact reverse of that which is associated with the name of Euhemerus. The question as to the amount of probability with which the theories are regarded as an open one. A fine destructive criticism of Winckler's view was furnished by K. Budda (see *Das Alte Testament u. die Ausgrabungen*, p. 414). Cheyne expressed the following opinion (*EB* ii. 2312): 'That there are somewhat pale mythological elements in some of the Biblical narratives may be admitted; but to many minds Winckler's proof of his hypothesis will seem almost too laboured to be convincing.' The following argument (or, perhaps more fairly put, point d'opposition) used by Winckler in *Altertumswissenschaft*, iii. p. 406, will (though possibly one of the extreme instances) show how deeply steeped the mind must be, as a preliminary, be in the natural mythological mode of ideas, in order to admit even a slight degree of probability in favour of his method in interpreting the Biblical text. It is said in Gen 18 that Abraham was very rich in *qvey* (i.e. cattle). Withal he adds that in his *heem* word we have the root *rē-* in *xop*, but *xop* is nothing but an appellative of the *dōs summus*, i.e. the moon. The use of *qvey* therefore shows that Abraham was originally a moon god.

Meyer's theory is, of course, quite as much as that of Winckler at variance with the usual critical interpretations of the Jæta. This may be, who himself adopts the genealogical scheme of interpretation, pointedly speaks of it as Meyer's 'present view' (see *Review of Theology and Philosophy*, ii. (1885), pp. 141-153, and *Susa*) expressed in *Zacke Lituraturstudien*, 1907, pp. 1923-31), though not specially referring to this part of Meyer's thesis, throws doubt on the correctness of much in his method of interpretation in general. All that can be said at present is that it would be both un-critical and unfair definitely to negative the Palestinian names theory of the patriarchs; it is entirely simply because it may appear startling at first sight. Specially to be noted is that for the phrase *pēr *qvey* (the 'Pier of his father's house') in Gen 19 (see also Meyer adopts (p. 254) the very doubtful explanation which identifies Isaac himself with *pēr* (i.e. 'Pier' = divinity). The forms *Yaḵbaš* and *Yoseph* are found in the list of Palestinian place-names belonging to the reign of Thutmosis III. he would take to mean 'Yaḵbaš, the god' and 'Yoseph, the god' (p. 252), instead of *El applanteath* and *El adadeth.*

(c) Under (a) and (b) we considered respectively a myth concerning non-Israelites believed in by the Israelites, and certain mythological speculations regarding traditional Israelite heroes. We now come to a group of heroes belonging partly to pre-Israelite times and partly to purely Israelite traditions. It is clear to us, and to confuse ourselves to leading figures of the highest order. Enoch the son of Jared, Noah, Moses, and Elijah. It was shown in *EB* i. 441 ff. (see also p. 483) that there are, in the case of these ancestral heroes, clear indications of a kind of apotheosis; and it will be sufficient to add in this place that Winckler and Meyer only partially attempt to carry us here beyond the idea of the cosmic descent of the Biblical characters (as has been seen (§ 2 (b)), believes Moses to represent the sun in spring; and Meyer (p. 217) regards Enoch as 'Gott (oder Personifikation) des 305. bis 325. Jahre' (see *EB* 5th ed.; Enoch lived 365 years).

LITERATURE.—Besides the works named under the art. ARCHETYPE-WORSHIP (Hebrae) in vol. i., and the publication of the present article, the reader may specially consult: F. Lenormant, *Les Origines du Père* (Bouy. gr. of vol. i., London, 1839); K. Budda, *Die Stützpunkte* (Gleim, 1881); H. Grimal, *The Legends of Genesis* (ed. by H. E. Croxton, Chicago, 1903), particularly pp. 112-115; F. Schewy, 'Uber ein Balgoce, *Vehum. Zeitgbl.* (1908), 62 (1912); F. E. Sch., *Das Stammform u. die Sem. Stämme,* ed. by (1897); (expressing, for the time being, agreement with Sunday) genealogical theory advocated in *LH* ii. 185, i. 1. 166, *Reppermann,* and on the different patriarchs in *DB* and *EB*.

HEROES AND HERO-GODS (Indian).—In Sanskrit there is no word corresponding to the Greek *heto*, denoting a famous warrior or hero promoted to divine rank and worshipped as the patron of a town, district, gild, etc. But similar ideas, though not well defined and of a much wider application, have always been recognised in India. They have given rise to the belief in, and the worship of, a great variety of superhuman beings, of whom some are regarded as local patrons, saints, and gods; others have attained to the rank of supreme gods.

There is a class of Brahmanical heroes to be mentioned hereafter, who are duly recognised in the religious beliefs of India, but who are Indian heroes seem to have belonged to popular religion, to the undercurrent of the various forms of higher religion acknowledged and sanctioned by the Brahmanas. We therefore find only occasional notice of, or vague allusions to, them by Sanskrit writers. As a rule, those heroes only who had become the objects of the devotion and un-celebrated universal homage are mentioned by the Brahmanas and admitted into their pantheon. In order, therefore, to form an idea of the extent and nature of hero-worship in India, it will be well to advert first to the state of things in modern India. W. Crooke devotes the second chapter of his *Intro. to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India* (London, 1896) to 'The Heroic and Village Gods,' whom we may regard as the equivalents of the ancient heroes. Such are Hanuman of the *Rāmdāyana*, Bhima and Bhīma of the *MB*, and, besides, a great number of local or village gods of whom Crooke believes 'that most, if not all, belong to the races whom it is convenient and safe to describe as least outside Brahmanism, though some of them may have been from time to time promoted into the orthodox pantheon.' In the fourth and fifth chapters ('The Worship of the Sacred Dead' and 'The Worship of the Malevolent Dead,' i. 175 ff., 230 ff.) he describes the class of semi-divine beings who in life had been men—warriors, chieftains, even robbers, or holy men—and after death had become the object of worship. Sir Alfred Lyall, in his suggestive account of the 'Religion of an Indian Province' (Bears), bears testimony to the dedication of famous men after their death. The process can be observed best, though not exclusively, with regard to saints and hermits. Of the numerous local gods known to have been living men, by far the greater portion derive from the ordinary canonisation of holy personages (i. 261). 'The number of saints thus raised to the divine status is almost incalculable,' and the number of ascetics (i. 260). The process of deification he describes as follows. But, in India, whatever be the original reason for venerating

1 Winckler's strikingly drawn parallel between Enoch, the seventh primeval patriarch, and Enoch, the seventh primeval patriarch of the Babylonian record (see *KAT* p. 140), need not necessarily move in the sphere of original hero-worship rather than that of original gods, though he also refers to the number 365 in *EB*.

A deceased man, his upward course toward defilement is the same. At first we have the grave of one whose name, birthplace, place of residence, etc., are well known in the district; if he died at home, his family often set up a shrine, placed themselves in possession of the things that were about it, and then, after a certain time, they become hereditary keepers of the sanctuary, if the shrine provides them with maintenance. Or, if the man wandered about, settled near some village or sacred spot, became renowned, and died, the neighboring villagers, on hearing him die, the neighbors that it great how he left to the tomb of a holy man within their borders, and the landholders administer the shrine by ministerial rights. In the course of a very few years, the recollection of the man's personality becomes misty, his origin forgotten to the last. The name and death were both supernatural; in the next generation the obscure names of the sages or gods get introduced into the story, and the marvelous tradition works itself into a myth, until nothing but a personal incarnation can account for such a series of prodigies.

These references to popular beliefs and religious practices in modern India will enable us to detect the traces of hero-worship in ancient India. That it always existed, and has been doubtless, for the Maghāyakas of Bihār, and the adjoining region worship Godha and make pilgrimages to his tomb. According to their traditions, he was hanged for his wild designs, and was long promised to help the Maghāyakas in time of trouble. He is worshiped by the whole tribe, and is invoked on all important occasions; but he is not essentially the god of them and a sacred road is always celebrated by a sacrifice and feast in his honor (Crooke, TC. 1906, p. 252). Of the same class is the Bālīkha (e.g.), a deity worshiped in Bihār and the neighboring districts: his temple is called a Bālīkha, and is visited by mission-travelers, preferably the former. Bālīkha, they say, was the first worship of the hill tribes, in whose honor boy's head is offered. The Bālīkha is worshiped in Bihār, Jhos, and Patna, to which members of all castes resort. The higher castes make offerings of meat, the lower sacrifices piper and other oblations of spirits on the ground. The cult of this deity is, however, not a general one, because the low-caste robber is now identified with the potter of Bihār, who is a respectable minor god, already occupying a niche in the Hindu pantheon. Doubtless the scene is repeated in all Bihār, and other Bālīkha will be accepted as manifestations of one or other of the Hindu gods who always exist (R. G. B. Crooke, The Eastern India, London, 1882, p. 192).

The Bālīkha (e.g.) tribe of carvers and smiths, again, have a similar deity, the fresh-water Mījānu Bālīkkhās. In every camp there is a hut set apart and devoted to the worship of the deity, which is distinguished by a white flag. When a criminal expedition is arranged, the members of the gang meet at night in this hut, and an image of the true flag is held in their hands. A white soaked in burnt siro is placed in a manor and lighted, and an appeal is made to the Bālīkha to guide the robbers and to protect them. When the expedition is about to start, the Bālīkha is sacrificed, and the head and flesh of the beast are burnt on the altar, and the food left in the hut. The tribal priest calls aloud, and assails the Mījānu Bālīkkhās for accepting the offering (Chumberdger, BHIK iv.).

This rite, then, are the Chumpās (the tribals) of the Brahmānical genies, and as such receive a

1. Ancestral heroes may be called the founders of families (genies), of clans, and of dynasties. Now the Indian genies, especially those of the Brahmān, are called gotras (e.g.). Max Müller says: "All Brahmanic families whose sages claim to be of the latter class are supposed to descend from the seven Rājas. The following are among the Brahmān, and the rest of a similar class are frequently present also in members of the other; e.g., many numerous Gotras have been formed within the scope of epic poetry, and are, therefore, also epic heroes in a wider sense.

kind of worship in prescribed forms. It may be added that some of them, especially those whom Max Müller calls the real ancestors, are the subject of legends related in the epics and Purāṇas, while about many tradition is silent except in so far as they are regarded as the authors of the hymns of the Rigveda. Not only the Brāhmaṇas but also the Kāśyapa and Manus seem to have had, in ancient times, gotras of their own, some of which at least were identical in name with those of the Brāhmaṇa. But we know practically nothing about them; they seem in the early centuries of our era to have fallen into disuse, probably because the Kāśyapa were split into a great many clans, and the Vaiśyas into an ever-increasing number of castes, and those divisions acquired a greater importance than the old-fashioned gotras.  

We pass now to such ancestral heroes as are regarded as the founders of cities and dynasties. The dynasties of ancient India belong either to the Solar race (Sūrya-vahana) or the Lunar race (Somavahana). Both races go back to Manu, the son of the Sun (Vivasvat), but with this difference, that the solar race contains the descendants of Manu’s sons, the lunar race those of his daughter Ila and Budha, the son of Soma, the Moon. In this way it is explained that the Sun (Vivasvat) and these Soma (Soma) are the progenitors of the solar and lunar races respectively, while to either belongs Manu, the father of famous hero of mankind. The nine sons of Manu, Ikṣvāku, etc., are said to have founded as many branches of the solar race, and must, therefore, be regarded as their ancestral heroes. But those genealogical traditions seem to have been fixed at a time when they were already on the point of dying out; for there is some confusion even about the number and the names of these nine sons, of which Ikṣvāku, the most ancient, has always been the accepted hero of the Bharata’s sons Takṣaṇa and Puṣkaloka, Takṣaṇa and Puṣikaloka; Lekṣmana’s sons Angada and Chandrakānta (vol. 102); Rāhva became the second founder of Ayodhya, after it had been deserted on the death of Rāma (vii. 111), etc. These epic notices about founders of towns, whether they be records of popular traditions or inventions of the poet, prove at least that this kind of hero was known in India, and we may assume that these heroes were not of divine rank, but of human or semi-divine rank. Epic poetry seems to remove from the everyday sphere all persons and things that make part of the narrative, and to invest them with an exalted character. Every beginner in Sanskrit remembers how, in the opening of the story of Nala, Indra inquires after the warriors and kings who used to visit him as his deities, but at that time stayed away on account of Nala’s anuvydhava. Thus, the principal persons of the epics have a tendency to become heroes in the technical sense of the word, and, once having entered upon their upward career, they may end with being regarded as gods. The most instructive instance is the hero of the oldest epic, the Rāmāyana. In the original parts of that work (vii. books ii.—vi.) Rāma is still a human hero, the best of men, the supreme model of morality and loyalty; notwithstanding his association with gods in the beginning, the gods and his fight with, and victory over, the demons (Rākṣasas), he remains essentially a man. But in the first and last books, which are decidedly later in origin and of a different

2 It may, however, be mentioned that the Jain writer Haribhadra (9th cent. A.D.) speaks of the gotra of the Brāhmaṇas, most of whom certainly did not belong to the caste of the Brāhmaṇas (Haribhadra, *Rig Veda*, p. 16, and the remarks of the commentator Muniandas on that passage).
modern popular religion and folklore. They seem to form a class of superhuman beings who are known as the chitrajivas, i.e. the long-living or immortal ones. A verse in the Pārśva enumerates seven chitrajivas: Asvatthāman, Bālī, Vyāsa, Hanumān, Viśiṣṭa, Ṙṣiṣṇu, and Pāruṣa; a quotation in the Sādha Kalpa Dravya adds an eighth—Mārkaṇḍeya. The belief in chitrajivas can, however, be traced back to comparatively early times. In the 108th sarga of the Uttarākṇaṇda of the Rāmdāsya, the Āraṇyakas, commands that Hanumān and Viśiṣṭa should live as long as the Rāmdāsyasya shall exist; verse 33 adds Jambavan, Mainda, and Dividva, and says that they will live 'till the Kali comes.' The commentator says that Hanumān and Viśiṣṭa will live till the destruction of the world, but Jambavan, Mainda, and Dividva will die during the incarnation of Ṛṣiṣṇu. It is, therefore, probable that the class of heroes continuing to live and removed to a higher sphere was originally more numerous than the verse alluded to above would make us believe.

Besides these never-dying heroes there probably were a great many others who were believed to have died, yet still received some kind of homage, though in most cases we know nothing about them. On the evidence of modern folklore, we may safely reckon among them Viśiṣṭa and the five Pārśva, especially Viśiṣṭa, who seems to have been a favourite of the people in many parts of India. 2. In modern India there is a third class of heroes—accumulative sages and ascetics. There can be no doubt that there were such in ancient India also; but, being of local importance only, they did not find their way into general literature, and were ousted, as it were, by the great epics. These, however, who might be included in this class have been treated of above among the ancestral heroes.

LITERATURE.—The necessary references have been given in the article itself. It may be mentioned that the Kārṇa has not been treated before.

HERMANN JACOBI.

HEROES AND HERO-GODS (Iranian).—In the conventional sense of the word, the Iranians possessed many heroes of whom more or less legendary tales were told; and several passages of the Avesta—notably Yasna ix., and Ysdt v., xili., xix.—record traditions of a number of them, such as Virahte, Yasna, Ahrīma, Urvan, Keresap, Haceyana, Thiradhana, Yazta, Hirs, Parsa, Jamasp, Axavand, Vasara, Yudh, Visap, Zair-vari, Urvan, Kanesha, Yasna, and Syāvand; and these heroic figures, with others, recur throughout Pahlavi literature and in the Sanskrit of Firdausi.

Of heroes in the technical sense, however, Zoroastrianism knows nothing, though in that religion marked traces of ancestor-worship exist (see art. ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD [Iranian]; FRAVASHI). In all Zoroastrian literature the nearest approach to anything in the least suggestive of a hero-cult is Yas xili. 17.

"They, the Fravashi of the righteous, give most help in battle fierce; the Fravashi of the righteous are most mighty, Spānta [Zarathushtra], those of the first teachers of the faith, or of men of whom the Spānta, the president of the world for the final restoration, may produce other living righteous men are more mighty, Spānta Zarathushtra, thus [these] of the dead." Old Persian literature is silent on the subject of heroes, but in Greek references to the Persians we find what seem at first blush to be allusions to these apotheosized men of renown. Upon arriving at Pergamum, on the river Sardis, Xerxes 2. He were the explanation of the Fravāhi of Xerxes 3. According to the word of Pārthi 1. quoted in Indian Antiquity, 1912, Supplement, p. 44, note.

3 Rūmān, Astā, Sw. Worovcz., St. Petersburg, 1853-75, x.x.

"Chitrajīva."
Imperialism, by the 8th-century annals (see Kojiki, 187 ff., 173, 185, 189, etc.). The Emperor himself is often required, and consents, to worship local gods, who are called the Kami (see, for example, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, etc.). The honor thus paid to the gods of departed chiefs, like that given to Imperial ancestors, leads us to think that these chiefs must have been of the highest rank, just as the Emperor himself was. Besides, mythology is full of accounts of wars between 'gods,' or human beings (ib. 167, 176, 200 ff., 594, etc.). The worship of the Emperor was only the synthesis of the cults of these local chiefs, just as the Imperial power finally united in its own person all the separate local powers which had formerly existed.

The next in order are the sorcerers, who were originally, before the division of social work, often identified with the chiefs themselves; but on the day of his accession to the throne, we find Jimmu, the first legendary Emperor, instructing one of his followers in the magic formula (Nikongo, l. 135).

These sorcerers of the past comprised anything which seemed particularly wonderful to their neighbours, were naturally the object of an admiration which, along with the worship of the gods, continued at first during their lifetime, and, later, even after their death. Thus as the adoration of powerful chief was an instinctive homage paid by weak men to a superior, the adoration of a 'medicine-man,' famous for his miraculous gifts, is the natural homage paid by ignorance to superior intelligence. The Japanese gods and magicians (see Kojiki, 83 ff., 168 ff., etc.) and it may readily be conceived how, on the other hand, magicians may easily turn into gods. Thus, even to-day, by a 'tutelary' spirit of some ancient beliefs, the high-priest of Inari, in Iduumo, is called ite-gami ('living god').

In the same connexion we must mention also the inventors of all the importers of useful articles, and all the great benefactors whose intelligence or skill arouses gratitude and demands respect. In Shinto mythology, we find first of all the worship of the group of illustrious gods, who, under the direction of Omoch-kane, the god of cunning, invented the principal arts, beginning with the art of the blacksmith, whom the primitive people were most willing to consider as a veritable magician (Kojiki, 63-65).

Then comes the god Oho-kuni- nosukunashi, a powerful chief, and Sukanak-biko-na, a dwarf-wizard, who was the father-in-law of Magatari-nii, the founder of the construction of the country, begun by the Creator-Pair, but also taught men magic and medicine (see Nikongo, l. 135), then the great god Suno-no-wo, who had already gained fame, in a well-known myth, by delivering a young princess from the monster-serpent of Koshi, which was about to devour her, and who also, with the help of his son Itakenu, the 'deserving god' (Inosoko no kami), created, by tearing and dispersing the hairs of his body, the cedar trees and canopiferous forests for the construction of ships, the thuyas for the building of palaces, the podocarps for the manufacture of coffin, while at the same time he sowed and caused to grow all sorts of grain for the nourishment of human beings (Nikongo, l. 183). Along with these gods appears another beneficent being, Mi-wa-no-Kami, who sank wells in several parts of the country (Kojiki, 88).

All these gods, who were at the same time magicians and inventors, were without doubt originally real personages, whose fame was only increased by the souls of ancient chiefs (5. 179), mysterious dwarfs who were depicted as arriving on the crest of the waves in a tiny boat made out of a berry in the form of a long gourd, and dressed in the skin of a bird, and who, after having done

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1 The sacrifice of a thousand kins (together with a hundred stallions and ten thousand sheep) has a genuinely Irinian ring; cf., for example, Tae v. 31, 35, etc. l.r. 3, 4, etc.
wonderful deeds, disappears by climbing up a stalk of millet, from which he is carried away to another world, no doubt finds his prototype in the mira-
culous events of the young hero Kojiki. Suddenly it seems as though there had been no appearance of the
brother, he asked his youngest son if he had ful-
filled his orders. Yamato-dake replied that he had
not failed to do so, calmly adding an explanation
of how he went about it: he sent his younger son
crushed him, and, pulling off his branches (i.e.
limbs), wrapped them in matting and flung them
away. It may be imagined that the Emperor showed himself somewhat alarmed at the valour
and ferocity of his august child's disposition. He
therefore sent him off to once to the West, to
fight against two warriors of the country of Kumano,
who were rebelling against the authority of the
Emperor. The manner in which the young prince
acquainted himself on this mission will be a
sufficient example of the general Chacter of
these heroes of primitive Japan, with whom
cunning occupies as large a place as courage.

On reaching the home of the Kumano braves, His August-ness Wos-won (the name given to Yamato-dake as a child) saw
that near the house there was a three-fold belt of warriors, who
had made a cave to dwell in. Hereupon they, no more than chasse-
ings a rejoicing for the augast cave (a house-warning),
were getting food ready. So he mused about this, while
waiting for the day of the rejoicing. Then, when the day of
the rejoicing came, having climbed down the
decent of girls his august hair which was bound up, and having put on
his aunt's (Yamato-hime, the Bird-princess) august
upper garment and august skirt, he looked quite like a
and, standing amidst the women (consonbines), went inside
the cave. Then the elder brother and the younger brother,
the two Kumano braves, delighted at the sight of the maiden,
saw her and rejoiced. Then, when they arrived at the feast was at its height, His Augustness Wos-won, drawing
the saber from his bosom, and catching the
Kumano by the collar of his garment, thrust the saber through
his chest, the weapon, alarmed at the sight, the younger brave
ran out. But pursuing after and overthrew him in the
formation of the steps of the cave, and catching him by the back.
Prince Wos-won threw the saber through his buttocks. Then the
Kumano brave spoke, saying, 'Do not move the sword; I have
something to say.' Then His Augustness Wos-won replied him for
a moment, breaking down as he lay prostrate. Here-
upon the Kumano brave spoke, saying: 'I am the augast child of Obo-tasuhi-biko-obhiro-ware
'the governing Lord, the prince perfect and great,' primitive
name of the Emperor Keklo, the Heavenly emperor who,
dwelling in the palace of Hishiro at Makimuki, rules the Land of
the Eight Great Islands; and my name is Kikushi-kuma-
gunu, the young man of Yamato, another name for the prince).
Bearing that you two fellows, the Kumano braves,
were unashamed and disrespectful, the Heavenly Sovereign
sent me with the command to take and slay you.' Then the
Kumano brave said: 'That must be true. There are no
persons in the West so brave and strong as we two. Yet in the Land of Great Yamato this is a man brave and
lusty. Therefore will I offer thee an augast name. From this time
forward it is right that thou hast been called as the Prince Yama-
wo-won (i.e. 'Yamato-Brave,' the Brave in Yamato'). As soon as he had finished saying this, the Prince
ripped him up like a ripe melon, and slew him. So thence-
forward he was praised by being called by the augast name of
His Augustness Yamato-dake.'

After this exploit, which reminds us of Zues, in
disguise, entering the dwelling of Lycaon, and then
killing him and his sons in the midst of a feast,
Yamato-dake triumphed, again by cunning.

another enemy, an Izumo warrior. Yamato-dake,
who was armed with a trusty saber,got his enemy
to fight against him with a hidden weapon which
had cunningly substituted for the weapon of his
adversary. That done, he returned to the capital,
but very soon after he sent him off to do battle in
the East. He set out, and to avoid the dangers which awaited him, his
aunt, the high-princess, gave him a weapon famous in
Japanese mythology, the 'Herb-Quelling-Sabre,' with an 'august beg,' the use of which will be
seen later on.

So then, when he reached the Land of Sagamn, the Ruler of the land said, saying: 'In the middle of the great
lagoon, and the Delty that dwells in the middle of the lagoon is a very violent Delty.' Hereupon Yamato-dake
had to sail to the Delty to see the Delty. Then the Ruler of the land set fire to the moon. So, knowing that he had been deceived, he opened the
mouth of the bag which he held, her Augustness Yamato-

As a typical example of these illustrious heroes, we
may quote Yamato-dake, 'the Brave of Japan,' the
most famous figure of legendary times. This hero, who,
without traditional chronology, lived about A.D. 100, was the third son of the Emperor
Keklo. The first of his exploits, while showing his
loyal respect for their father and sovereign, is
sufficient to indicate the value of character of the
mighty deeds which were to make his career
famous. He began by assaulting one of his
elder brothers, who had attempted to appear as the
'morning-and-evening-great-august-repeat.'
HEROES AND HERO-GODS (Slavio)

There was no corpse' (Nihongi, i. 520 f.). With this narrative may be compared another, found in the Nihongi (i. 297), where a guardian of the Shiratori-no-nissaagi, the 'Tomb of the White Bird,' erected to the memory of Yamato-taro, is transformed into a white deer under the eyes of the terrified Emperor—a story which is easily enough explained by the frequent presence of deer and plowers round these ancient tombs. The origin of such a legend, as far as Yamato-dake is concerned, may easily be imagined; some one is mourning over a tomb; suddenly, a bird flies off, and the idea naturally arises that it is the dead man that is escaping. At the same time it may be conceived how such an illusion must have favoured the deification of the hero.

We have laid special emphasis on this legend of Yamato-dake, because he is the most famous of all Japanese heroes. Naturally, after those primitive tribes, of which he is the typical example, other more civilized personages were deified in their turn. For example, Sugahara no Mihikane, a famous statesman and man of letters of the 9th cent., was afterwards deified under the name of Tenjin-sama, and is still worshipped, especially in a temple at Kyoto, as the god of wisdom and calligraphy. But it is probable that, if the Chinese cult of Confucius had not been introduced into Japan, the Japanese would never have thought of attributing to this minister of historical times the magic powers of action on Nature which are one of the causes of his deification. It is then safer, if we wish to confuse ourselves to Shintō pure and simple, not to attach too much importance to those apotheoses which follow the introduction of Chinese culture.

Nevertheless, we must note that the normal deification of heroes, particularly of warrior heroes, continues throughout the whole course of Japanese history, and that, until recent times, quite a number of personages were the object of a well-defined worship. While the obscure mass of the vulgar dead were regarded as descending to the darkness of the under world, certain heroes were considered as for ever haunting the land of the living, and soon of them were even raised to the stars. In 1877, when the famous Saigo Takamori, the chief of the Satsuma insurgents, committed suicide after a crushing defeat, popular imagination raised him to a place in the planet Mars.

HEROES (Slavio).—The Slavs as well as other nations have preserved the memory of the heroic period of their past and of their prominent national heroes, but the heroic legends were developed in epic songs only by some Slavic tribes. Heroic epic thrives mainly among the Russians, Southern Slavs, and Little Russians.

1. Russians.—Russian heroic songs are called byliiny (derived from the word byl—'the past event'). They began to appear in the 10th-12th centuries, and have been preserved—of course, in a form considerably altered—by oral tradition down to the present day. They were originally composed by professional bards (bogatarii) and sang the brave exploits of every hero of the prince's suite. From these, wandering minstrels (shomoroki=jongleurs) who considerably modified the contents of the original songs, enlarged them with new motifs, and partly composed new songs of a similar character. Through the medium of wandering minstrels these songs penetrated into the very heart of the nation, and popular singers (abasisti) took possession of
them. In the northern regions of Russia, especially in the government of Olonetz, Archangel, and in Siberia, Russian national epic has preserved its full vigour and freshness down to the present time. Some of the popular singers are acquainted with about 20 songs, containing in all some 3000 lines. The extant songs are considered as remnants of a rich epic repertory which was diffused many years ago, in the districts of Kieff and Novgorod.

The first collection of Russian epic songs was made by Richard James, an Oxford graduate, who came to Moscow in 1619 with the English embassy and had six epic songs written out for him. The manuscript of them is kept in Oxford, and was reprinted several times in the 19th century. The first collection of such songs was published in 1804. A later collection of them was published by Kiriš Daminov in Siberia in the 19th century. Other large collections were published by Pavel Blinove (1831-7), 4 vols.; Peter Krylovski (1860-74, 3 vols.); Alexander Guderski (1875); Tchouzov and V. Miller (1894); etc.

Russian heroic epic has frequently been the subject of careful study. Among its first investigators there appeared scholars (e.g. Buzlahov, Orest Miloradov) who made the attempt to classify the songs mythologically according to Grimm’s theory. Thinking that their original scheme was mythical, they saw in every hero a representative of pagan, especially solar, gods. Other scholars were influenced by Benfey’s theory of the Indian origin of European oral tradition; they derived the Russian heroic songs from Oriental legends and songs, and explained them accordingly. Minute analysis led other scholars to assume that in the heroic songs various subjects, both national and international, were blended. The luxury and wealth which the city had attained in the Middle Ages found its way to its wide-spread commerce. The city had a republic, a provincial aristocracy, and the foremost municipal posts were occupied by the nobility and the rich merchants. Quarra occasionally became the hero of two, which form topics of some of the songs. There are also descriptions of other scenes from public life, e.g. family disputes, love adventures, robberies of bridegrooms. The principal heroes are: Vasilij Buzlahov; Sadko, a rich merchant; Stevn Godinov; Ivan, a merchant’s son.

A separate group is formed by the songs which deal with fabulous and legendary subjects. For example, the song about Ivan Godinov is an expansion of the fabulous theme of an unfaithful wife; the songs on Poyly Ivanov and Michajlov have a similar subject. The song about Vanka, a widow’s son, is based upon the story of a princess who will marry only the man who manages to hide from her, etc.

The Russian heroic songs are penetrated with those deep religious and moral ideas which characterize the Russian people, and the symbols used are still unexplained. The renowned figure of the Russian epic is Svjatošogor, a huge giant, whose head touched the sky, who had such extraordinary strength that he could set the whole world in motion. When crossing the steps, he saw lying in front of him a little bag, filled with earth, and was about to lift it up; but the bag was so heavy that Svjatošogor broke through the ground and perished. As is explained in another variant of this song, what was hidden in the bag was the terrestrial gravity. By this poetic symbol the sway of the earth over mortal man is beautifully illustrated. The songs about Volch Sostavolokov and Mikula Salzaniut have some symbolical meanings. Volch, the hero of the Vladimir group, well instructed in all knowledge and wisdom, noticed the ploughman, Mikula Salzaniut, at work in a field, and conceived the notion of tearing his plough from the earth; he tried to do so, but failed. Then Mikula with one hand seized the plough, lifted it up easily, and threw it aside. The simple ploughman, the representative
of agriculture, triumphs over the knowledge and wisdom of the representative of military and princely power.

The typical figure of Russian epic is Ilja Muromets, in whom the people have incorporated their ideal of a national hero, democrat, and altruist. Born in a peasant family, Ilja remained all his life a man of simple customs, upright character, and noble mind. Although first among the heroes as regards power and fortune, he did not become proud of the glory he had gained, and never boasted of his deeds. He considered it his first duty to protect the oppressed, and to fight for his creed - for the people, and against the enemies who ravaged Russia. At the same time, he was pious, and fully trusted in the help of God. Deep moral meanings attach to the songs about the three expeditions he undertook before his death. Towards the end of his life, Ilja happened to encounter a stone where three roads divided. On the stone was written: 'Who goes the first road will be killed; who takes the second will marry; who enters the third will become rich.' Ilja chose the first road, and, having come to some high mountains, he met with robbers, who tried to kill him. Ilja took an arrow and shot it at an oak-tree with such force that it split to pieces. The robbers, terribly afraid, fell from their horses. Then Ilja returned again to the stone and set out along the second road. He came to a magnificent palace, where a beautiful queen lived. Ilja did not allow her beauty to seduce him, and put her in chains. He then set free the knights whom the cunning queen kept imprisoned in her palace, and distributed amongst them all the wealth that he had found in the palace. He returned once more to the stone and took the third road, where he found huge treasures of gold, silver, and pearls. Out of this treasure he ordered churches and monasteries to be built, and himself took nothing for himself. During the building, Ilja was carried over by the invisible power of an angel into the monastery of Pederak, near Kiev, where he breathed out his soul. It is surely impossible to imagine a more beautiful apotheosis than that with which the Russians have celebrated their well-beloved popular hero.

2. Southern Slava. - Popular epic flourished richly among the Southern Slavs (Serbs, Croats, and Bulgarians). When, at the beginning of the 19th century, these epic songs appeared, they aroused genuine admiration in advanced Europe, owing to their variety as well as their content and poetic form. They are from the Russian epic, especially in their contents, which are more simple: each song usually contains only one epic motif, whereas the Russian poems are, as a rule, compositions made up of different subjects, and represent a higher and more artistic degree of epic evolution. The greatest merit in the collection of the popular songs of the Southern Slavs is due to Vaclav Stepanovic Karadzic; his example was followed later by many other collectors.

There is no certainty as to the age of the epic of the Southern Slavs. Some scholars place the beginning of these epic productions as far back as the 12th and 13th centuries; others fix on the 16th century. It is probable that the epic creative faculty of the Southern Slavs did not begin to develop until after the great historical revolutions in the second half of the 14th century. Its highest development is to be placed, therefore, in the 15th century. As among the Russians, so among the Southern Slavs, heroic songs were composed at first by professional bard, and afterward by teachers in the schools. Afterwards they were taken up by popular singers, the guslarj, so called after the musical instrument gusla (a sort of violin) on which they accompanied their songs.

Historical events are the chief topics of the Southern Slavic epic; very few nations have preserved the image of their past events in their national poetry so vividly as the Serbs and Bulgarians. First of all, the songs celebrate certain monarachs of the Nemanid family (1168-1371), who are praised for their pious disposition, which they often evinced by founding churches and monasteries. Far richer is the cycle of songs whose central theme is the ill-fated battle on the field of Kosovo (1389), with which the Turkish supremacy began. The songs of this cycle describe partly single events in connection with that battle, partly the principal heroes who took part in the fight (Miloše Obilic, the Czar Lazar, Vuk Brankovic, the brothers Jurovic, etc.). It is curious that the defeat of Kosovo is related as a disaster predestined by God to the Serbian people.

The most beloved hero of the Southern Slavic epic is Primo Marko († 1394). Nearly a hundred songs about him are current, describing his life and heroic deeds, from his birth to his death. They contain very few historical reminiscences, but popular singers have connected various Biblical, legendary, and fabulous motifs with him, and transformed him into a semi-mythical being. He was educated by mythical beings, evil (fairies), who bestowed superhuman power on him. Marko makes use of this power for the benefit of his fellow-men, subduing the tyrannical principalities, and administering stern justice. He hates violence and loves liberty; he sets prisoners free, and willingly helps the unhappy. He is at the same time pious, and undertakes the hardest battles for the Christian faith. When dying, he bequeaths one part of his gold to him who will bury him, the second for the embellishment of churches, and the third to the blind bards that they may sing his glory.

Another cycle represents the historical events after the battle of Kosovo and describes the wars between the Serbs and the Turks down to the complete enslavement of Servia in 1521. The chief heroes of this cycle are the Servian monarchs of the family of Brankovic, and the Kings of Hungary who fought against the Turks. Under the cruel Turkish yoke, these songs took the place of history and poetry among the Southern Slavs. They celebrate their past, glorious past, but also contemporary events, especially the petty battles of the Slavs in revolt against the Turks. They differ from the Russian epic in many motifs, whereas the epic of the Southern Slavs takes its place high above all similar epic products of other nations.

Besides these historical subjects, which, of course, the popular singers changed and adorned in various ways according to their imagination, they were included in the living stream of South Slavic epic many motifs, partly apocryphal (creation of the world), partly legendary (about incest, imolation of one's own child), and partly fabulous (about the dead brother, enmurement of people in buildings, the serpent-bridgegroom, the unfailureful mother, etc.). Owing to this great variety of poetic motifs, the epic of the Southern Slavs takes its place high above all similar epic products of other nations.

The most notable names in the interpretation of the South Slavic songs are Vuk Stefanovic Jagodic, T. Maresic, M. Cholakaski, and Anem Soorenens.

3. Little Russians. — The heroic songs of the Little Russians (Ukrainian) are called dumy. They took their rise among the famous Cossacks, and their authors were professional minstrels, educated in vocal schools, the number of which was very considerable in the Ukraine. The music of the present singers of the dumy is kobari, from the musical instrument kobasa, similar to the guitar.
HEROES AND HERO-GODS (Teutonic)

The most explicit reference to the practice of hero-worship among Teutonic peoples occurs in the following passage from Jordanes (deGetarium Orientalis, v. 8):

"...processus moæs, quisque fortunis vincendæ, nos pluris hommes, sed semidies, id est Anses, vocavæ." (Hildesheim)

The practice of hero-worship in the Teutonic cultures is well documented. For example, a similar custom is found in the Saga of Hákon the Good (Heimskringla, iv. 10):

"Men drank also a cup to their dead kinsmen who had been buried at their funeral...and that was called the cup of memory."

An extreme case of the representation of a hero as a supernatural being is that of Dietrich von Bern, who becomes, not only a god, but a demon—a point of view due to ecclesiastical hostility towards the Arian king, and the slayer of the Pope. Hence he occurs in legend as the Wild Huntsman, and the connexion of his

name with places such as the Castle of Saint Angelo and the Amphitheatre of Verona shows him under the aspect of a local, though hardly tutelary, hero (ed. Deutsche Predigten, 4, 13; Antek, p. 76; Grimm, Deutsche Mythologie, Berlin, 1875-78, vol. iii. ch. xxxvi.). A classical parallel may possibly be found in the story of Minos. In Attic tradition—naturally unfavoured by us—this is generally represented as 'a tyrant... and violent, and an erector of tribute' (Strabo, x. 4. 8 (p. 478); while his sea-power, this connotes with the Minotaur, and his position as one of the judges in Hades after his death, combine to endow him with a semi-supernatural character.

In later times, up to the 10th and 11th centuries, we hear among the Scandianavian peoples of being, apparently human, receiving divine honours. In Landsmåbolok (pt. 1. ch. xiv.), mention is made of one Grim, who 'because of his popularity was worshipped when dead, and called Kamban.' By this name he is twice referred to elsewhere in the same work. Similarly in Flateyjarbók (Sagas hans heita, ch. vi.) an account is given of Ólaf, brother of Halfdan the Black, who after death is worshipped under the name of Geirrørkaskið, and receives sacrifices offered to ensure a good harvest. This mention of sacrifice in connexion with the barrow of a dead hero is reminiscent of the cult of the dead to which Burchard of Worms bears witness (Decretal, bk. x. ch. v., 'de Superstitione'); 'the offerings that in certain places are made at the tombs of the dead.' An illustration of the virtue so referred to is found from the dead body of a hero is found in the story of Halfdan the Black (Heimskringla, ii. 9), where we are told that his body was claimed by four districts, each 'thinking that it might expect to have plentiful seasons thereby.' To avoid discord, the body was then divided into four parts, and the resting-place of the head was specially mentioned.

An extreme case, amounting to more than hero-worship, is found in the dedication of King Eric of Sweden, narrated by Rimbert in his Life of Ansgar (ch. 20). Bishop Ansgar found his missionary efforts among the Swedes, in the middle of the 9th cent., temporarily checked by a man who claimed to have received a message from the gods. They deplored the decay of their sacrifices, and offered an inducement to renewal of worship:

'If you desire to have more gods, and we are not sufficient, then do we now, with unanimous decision, admit your former King Eric into our community, so that he henceforth is one of the gods.' The people, therefore, 'built a temple to King Eric, who had died long before, and began to offer to him vows and sacrifices as to a god.'

Reference is made to this by Adam of Bremen in his Gesta (iv. 20): the Swedes 'also worship gods made from men, to whom they sacrifice immortality because of their mighty deeds, as it is recorded that they did with King Eric in the life of Saint Ansgar.'

Dedication was probably by no means uncommon, but the circumstances in this case are somewhat unusual.

Reference is frequently found to some supernatural beings who may at one time have been regarded as human, or who have taken certain elements of heroic worship. The ethnographic account of Frey in Ynglingsaga (4. 13, and passim), and of his priest-kingship over the Swedes, if at all reliable, would point to a fusion of human and divine attributes—the priest-king combined with the deity of fertility. Members of the Swedish royal house claimed descent from Frey, and were called Yngvi, from the god's full name Yngvileifrey (Ynglingsaga, 20); since K. Roth, Leipzig, 1539, the eponymous ancestor of the Danish kings, the Skjoldungar or Skjoldingsa. The name Yngvi can be traced in Tacitus (Germ. 2), who, basing his account on ancient native poems, states that the
races of the Germani trace their descent from the god Tulsto and his son Mannus; from the latter spring 'three sons, from whose names those who are nearest to the Ocean are called Ingusonne (probably for Ingusonne), the central tribes Hermionis, and the rest Istusonne.' These names occur again in Pinyre as group-names of the Germani, while in the Frankish genealogy the descent of thirteen nations is traced to three brothers, Ermenus, Ingvo, and Istio. From the foregoing, we may possibly trace a human element in Thorgerdr, Holgerbrodt, and Yrpr, her sister. In Nylda Saga (88), where Hrapp committs sacrilege in their temple, and in Jomsvig Saga (44), where Earl Hakon, their votary, sacrifices his son to them in order to gain victory, they are obviously goddesses; but in Skaldahorn (Bk. III.), as in Sazko (Bk. III.), Thorgerdr appears in connexion with a character Helgi, who is apparently the eponymous hero of Halsalagand. The importance, among Germanic races, of women as prophetesses is attested by Strabo in his description of the part played by 'holy prophetesses' in the sacrifice of captives, and in divination from their blood (vii. 2). Tacitus (Germ. 8) says:

'These holy and prophetic powers ... many others are venerated, not out of servility, or as if they were beguiling mortals. As examples, he refers to Aturis (probably for Albruna) and to Veola, and a further account of the latter is found in his Historiae (vii. 61, 62):' Veola, a maiden of the tribe of the Franko, possessed prophetic power; she descended into a divine sleep, and was a messenger of a divinity, the questions and answers, &c. in her intercourse with the Roman ambassadors.

It is perhaps possible to regard the Germanic reverence for women, and the large part played by them in divination and sacrifice, as a parallel with the importance attached to the cult of the Matar. Though this is considered to have been originally a Celtic cult (cf. Roscher, s. v. 'Matres'), it was apparently common to Germany and Gaul. One aspect especially of the Matres, whereby they are associated with the Matres, &c., or guardians of the military camp (cf. M. Sieburg, de Sulcovia Compestribus Fata, Bonn, 1886), may be compared with the account by Tacitus. It must, however, be borne in mind that the function of the Matres is essentially protective, not warlike. If it were possible to connect Bede's interesting reference (de Tempore Ratione, 18) to the sacrifices on Modranicht, id est matrum noctem, on the one hand, with the Matres-cult, and, on the other hand, with the disibiit of the Scandinavians (cf. Ynglings Saga, 33), a link would be formed between the different phases of Germanic goddess-cult. Similarly, too, if the Æsir may be identified in part with the gods of the Franks, the human element reappears again, for certain of the Valkyries, e.g. Brynhildr, undoubtedly have some human characteristics.

With regard to the ethical aspect of non-deified heroes in the Teutonic epics, the extant accounts either date from Christian times or are so largely overlaid with Christian thought as to render it difficult to form a definite idea of any rules of conduct governing their lives. As far as we can gather from the records, the chief virtues throughout the Heroic Ages seem to have been courage and generosity: the combination of the two would appear to have been sufficient to win fame, and thus to attain the ideal object of a hero's existence, as Boewulf confesses:

'Let him who o'er the helm rides with me, and his heart holds the might that can come to a knight in after times, when he is no more.' (1897 R.)

The individual imperatives of all restraint resulted in faults of excess, and crimes of passion and savagery. Revenge was not only allowed, but was a duty, and was taken not only for shedding of blood, but also for lesser wrongs; thus Egil revenges himself on Arnor for scanty hospitality, by insulting him and blinding him in one eye (Egil Saga Skogafismannar, 76). The poet, however, does appear clearly—personal loyalty and honourable devotion, as that of a retainer to his lord. It may be objected that this was won and retained chiefly by gifts, but proof of its power is given even by foreign historians; thus, when Polchere (Pholoe) dies, overpowered by the Franks, 'upon his body his followers fell to a man' (Agamemn. i. 10). Treachery, invidility, and cunning were hated, but were probably largely practised, especially in the interests of self. The tendency of the age was individualistic, and its annals have many dark records; but it may be urged in externality that the aspect of the Teutonic hero and deeds which would naturally appear in history and song is one-sided, and omits far more than it records.

LITERATURE.—No definite literature on the subject exists. Compare the references quoted in the course of the article, and such general works as E. Mögk, in Pan. Grundzüge der germ. Philologie 4, (Stuttgart, 1890); E. H. Mayer, Germanische Mythologie, Berlin, 1891; Chantre de la Salamandre, Religions of the Teutons, Boston, 1895.

M. E. SEATON.

HESIOD.—For the Greeks of the 8th cent. B.C. Homer and Hesiod stood side by side as the two great poet masters: Homer the singer of war and adventure, Hesiod the inspired teacher of practical wisdom. Thus Aristophanes (Fros, 1030-36) puts into the mouth of Äsbylos these words:

"Consider from the beginning how the noble poets have been. Ophrynchus taught us mystic rites and to refrain from murder; Mousa taught us the healing of disease and granaries; Hesiod taught us the digging of the earth, the seasons of crops, ploughing; and the divine Homer, bestowed upon us honour and glory from this, that he taught men good things, and taught them to shift the massing of troops, deeds of valor, arming of men!"

The contrast between the Homeric and the Hesiodic epics is concisely put in the words which, as Hesiod tells us, the Muses addressed to him when they gave him his call to poetry (Theog. 28 fl.): 'Shepherds of the fields, evil things of shame, belles only! We speak to fill many things that wear the guise of truth, and know also when we will to utter truth. To tell true things is the characteristic of didactic poetry."

The locus classicus as to the poems attributed to Hesiod in antiquity is Pausanias, Description of Greece, Ix. 21. 1:"

"The Muses who dwell round Hecale report it as the traditional opinion that Hesiod wrote no other poem than the Works and Days; and that from them they take away the Fates (I. 1-10), saying that the poet begins with the lines on the Fates (I. 11)." And it is added that the fountain (Hippocrene) is, for the most part, destroyed by time, and on it is inscribed the Works. But there is another and different opinion, which states that Hesiod wrote no more epics, those on women, and the so-called Great Fates, and the Theogony, and a poem on oracles, now lost, and how Thebes descended into Hades along with Pithocides, the Address to Charon for the instruction of the deceased, and all that is embraced by the Works and Days. These same people say also that Hesiod received instruction in prophecy from the Aegyptians. And there exist prophetic verses which I myself have read, and Explorations of Portents."

Fragments of most of these poems have come down to us, and are approximately complete form the Works and Days, and the Theo-
gony, as well as the so-called Shield of Herakles, which may be a fragment from the Eosin.

It is impossible here to enter into minute questions of date and authenticity. The ancient sources of information are numerous. Homer is our principal authority. He says: "That as gods, they all existed forever, and what form particular gods have, they (the Greeks) did not say (or do) to the other day. For I consider that Hesiod and Homer lived four hundred years before my time, and no more. And it was they who created the theogony of the Greeks, and who gave it to our descendants, to their honour and their fame, and made them into immortal gods. And the poets who are said to have lived before Hesiod and Homer were, in my opinion, later."

Without dogmatizing about particular lines, if we assume that the bulk of the Works and Days of Hesiod and the Theogony belongs to about 800 B.C., we shall probably be sufficiently near the mark. It may be noted that in the Works (566 ff.), Hesiod says: "When Zeus hath completed sixty days after the turning of the sun, then the star Arcturus, leaving the sacred stream of Ocean, first riseth at even, and the evening or aconychial rising of Arcturus takes place sixty days after the winter solstice, which for lat. 38° gives a date 800 B.C. But, as there was a tendency to give constant dates for these changes, we cannot perhaps build too much on this.

In considering the theology of Hesiod, it is well to recall that, whatever we find either the lucidity or the consistency which we should require in a modern theologian. We shall expect to find elements of quite different dates and of quite different stages of spiritual advancement existing side by side, with no attempt at reconciliation. As some great river carries to the sea the gathered testimony of its long wandering from the source—the children of the gods, and assigned it birth—in his high mountain cradle in Paeon—and the poet, using the materials of his nameless and unknown predecessors, refining here, adding something there, creates at last the literary masterpiece which henceforth bears his name and his name only, though many a long-silent tongue, and many a long-drawn breath, has contributed to the common end. We shall find in Hesiod only a few traces of the conscious reflection, tending towards the reconciliation and purification of the ancient myths, which is so clearly seen in Pindar and Eschylus. Hence the reproach of Xenophon of Colophon (c. 360 B.C.): 'Homer and Hesiod accord to all gods the things that among men are a shame and a reproach—to steal, and to commit adultery, and to dissolve one another.' But men cleave piously to an ancient tradition long after the time of this and morally re-nounced it, and we shall form a truer conception of the ethical advancement of the early poet, if we judge him not by his lowest but by his highest.

The purpose of the Theogony is to give a systematic account of the genealogy of these gods, of Theog. 104 ff.: 'All daughters of Zeus, and great dactyle song. Sting ye the holy race of the deathless gods which are for ever; even them that were born of Earth, and the Heaven, and dayly Night, and those whom the breath of Ocean brought forth. And down from the beginning God and Earth came into being, and Rivers and the Infinite Sea with reeding flood, and the shining Stars, and the Wide Heaven above, and the Gods which sprang from them, of good things, and how they divided their wealth, and how they apportioned their honours; yes, and how at the first they potted them of manyfold Olympian. Things these, even from the beginning, declares ye upon which we shall go, to the walls of Olympus, and tell me which of them was first created.'

But it includes also some cases of the union of gods with mortal women (201 and 368 to end) somewhat more detailed account of the union of goddess mothers with mortal sires.

In broad outline the order of creation in the Theogony is as follows: First came Chaos, a

void space; then Earth and Eros (Love). From Chaos sprang Erebo and Night, and from Night in union with Erebo sprang Aether and Day. Earth first bore Oureanos (Heaven), and the Mountains and the Sea (Pontus). These and the deities that they existed forever, and what form particular gods have, they (the Greeks) did not say "the other day. For I consider that Hesiod and Homer lived four hundred years before my time, and no more. And it was they who created the theogony of the Greeks, and who gave it to our descendants, to their honour and their fame, and assigned them to their honours and arts, and marked their forms. And the poets who are said to have lived before Hesiod and Homer were, in my opinion, later."

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In broad outline the order of creation in the Theogony is as follows: First came Chaos, a
(3) Next the gods created 'a far inferior race, a race of Silver, of silver-like beauty and of the Golden race.' These had a long childhood, but a short life.

"For a hundred years the child grew up by his good mother's side, playing in utter childhood in his home. But when he grew up to manhood and came to the full measure of age, for but a brief space they lived and in sorrow, by reason of their foolishness and the bringing of woe to the race. For neither would they worship the dead gods, nor do sacrifices on the holy altars of the Blessed Gods, as is the manner of men wherever they dwell."

So Zeus hid them, being wroth because they did not give honour to the blessed gods. They now dwelt beneath the earth and were called the blessed dead; of lower rank (i.e. than the Spirits of the Golden race), yet they too have their honour.

(3) Next Zeus created a third race—a race of Bronze, sprung from the Ash-tree nymphs, or Meliads. The men of the third race were fierce and warlike, strong of arm and of heart. They did not eat bread (i.e., apparently, they lived on flesh). "Of bronze was their armour, of bronze their dining-hall, of bronze their couches, right. Black iron was not yet." This race perished by their own hands and went down to the dark house of Hades, namely the Elysian Fields.

(5) Next Zeus created a fourth race, 'a juster race and a better, a godlike race of hero men who are called demi-gods (ἀνδρῶν ἄνθρωποι τετελέσθη, οἱ ἄνδροι θειότοτοι), the earlier race among man (i.e., the race which immediately preceded the present). This race is the men of the Heroic Age, who perished at Thebes and at Troy. These are now in the Islands of the Blest; "the gods, the sons of Kronos, gave them a life and an abode apart from men, and established them at the ends of the earth and far from the dead gods; among them Kronos is king. And they, with soul unclouded of sorrow, dwell in the Islands of the Blest because of the Oceans: happy heroes, for whom the bounteous earth bares honeyweet fruit fresh through the year."

(5) Then followed the fifth race (i.e. the present race), which 'is very near a race of iron, and Hesiod expresses the wish that he had either died before or been born afterwards.' It is destined to become progressively more wicked:

"Father shall not be like to his children, nor the children like to their father; nor shall a woman honour her husband or be her friend, nor brother to brother shall be dear as before; and they shall give no honour to their swiftest ageing parents, and shall chide them with words of bitter speech, mockful men, knowing not the fear of the gods. These will not return to their aged parents the fruits of their care; but might shall be right, and men shall seek the other's city. Neither shall there be any respect or obedience towards the father or of the god; rather they shall honour the dog of evil and the man of insouciance. Right shall be in man's hand, and Hesiod shall be no more; the bad shall wrong the better man, speaking crooked words and abusing the good, leading men astray, as the goddess of Hesiod's hate, of hateful counsels, shall follow all men to their sorrow. Then shall Revenence and Awe veil their fair bodies in white robes and depart from the wide-earth earth unto Olympus to join the company of the Immortals, forsaking men; but for men that die shall remain but miserable woes; and against evil there shall be no avail."

The end of this race—for whom also good shall be mingled with evil—'is foretold in the curious words: 'This race also of mortal men shall Zeus destroy when they shall be hoary-tempted at their birth.' The expression becomes quite intelligible if we remember that was said of the Golden and Silver races. The men of the Golden Age knew no old age. They remained 'unchanged in hand and food' (not some of Zeus fell asleep); the Silver race, again, had a childhood of a hundred years. The idea is that childhood becomes progressively shorter until finally men are grown before their birth; this shall be the sign of the end. It is interesting to compare the myth in Plato's Politicus (366 E–374 F; see J. Adam, Plato's Religion, London, 1902, Appendix to the text, p. 205 F.). Ridley (Early Age of Greece, Cambridge, 1901, L 628), that it 'is some sort of

oral utterance referring to fair-haired invaders of some Teutonic stock, 'is entirely fanciful."

In this account of the fall of man no reason is given for the fall. But in Works, 90, 95-108, and Theogony, 535 ff., we have another account of the history of human degeneration which, taking no account of the Five Races, ascribes the coming of evil into the world to the sinning of womankind (i.e., we read how, when the gods and mortal men were contending at Mekone (Sikyon), Prometheus 'put up a mighty ox and set it before them, and the mind of Zeus. For he set for them the flesh and the innards with rich fat upon a hide, and covered them with an ox paunch: but for Zeus he set the white bones, arraying them crustily, and covering them with glistening fat. Then the Father of Gods and men spake unto him: "Son of Iapetos, most notable of all princes, how unfairly, O food! hast thou divided the portions! So spake Zeus, who knewest counsels inscrutable, of the everlasting gods, of these portions choose whichever thy soul within by breast bidst thee." So spake he with crafty intent. But Zeus, who knewest counsels imperishable, knew not and failed not to remark the gulle, and in his heart moved, Zeus the Cloud-giver spake unto him: "Son of Iapetos, who knowest ancient counsel with all others, O food! thou best not yet forgotten thy crafty gulle." So in anger spake Zeus, who kneweth counsel inscrutable, of the everlasting gods. And thereonafter, remembering evermore that gulle, he gave not the right of the ox paunch to Iapetos, but sent it upon the earth. But the good son of Iapetos deceived him and stole the fair-hued gleam of unweary fire in a hollow fennel-stalk, and strong to the depth of the heart of Zeus who addressed him on high, and angered his heart when he beheld among men the bright-glimming fire of fire. And straightway he darted evil for men.""

Hesiod goes on to tell how, to punish men, Zeus made Hephaestus make fire, and he set it on a woman (590 ff.) we have a tirade upon the sins of woman; but the Theogony gives no hint of any definite fall brought about by the creation of woman. In the Works he is somewhat more explicit. He first tells how

"Zeus in his anger hid the bread of life, for that Prometheus of crooked counsels had deceived him. Wherewith he caused sorrow for men, and hid fire. But the good son of Iapetos stole it again for men from Zeus the Counselor in a hollow fennel-stalk, what time the Hunter of the Thunder knew not. To punish men, we are told, Zeus caused Hephaestus to fashion the first woman (Eve). Then Hesiod proceeds to say (590 F.): 'For of old the tribes of men lived on the earth apart from evil and grievous toil and more thoughteth than the fates of death to men. For in the day of evil men speedily was old. But the woman took of the good gift of the jar with her hands and made a scattering thereof and devised hateful sorrows for men. Only Hope was within in her unbreakable chamber under the lips of the jar and saw not forth. For ere she could, the woman put on the lid of the Jar, as Zeus the Lord of the Agnath, the Gatherer of the Clouds, desired. But ten thousand other evils wander among men. For the earth is full of evil, and the sea is full. By night and day and the diseases of their own motion, bringing evil unto mortal men, silently, since Zeus the Counselor took away their voice. So surely may none escape the will of Zeus.'"

Hesiod continues (590 F.): 'and he named this woman Pandora, for that all the dwellers in Olympus had bestowed on her a gift. It seems that the truth is rather that Pandora is only another name for Ge, Earth, as the giver of all things. Hesiod's account seems to imply that the contents of the jar were evils; later accounts vary between evils and goods. There is in any case some difficulty about the inclusion of Hope (Eris)."

A comparison with the Roman Prom. 'I made men cease to foresee their doom,' Cho. 'What cure didst thou find for this disease?' Prom. 'I planted in men blind hope (Er Disclaimer) suggests that Er disclaimer might itself be reckoned an evil. But the matter cannot be dismissed so. It should be noted that the epithet 'ero' ('eros'), ' unconscious, 'bears' have no other meaning than merely to indicate prodigious antithesis (Early Age of Greece). As, for instance, 'made other mean either 'made of gold, etc.,' or 'working with gold, etc.'
Hierodoloi (Graeco-Roman) - In classical antiquity this term designated certain temple ministers who were below the rank of priests, and usually, if not invariably, of servile status; but how far it was, or ought to be, applied to all temple slaves, and even to certain free persons who gave voluntary service to the gods, is a question which E. Curtius (Anc. Delph., Berlin, 1843, p. 18 f.) led the way in giving it a very wide application, inclusive even of slaves manumitted by dedication or sale to a god, and he has been generally followed (cf., e.g., Daremberg-Saglio, etc.). But the rarity of the occurrence of the term itself in Greek authors and inscriptions; the distinction sometimes implied in our authorities between hierodoloi and certain other ministers, e.g. temple-sweepers (rēveēes); and the peculiar nature of the cults in connexion with which the term does actually occur—these considerations suggest that hierodoloi were extraordinary class, not found in all temples or cults, and not to be confounded with the mass of sacred slaves.

The term itself has not been found in any author or inscription of earlier date than the Augustan period. Strabo uses it of ministers of the temple of Isis at the two Comas (353, 559), of Zeus at Venus in Morimine (357), and of Men Phases at Cabeira-Sebaste. These shrines are all Carpathian. It uses it also in connexion with two temples of Aphrodite—one at Eryx in Sicily (372), and the other at Corinth (378). It is not used by Lucian in connexion with the cult of the Syracusan goddess at Hierapolis; and its only other occur-

long to the blessed gods" (727 ff.). The nails of the hand should not be cut at a festival of the gods (742 ff.). Sexual uncleanness is recognized (753 ff.).

There is no space here to speak of the various precepts of traditional lore of a practical kind to be found in Hierolet; of the things which it is unlucky to do; of the days which are lucky or unlucky, either altogether or partly and for specific works (765-825).

The most striking thing about the Hieroletic teaching is that here, as, in the Hebrew 'Wisdom,' there is no question of a life after death. It is in this life that the just man finds his reward. It is in this life that the unjust meets his punishment. Good and bad alike, without distinction, go down to Hades—as far beneath the earth as the heavens are above the earth—and there is no distinction of fortune for the dead.

Death 'hath a heart of iron, and brazen and pitiless is the soul within his breast. Whomsoever men he once hath raised, he keepeth; and he is hate of the dead souls. In front stand the echoing balls of the god of the under world, of strong Hades and dread Parephose. And a dread dog keepeth watch before them; pitiless he is and hath an evil snarl. On them that enter he knoweth with his tail and snout both his ears; but to come forth again he allowed none, but keepeth watch and devoureth many a soul. And from the gates of strong Hades and dread Parephose (Theog. 788 ff.; cf. Crossan). There is a hint of the doctrine of atonement in

Hierodoloi (Graeco-Roman). In the Pandora myth, as seen J. E. Harrison, JHS xx. (1900) 99 ff.

The cardinal virtues in Hierolet are Industry and Justice.

"Work is no reproach, idleness is a reproach" (Words, 311).

"For parents that hunger may either theirs, and that Demeters may love them and the barn with livelihood" (390 ff.). The god Hermes deals with all this idleness, like the Thracian pirates whom, like the Thracian pirates whom, the travelers in the idleness of the man, do nothing but make the earth and the world works; clad in mist, facing everywhere over the earth. Also, there is the maiden Justice, the daughter of Zeus, glorious and worshipful among the gods who hold Olympos. And whenever one inflicts harm with crossed revolving, straightforwardly she stethes by Zeus the Pater, the son of Eros, and believes of the righteous-minded man, to make the people pay for the folly of their rulers, who with ill thoughts wrongs under judge, declaring falsely (344 ff.).

Injustice is punished in this world by all manner of disaster, more or less severe by land and by sea (242 ff.). On the other hand, those who do justice prosper:

"Peace be in bad land, the muse of children, and Zeus doth never decree war for them. Neither doth famine nor does concord with men who deal straight with them, but they do their work with gladness much livelihood, and on the hills the oak's top beareth for them, and the beast hide beest; because they are heavy with wool and their wives bear children like unto their parents; they flourish with fruit, and their ports are full of ships, but housetops earth beareth fruit for them" (288 ff.).

Hierodoloi is confident that justice is better in the end:

"How may neither I nor son of mine be just among men. The other way is better, thou, if the unjust shall have the greater happiness. Howbeit, this I do not that Zeus, the Hur of the Thunder, will bring to pass" (270 ff.).

Justice is the distinguishing mark between man and the lower animals:

"This law hath the son of Kronos appointed, that fishes and wild beasts and the fowls of the air should devour one another, since there is no justice among them. But to men he hath given justice, which is far the best" (275 ff.).

The sins of the fathers are visited on the children, but the children of the just are better in the after days (284 ff.; cf. Æsch. Ag. 788 ff.).

Some prohibitions enjoined by Hierodoloi are:

Thou shalt not commit adultery (323). Thou shalt not wrong the suppliant or the stranger (327). Thou shalt not wrong the orphan (330). Thou shalt not steal (333). Thou shalt be not false witness (709).

Among specifically religious precepts the duty of worshiping the gods is insisted on.1

According to thy power do sacrifice to the dead gods in holy wise and pure, and burn splendid thigh pieces; at other times provide them with libations and incense, both when thou goest to bed and when the sacred light comes, that they may have a magnificent drink and be directed toward thee, that thou mayest buy another's estate, not another thine" (386 ff.).

In particular, ceremonial purity is emphasized: libations are not to be made to the gods with unwashed hands (794 ff.; cf. Homer, H. vi. 356 ff.). Certain necessary functions are to be performed discreetly even by night; 'for the nights too be

1 J. E. Harrison, Thespie, 96, writes of Hierodoloi that 'when it is its duties, these duties are not to glorify Athens or to offer burnt sacrifices to Zeus, they are not prescribed or sacrifices in any form, but simply the observance of sanctuaries, attentions, positive and negative.' For this there is no mention of the supposed attendants of Hierodoloi.
HIERODOUloi (Semitic and Egyptian)

In literature seem to be where Plato employs it of Jewish ministrants (ili. p. 420)—probably a loose use of translation—and where Plutarch (Aem. 21) speaks rhetorically of the power of love over great men, who katharos hiero
doulous.

As for inscriptions, we have a stele from an unknown Cydonian Asklepios at Pselphis in Nubia, and another of a name (in the time of Marcus Aurelius) to Zeus Helios by one who describes himself as le
doulous patai lepsoi katoi. At Ostia a stele of Serapis dedicates to the lepsoi katoi; and at Sarepta in a text concerning the erection of public buildings, we hear of a stele of the seafarers in Sicily and Italy, the venerae of Erino and the Martyrodi of Larinum (CIG. 2327, 3202; CIG. Ital. and Sic. 3254, 914; CIG. 6000; Dittenberger, Syll. Leipzig, 1898, p. 293).

At each of the two Comas, according to Strabo, there were about 6000 hiero
doulous; at the southern they formed the major part of the population; at the northern they were the high priest for every kind of service, but might not be sold. In both cases they were of both sexes. At Venissa there were 3000, and these formed 20,000, according to Strabo. At Cebeira they were numerous, and tilled the sacred soil. At Eryx and Corinth only females are mentioned; and these were prostitutes, dedicated, we are told, by both men and women, to the service of the gods. At the first shrine they had been numerous, but in Strabo's time the prac
tice of dedicating them had largely declined; at the second there were about 1000, famous among seafaring men for their beauty and greed. It was to these women, doublets, that Pindar devoted the ode of which we have a beautiful fragment (87); but he did not call them lepsoi katoi.

At Eryx and Corinth, then, we see that the lepsoi katoi were nothing but female prostitutes, who gave all their earnings to the temple. At Comana Pont, Strabo (p. 559) evidently means us to understand that a part of the lepsoi katoi were included in the patai katoi lepsoi katoi of the ephoroi, who made the place 'a little Corinth.' But at Comana Capp., Venissa, and Cabeira we are not explicitly informed that the lepsoi katoi did anything but cultivate the temple lands. At the first shrine they were distinguished from a class of bearers of sacred images or emblems, the theophoroi, who took part in the theophania, mentioned also at Comana Pont, and who were supposed by Rennay (list of the episcopate) and bishops of Phrygia, i. (Oxford, 1895-97) 136 to have been voluntary servants of free condition. There is no doubt that the term hiero
doulous, in all the instances so far dis
cussed, means serfs, whose bodies were absolutely at the god's service and the priest's discretion, to be used either for purposes of labour or prosti
tution. They were inalienable, but probably could not acquire freedom; on the whole, they represent a class of slave whose condition was worse than was customary or generally approved in Hellenic, whatever its sacrosanct character. The term, however, more generally used in popular or official passage, especially in lepsoi katoi, but it would not be safe to say that he intends any precise distinction. Nor can we say whether the patai katoi were included in the lepsoi katoi, so concerning its use. The Syracusan inscription, however, seems clearly to distinguish lepsoi katoi from mere serfs; and the lepsoi katoi of the Roman text equally clearly seem to be priests of the temple and to indicate his office—lepsoi katoi katoi katoi.

If other temple ministrants are to be included popularly under the term, it should only be temporary ones, such as, e. g., the ephoroi of Zeus at Olympia (Strabo, p. 592), the doulai of Asclepius at Ephesi (Pausan. 8. 797), and such captives as the Phoenicians of Euphrates, or the remanens and uroth mentioned by Herodotus.

The term cannot have included free men and women who offered their services to the god for life or for a time, such as the Armenian ladies who prostituted themselves in the sanctuary of Apollo (Hom. Hymn. Apoll. Del. 137). Even such as a case as that of Ion in Euripides' drama was excluded; for, though a founding, he can say lepsoi to katoi thei athenai Eryx, i.e., his service was voluntary like that of all whom he calls Xeporoi katoi (Eur. Ion, 1284, 109). More clearly akin, perhaps, to the Eastern Assyro
do were certain cultivators of sacred lands in Sicily and Italy, the venerari of Eryx and the Martiales of Larinum (CIG. 2327, 50; 51, ii. 34, 141, pro Clemente, x. 45).

It is true that such a class as the lepsoi katoi was not likely to secure frequent mention in ancient author's inscriptions; but it is impossible not to attach weight to the fact that only in a very few localities do we actually hear of lepsoi katoi, and even in these not till a period at which Assyrian cults had become very widespread among Greek and Romans. We prefer, therefore, to regard them as a peculiar class of servile ministrants not identical with the normal temple slaves of Greece or Italy. Their con
dition and their service, in spite of the fact that it was usually to have been escheated on Greek soil; and we must infer that the nature of their servility, both as culti
vators and temple slaves, was such as to be more congenial to the West than to the East.1

If we are right, then there is no further question of the manumission of slaves by sale, real or fictitious, to a god being a preliminary to the state of lepsoi katoi, although it may very well have led to their becoming in many cases ordinary temple servants, or even lepsoi.2 That a slave could be dedicated to a temple service is clearly shown by a curious inscription of Lebadea,3 wherein a son, acting under his father's will, manumitted a slave by dedicating him to Zeus Basileus and Tro
dphonius, stating that his duty will be lepsoi katoi en tēn 

1 The text is given in the article.

HIERODOUloi (Semitic and Egyptian).—This term, which signifies simply 'sacred servants,' is employed by scholars to designate religious officials whose functions included sexual rites. Such officials can be traced in connexion with several shrines, and probably existed at others, as the evidence of an archaic hymn has survived. Those officials were of both sexes, though, as is natural, evidence for the existence of female HIERODOUloi is much more abundant than for male. 2 As Rennay, 7. 21, 174; Rennay represents the hiero
doulous, as the institution was modified by the development of western civilization in Asia Minor.

Babylonian.—Evidence for the existence of female herodoulou at Erech, in Babylonia, in
connexion with the worship of the goddess Ishtar, is found in the case of a female captive of the
epic contains the story of Eabani, a wild
man, who terrified a hunter whom Gilgamesh sent
against him. The hunter was directed to take
with him a woman, who was called "Herodoule,"
or consecrated to a deity; this woman, when they
approached Eabani, opened wide her garments,
exposing her charms, yielded herself to his
bonds, and for six days and seven nights gratified
his desires, until he was won from his wild life. 1
In the light of the evidence from other archives,
the presence of these women leaves little doubt
that this woman who was herodous was a sacred
prostitute belonging to the temple of Ishtar at
Erech.

From the code of Hammurabi, which was set up
in Easgali, the temple of Marduk at Babylon,
it appears that similar functionaries existed elswhere, and it was given by law that the code
The code was meant for Hammurabi's whole realm,
and accordingly implies that such women might
be connected with any temple of the land. Direct
proof of the wide-spread nature of the institution
is found in 182, where 'women of Marduk,' the
god of the city of Babylon, are granted greater
rights in the inheritance of the property of an
intestate father than other women of this class,
as well as in the business documents, which men-
tion the consecrated women of various gods.

The code of Hammurabi prescribed to such
women. They are called Nin-ah, 'woman of a
god'; Sal-siram, 'vowed woman,' or possibly
'servant-woman,' if Siram be taken from a different
root; Sal-sar-Lea, which is defined in the bilingu-
lar text as gudidus, 'holy one'; and Sal-
Nin-Be, which is defined as Sirmatait, 'seed-
purifying' or 'seed-forgetful' ones. It is probable
that she took a part in the worship of the peculiar
priesthood. The term most frequently
used in the code is Sal-siru. This class would
seem to have been the most numerous. These
women were hedged about with certain restric-
tions, but also had in some respects larger privi-
leges than women in common life. There were
some privileges which they ordinarily lived, though they were not compelled to live there.
If one did not reside in one of these special houses,
she was forbidden, on pain of death, to open a
window (§ 110). They were protected from
slander by the same law which guarded the good
name of married women (§ 127). A father could
leave to such a woman an inheritance by will. In
that case her brothers were to work her portion
of the estate and pay her the income. Should
she become dissatisfied with their management,
she might take the property from their hands, and
leave it to whomever she pleased. Her father's
will might give her the power of leaving her prop-
erty by testament after her death; if it did not,
his share, when she died, reverted to her brothers.
If she was accorded no portion by her father's will,
the she was to inherit equally with her brothers, if she
was a Sal-siru; if she had a gudidus or a Sirmatait, she
received one-third of a brother's share (§§ 173, 179,
180, 181, 182). That the two classes last mentioned
were temple prostitutes is sufficiently indicated by
their names, especially when the use of gudidus
and g'dhadha in Hebrew (cf. e.g. Dg 221) is com-
pared. That the Sal-siru were women of the same
character appears for them in a father's will that
they might have children, and that these children
stood in such a peculiarly orphaned condition that
they were apparently frequently adopted into regularly
connected families (§§ 187, 195 196). The women
of Marduk, for whom the code legislated espe-
cially, were apparently of the classes gudidus
and Sirmatait, for, like these, they received, when
no provision was made for a son, only one-third of a
son's portion. Their advantage over other women of their class was that they
could always dispose of their property at death as
they chose (§ 192). Probably it was one of these
'women of Marduk,' who, Herodotus (i. 181) tells
us, passed the night on the couch in the sanctuary
at the summit of the apex of the Temple of the
god. These votaries of Marduk appear in the
contract literature. 1 One of them, Lamassum,
married, and it was agreed that she should be
the property to her grand-daughter, stipulating that
the grand-daughter should support her as long as she lived. A
woman consecrated her two daughters to
Shamash, stipulating that they should support
her as long as she lived. 1 A gudidus and her sister
divided an inheritance. 1 One votary adopted a
child; 1 another brought suit for a share in an
estate; another, who was the child of a king,
was prominent in transactions in grain; 17 while no
fewer than three consecrated women appear in a
lawsuit in which one sued another and the third
appeared as a witness. 18 Votaries entered, accord-
ingly, into the active affairs of life, much as other
people did.

Lyon, 19 like John, 20 endeavours to support the improbable
view that these consecrated women were chaste. His
arguments are three in number: (1) one who slandered them
was punishable in the same way as one who tarnished the
name of a married woman; (2) one of them adopted a
child; therefore, when it is said that one of these women had a
child, probably it was adopted; (3) when one of these women married,
the possibility that she might present her husband with a child
is not expressed by the word aida, but by sarit or untait.
Lyon thinks that this was because votaries generally did not
marry till they were advanced in years, so that it could be
presumed that they would be barren.

With reference to these arguments the following points should

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2. See, e.g. CT viii. 50, Bu. 89–5–12, 56;
3. and Thureau-Dangin, Lettres d'Alexandrie, p. 28.
4. and Thureau-Dangin, Lettres d'Alexandrie, p. 32.
5. and Thureau-Dangin, Lettres d’Alexandrie, p. 33.
6. and Thureau-Dangin, Lettres d’Alexandrie, p. 34.
7. and Thureau-Dangin, Lettres d’Alexandrie, p. 35.
8. Thureau-Dangin, op. cit. 157.
be noted. (1) The law against tarnishing the good name of a virgin by no more implies of necessity that she was a perpetual virgin than it implies that a married woman must be. We learn from Herodotus (I. 169) that certain rules had to be observed by every married woman, and one of these was regarded as innocent only if practiced under certain conditions. If such were the case, it is easy to see why the law should protect such a woman from the repugnance of being a common wife to married women. When the nature of the Sôd is that of the line of Hasmoneans in Israel, and the custom of Hasmonean women to be taken into account, together with the fact that unmarried virgins had children, one is compelled to interpret the law in the way suggested. (2) The idea that all the children of virgins were born in wedlock is more or less a matter of personal interpretation. It has no support in the text. (3) Lyon's explanation of the use of the words ωριά and υτέραi may possibly be right; but, even if it is, it does not follow that the consecrated women were virgins until married.

It is sometimes said (as by John) that these women were virgins who, when they married, still maintained their virginity. John supports this view by a reference to a text of the time of Hammurabi published in CT II 283, which, as he interprets it, states that a certain woman purged her daughter and then married her to another man, at the same time vowing her to perpetual virginity. In reality there is no reference to perpetual virginity in the text; it simply repeats the statement that the daughter was pure. What the process of purification was we can only conjecture. It is all to be connected with the purification of a maiden before her adoption, to which adoption has been thought to be connected with circumcision (see Onomastics (Semitic), iv, 3, 55). It clearly has no bearing on the marriage of female hircodoloi.

Two passages in the code refer to a class of men, called by the Sumerian name KER-ŠE-GA, whose children are classed with those of the Sal-limus. A reference in the Papyrus of the Hammurabi period 4 describes certain men as NER-ŠE-GA, or as the son of the god of Marduk. It is clear, therefore, that they were religious officials; and, since the code accords their children the same treatment accorded to children of female hircodoloi, it is probable that they were sodomy, though full proof of this is lacking.

Closely connected in principle with the service of these women was the temporary hircodoloi, which was the temporary pre-nuptial service in this capacity required of every Babylonian woman. According to Herodotus (I. 169), once in her life every Babylonian woman had to sit in the temple of the goddess of fertility until some stranger came and threw into her lap a piece of silver, uttering the formula: 'I beseech thee, great goddess, to accept this female child (the goddess who helps women in travail) to favour thee.' Thereupon the woman lay with the stranger outside the temple precinct. The money thus given was sacred. Having discharged this obligation to the goddess, the woman returned home to a normal life. No disgrace, but rather honour, attached to her for this act. Strabo (xvi, 1, 29) as well as the apocryphal Epistle of Jeremiah (v, 23), bears witness to this custom.

2. Syrian.—Among the Syrians of the upper Euphrates the Semitic mother-goddess was worshiped at Hierapolis-Bambyce under the name Attar, and this worship was closely akin to her cult elsewhere. Originally it is her worship to which the Syrian Father, Ephrem, alludes, when he says that, on the feast of their idol, women prostituted themselves, and virgins forthwith vowed their virginity to prostitution. These remarks would seem to point to the existence of both permanent and temporary hircodoloi at Bambyce.

At Hierapolis in Lebanon, the modern Baalbek,
insititute legislated against. Further testimony to the same effect is found in 2 K. 23:12, which appears that, in carrying out the reform, which he based on Deuteronomy, King Josiah found it necessary to destroy the houses of the sodomites (gîḏâkhesîm) in the very first act of Jahweh. It is clear from the context here that gîḏâkhesîm, though a masculine plural, refers to sacred prostitutes of both sexes, for the last clause of the verse describes these houses as 'where women were hanging for Asaherah.' It seems, accordingly, that down to the time of Josiah hierodoulai of both sexes had been attached to the temple, and that the prophetic teaching had not sufficiently awakened the public conscience to disapprove them.

Two explanations of the presence of these ministers in Israel have been offered. The Hebrew prophets believed that they were no part of the ritual of Jahweh, but that they were an importation from other Semitic religions. Modern scholars believe that the religion of Jahweh had its roots in the soil of primitive Semitic ritual, and that hierodoulai were one of the features which Jahweh’s religion, like other Semitic religions, inherited from the parent stock. Whatever the origin of the institution, it is certainly that, aided by the Deuteronomic law, the prophets imposed their view upon Judah, and finally prohibited this debasing type of religious service, banishing it from their land. How debasing it had become, and how this appeal was made to those same passions which men have more need to control than to inflame, the excavations at Gezer make it possible for us to realize as never before. Such art as they possessed was enough to extend the appeal by which those sacred courtesans in the service of deity enticed men to indulgence. That the prophets succeeded in removing from Judah’s religion an institution conceived in religious sanction and hoary with age, which appealed so powerfully to the animal element in man, is eloquent testimony to the fact that they were working with God and for Him.

6. Egyptian.—Among the Egyptians the institution of hierodoulai can be most clearly traced at Thebes. Strabo (xvii. 4. 8. 181) tells us that here ‘a very beautiful virgin of most distinguished lineage was consecrated to Zeus (Ammon), and that she played the consubine and had intercourse with whomsoever she desired until the purification of her body was accomplished (i.e. until the expiration of a month); then, after her purification, she was given to a husband.’ This point to the existence of an institution kindred to that which we have traced among the Semites. That this practice was not confined to one woman, but was one manifestation of a more general institution, is indicated by an inscription of Rameses III., in which he tells of the disposition of the booty taken in his Syrian war. In speaking of the captives he says: ‘I have carried them away: the males to fill thy storehouse; their women, to be subjects of thy temple.’

Breasted is undoubtedly right in thinking that these women became hierodoulai. This is confirmed by scenes pictured on the wall of the temple erected by Rameses III. at Medinet Habu, which one may see in order to appreciate. They are usually spoken of as ‘harem scenes,’ but their occurrence in a temple would seem to indicate that it was no ordinary harem. On the great festival days the women and other dancers danced before the god (or goddess) just as the women of the harem were accustomed to dance.
to do for the entertainment of their earthly lord, and it can hardly be that the dances were chaste.

At Thebes the wife of the high priest bore the title 'chief concubine,' while a queen or princess was called 'wife of the god.' This recalls the statement of Herodotus (i. 183), that a bed on which a wife of the god slept for his enjoyment was placed in the inner sanctum of the temple of Amon, as in the sanctuaries of the royalty of Egypt. That it might be claimed that this relationship on the part of the wife of the god to him was no mere fiction is shown by the account which the famous queen, Batahepet, of the XVIIIth dynasty, gave of her parentage. She claims that the god Amon came and actually had intercourse with her mother. When it was thought that a god could take a lady wife and a woman, too, who had earthly husbands—it is probable that, under religious regulation, provision was made for similar conduct on the part of his worshippers. Osorkon II., of the XXXIst dynasty, declares that he had assumed the protection of the sacred women of the house of Amon and the protection of all the women of the city, who have been maid-servants since the times of their fathers. The sacred women and princesses of the house of Amon are classed by him with the maid-servants throughout the city as having no natural protectors. They were probably of the class under consideration. The names of the hierodouloi in connexion with other Egyptian deities is not so clear. The god Min, of Coptos, is pictured with phallic emblems and it would seem probable that some such institution attached to his cult. Ramses III. says that he made decrees for the administration of the 'pure' settlement of women of the priestly class; but these were not used in a ceremonial sense; they were women consecrated to the god, whose functions were probably similar to the functions of the women of Amon. Perhaps it was a garbled report of the functions such consecrated women, among whom were princesses, that reached Herodotus, and led him to say (ii. 138) that Khnum (Khons), in order to obtain money for his pyramid, prostituted his own daughter. If there is any truth behind the story it is probable that the princess was a priestess of Pharaoh, and acted as a hierodoulos. Thus the Egypt of the Old Kingdom was not unsanctioned with the circle of ideas which we have traced at Thebes is shown by the fact that one of the Pyramid Texts describes the king as 'the man who takes women from their husbands whither he wills and when his heart desires.' In the Old Kingdom the king was a god, and his actions were divine. Probably other gods, through such practices as we have traced, were thought to do the same.

The goddesses Hathor and Bastet were mother-goddesses, and were pictured nude, as were the Semitic goddesses of the same type. Hathor was praised in a chorus of dancing women. That women became temporary hierodouloi at the festival of Bastet at Bubastis is implied by Herodotus (ii. 60), who says that men and women went in large numbers together in boats to this feast at Bubastis, playing and singing the whole way. At town they would disembark, sing, dance, and tambourine the women of the town, some of the visitors pulling up their clothes. In the light of the goddessesses the constant use of the services of these women is not difficult to divine.

A similar service seems to have attached to the worship of the god of Mendes, whom Herodotus identifies with the Greek god Dionysus. He tells us (ii. 48) that at his festival women carried about in procession images of the god with the member nodding, and that the town was noisily as large as the image. The women were singing the praises of the god. It seems clear that these women were playing the part of temporary hierodouloi, though they may have been initiated. They can be traced to that vocation. The institution seems to have been as widespread in Egypt as among the Semites, though its details cannot be so clearly traced.

The ideas which called into existence this institution, so revolting to modern feeling, can now be only conjectured. It seems most likely that it originated in a polyandrous society, and in that circle of ideas, traceable in many parts of the world, in which originated the custom of giving a bride the first night to a king or priest in order to secure the blessing of fertility. Priesthood and kingship in their later senses were unknown among the primitive Semitic and Hamitic tribes, and hence, probably, it was thought to secure the divine blessing by leaving the first and consecrating act to divine chance.

The temporary hierodouloi were a survival of this custom. The more permanent institution of the hierodouloi were a later development, and grew out of the conception that intercourse with a supernatural being produced fecundity and a remarkable offspring (cf. On 390 64°). The consecrated hierodouloi were the representatives of deity, to give concrete expression to this idea. Fertility was thought to come to men who could identify themselves with these sacred males, and virile power to men through commerce with the consecrated women.

LITERATUR.—A. Jordanus, Studier-N´Hrner, Leipzig, 1891, p. 68 f. — F. Weidemann, Die Staat, der religionsgesch. Archiv, Freiburg i. B., 1894, ii. 126, 307 f. — L. Badger, Die Staat, Archiv, 1, Tubingen, 1897, pp. 121, 305-311; G. A. Barton, Semitic Origins, New York, 1902, chs. ii., iii., vi.; S. R. Driver, Com. on Deuteronomy, Edinburgh, 1894, p. 329 f.; J. G. Frazer, Ardame, Athens, London, 1896, pp. 38-40; T. K. Cheyne, art. 'Bastet,' in E. G., ii. 1894, 2, W. P. F. Petrie, art. 'Bastet,' in E. G., iv. 1895, pp. 89-90; G. A. Barton, art. 'Bastet,' in E. G.; E. P. Rendel, Notes and Queries, i. Oxford, 1895, pp. 135, 147. On the mainland of Greece only two inscriptions have been found which mention iepoioi—the first four lines of a hymn in Messenia, which is headed Iepoi Iepoioi eu iepoi (Dittenberger, Syll.º, Leipzig, 1898, nos. 932), and another Messenian text discovered at Kalamata (CIG 1457). In the first text certainly, and the second probably, the word is simply equivalent to patera, and means 'initiated.' Whether that is its sense also in inscriptions of Teos and Delos (CIG 2320) is not certain. It is not otherwise used in Greek of initiated persons; its Messenian use may safely be put down as local and singular.

In Asia Minor the name certainly does not mean the initiated, but temple ministers. It seems clear that all iepoi did not come to be so in the same way, nor had they the same tenure and conditions of service. (1) At certain shrines free
persons either dedicated themselves or were dedicated by parents and guardians to the service of a deity; but sometimes only for a period. So, for example, at Tralles, one L. Aurelia Amilia, of good family, had been dedicated to the goddess, and Brunt, in his Notes on Ramsay, p. 90, that sprung from a family which had always done divine service by practising ceremonial prostitution, she likewise has so served by the priest of the temple. At the shrine of Athena in Acilinna, 'the highest nobles consecrate their daughters while virgins; and among these it is the rule to live as prostitutes before the goddess for a long time before being given in marriage.' (Strabo, p. 532.) (3) The larger body of evidence seems to refer to involuntary lepei, either of servile origin, or else at least of a status below the freedom. At Erythrae, for example, we find that they were not included in the Demes, but had so well recognized a political position that they cooperated with the civic body to erect an honorary inscription. At Ephesus the evidence of the Mithridatic decree, concerning the payment of debts and future constitution of the city, is clear. The lepei (from the verb λαμπεσ) are enumerated as a class to be enfranchised after the νικες or resident aliens, but before the ἄρατοι or freeborn. At the temple of Artemis, ad Magna, the evidence seems to be strong that if lepei were really eunuchs and not subordinates in this inscription, lepei of Apollo appear as gardners (O. Kern, Die Inschriften von Magnesia ad Maeandrum, Berlin, 1890, p. 110). And a very similar text shows a lepei holding a service relation to an individual citizen (Wedd. 1822c). The Dorian text, quoted above, seems also to imply that a lepei could be a private slave.

Those instances, and especially the relative place of the lepei in the Ephesian constitution, make it more than probable that in most cases the temple ministers either had been slaves, or at best held a sort of freedman status from the first. Hieke, commenting on the Ephesian inscriptions (Asc. Gr. 308, 450, iii, p. 256), confidently suggested that lepei were the outcome of manumission by dedication or sale to a divinity—a revival of E. Curtius' view about Hierodouloi (p. 431). But Ramsay (op. cit. 148), while inclined to admit this as possibly among several origins of lepei, object that, if those so freed always became lepei, they must be more often and more widely in accordance with the class. It may be added to his objection that we have, as it happens, no records of this sort of manumission at Ephesus, and there is no reason to think it was a universal practice. On the evidence available, it is preferable to suppose that most lepei had never been themselves slaves, but, if not freeborn, adopted a priesthood of its own motion or consigned to it by outsiders (cf. the common practice of conventual institutions adopting foundlings and orphans, who act as servants). This origin is strongly supported by the inscriptions of the shrine of Apollo Lernus (or Laius), discovered in 1867 by Ramsay and Hogarth on the Upper Messenian, which throw more light on the condition of lepei than any others.1 In the ruins of the temple itself, we found pits filled with bones in an inscription of the dedication of χριστης and τελευτης, words the usual sense of which is 'foundling' (cf. Ramsay, l. i 147, who cites Piny, ad Trag. l. x). One of these is at least 2,000 years old, as the effect on a child, now dedicated (κατορευθυς) by its proper parents, had been exposed in obedience to a dream, and found and reared (ψευθυς) by a stranger. In the eleven cases, the inscriptions are considerably added to and revised.

1 See Hogarth, in JHS viii. (1897), and Ramsay, op. cit. 1. ch. 4. In the latter publication the inscriptions are considerably added to and revised.

In the same shrine and its neighbourhood came also a large number of inscriptions concerning lepei and lepei, which are of a class known as exemplaria. In these the ministrant, having failed in some duty or obligation of service, was forgiven, or perhaps even profited, or his children exonerated, or his fault, and set a warning to all other lepei. Here it is probable to relate the case of inscription to the other, and to infer that the latter, whose inscription was the outcome of a common practice of dedicating foundlings or orphans. If, moreover, it be borne in mind that the children of these dedicated persons, in all likelihood, retained their parents' status and functions, and that there were also certain voluntary and temporary recruits, we get a class quite numerous enough to account for all the lepei for whose existence we have evidence in Western Asia Minor; a class, moreover, of sufficiently respectable origin to explain the political position which the lepei held at Erythrae and Ephesus. In literature the case of Ion, the Delphic foundling, may be compared.

The duties of hieros, of whatever origin, seem to have been in part those of hierodoulous elsewhere, but, in greater part, of more honour. In fact, it is very probable that, as Ramsay says (l.c.), they 'represent the hierodoulous character as a whole' and that their institution was modified by the development of western civilization in Asia Minor. 1 By an inscription of Chalcedon (Dittenberger, Spol. 448), we see that they took part in the sacrifices and were, as it were, holding, no doubt, as Ramsay suggests, the same position as the θεοφύλακτος of Comana, and probably also as the διδάσκαλος δαιμονίων, i.e., the musicians, cantors, freedmen, women, and priestesses, whom Lucian saw performing ἀργυρος in the precinct of the Temple of Atargatis (Athie) at Hierapolis of Syria. If, like the hierodoulous, the hieros in some cases practised ceremonial prostitution, and always did, menial offices about the shrine, we have no reason to suppose that they were to the same extent serfs of the soil, although this is possible. But what is not possible is that they inhabited a sacred settlement, χαλις ου κάμη (both words occur in the texts), and must have constituted a eunomia not dissimilar to that of the hierodoulous of Venus (Strabo, p. 557). It appears from the Lernenus inscriptions that they had obligations of personal service in the hieros at stated seasons, and were bound then, and probably for a certain period previously, to maintain ceremonial purity in garments and persons, and abstain not only from licentious actions, but from marital intercourse. The inner meaning of the latter obligation has been interpreted with great probability by Ramsay (p. 136) to imply, not that all sexual acts entailed impurity (for they might from on high be offered in the divine service), but that those usually held to be sanctioned by wedlock were especially repugnant to the cult of the Nature-goddeses of the West, the Great Mother, which was a negation of true marriage altogether, and typified the matriarchal principle. In a well-known inscription of Laurium in Attica, recording the formation of an erous, or religious club, by a Lydian slave, the conditions of ceremonial purity according to the usage of Western Asia Minor are enumerated; and, with modifications, these may be predicted of all lepei. They included, besides sexual abstinence, the avoidance of a corpse and of certain foods, including pork and garlic, and freedom from skin complaints or contact therewith (see Foucart, Greek Schools, Paris, 1873, p. 119 ff.). We find, in fact, in an obscure Lernenus text, that eating some part of the flesh of a goat called down the divine wrath on a lepei; but in this case probably the
animal was sacred. Hieroi and Hieroi, when not actually serving the shrine, seem to have lived among other people; and, as we have seen, the voluntary ministrants of the class could in some places (as, e.g., Antiakhe) receive alms. Together, after a time, it became an ordinary secular life; but, while engaged in the hieroi, they evidently had to ignore their private condition. Those born free must for the time adopt the lower political status, wives must act as unmarried (απαθητες), and married men must forget their martial duties. They must live, in fact, the divine life.

It is much to be hoped that further discoveries of inscriptions may throw clearer light on this peculiar institution of ancient religion. It seems to have contained certain elements of later monastic institutions, and may well have had a good deal to do with those which were developed at an early period in Christian Asia.

The use of ἔλεος as an adjective for persons dedicated to sacred service is, of course, common. It is found in literature as early as Herodotus (ll. 54, two αἰαντώμεναι at Dodona); but such dedication must have been much older. The best-known literary instance is Ion. The word is also, doubtless, used sometimes for hierodoulai, as by Strabo in speaking of the prostitutes of Comana Pontica—σε εἰς τοιωτερας εν λεπαλς.

Literature.—This is given in the article.

HIGH PLACE.—I. Name. The Heb. is παρασαλος, βασαλος, signifying 'high ground,' or 'a crest'; cf. the Assy. b'asa, p'asa, 'heights.' The term is used in the LXX of mount Zion (in the Prophets also bemaun); Vulg. excusus; Pesh. 'alaeddah, 'high places,' sometimes perekaddi, 'idol shrines' (as in the Heb. terms ὑψωται and ὑψω, which likewise signify 'height,' are not true synonyms of παρασαλος). The pl. bemaht is used four times in the OT either as a proper name or compounded with some other proper name (Nu 21:18; 2 K 13:13). It is also found as an element in a place-name on the Moabite Stone (line 27), and is likewise the name of a Moabite sanctuary for Chemosh (line 3). The origin of the name is unknown. In Hebrew it may have been—probably was—borrowed from the Canaanites. Ezekiel's derivation (30:10) of bemaht as 'ex. θωρακις' and 'crus' is, of course, a mere pun, by means of which the prophet expresses his contempt for high-place practices.

2. Location. In the OT bemaht are generally associated with elevations. People approaching them are said to 'go up' to (1 S 4:12, 15), and departing to 'come down' from them (1 S 4:10). In Ezek 39:18, the singular bemaht is synonymous with 'θυσία θαραμα, 'high hill.' They were usually located near cities (1 S 10:1), and were sometimes said to be in cities (1 K 13:2, 2 K 17:26, 22:1), or 'at the entrance of the gate' of the city (25:1), or 'at the head of every way' (Ezk 16:21); but also in valleys (1 K 3:25, 5:32). They were often on the hill above the town, as at Ramah (1 S 6:19). Probably every city and village had one (3 K 17:28, 32, Ezk 6). They were evidently artifically constructed, for they are spoken of as 'having been destroyed,' 'broken down,' and 'burnt' (2 K 21:23-28:10; cf. Ezk 6, Lv 25:9, Nu 33:5). They were ordinarily 'built' (1 K 11:14). It is possible that they resembled the scaffolds of the ancient Babylonians. In that case, but in any case, it is likely that they were covered, and there is little doubt that they closely resembled, and in many cases were identical with, the ancient shrines of the Canaanites (2 S 15:21, Nu 33:5). This was in keeping with early religious customs. In primitive cults the cutes of conspicuous mountains were regarded as the distinct territory of Deity. Zeus of the Greeks had many such mountain-abodes.

The gods of Persia, India, Java, and other lands were thought to dwell on lofty peaks. There were high places in Moab (Is 15:20), on which altars were erected (Nu 21:18, 22:33, Jer 46:9). From Jer 3:3 it must be inferred that shepherds, 'have heights,' were chosen because from them the view of heaven was unobstructed. In Ps 89:5 Zion is regarded as 'the mountain which God hath desired for his habitation;' and 'in the 1 K 20:1, Israel's victory is ascribed by the Syrians to Jehovah who is 'a god of the hills.' All this is in keeping with the representations in the three great periods of the OT, which make Sinai Jehovah's primitive abode (Dt 33:1, Jg 6:1, Hab 3), whether Elijah fled when threatened by Jezebel (1 K 19:1).

3. Significance.—Bemaht in the prose of the OT are commonly places of sacrifice. They are pre-eminent religious centres (1 S 9:11, 1 K 3:4, 1 S 13:7) and were ascribed to the Divine presence, and were worshipped as the representatives in the three great periods of the OT of the ancient Canaanites.

Sacred furniture.—Ancient high places possessed various sacred accessories, of which the principal one was: (1) the altar, or place of sacrifices (1 K 3:4, Hos 10:14). It might consist of an unhewn stone, or even of a mere mound of earth. In the OT it is distinguished from the high place itself (2 K 23:14, Is 36, 2 Ch 14). Before it the sacrifices were presented. In the Canaanite hekhal the masebeh, or sacred pillar of stone (Hos 10:4). It might consist either of a rough unhewn boulder or of a cistellus pillar, which the worshipper regarded as the representatives of Deity (Ex 29:13, De 5:28). As the times these pillars were left unhewn because they were regarded as sacrosanct, the belief being that, if they were cut or carved by human hands, the names were driven out of the stone. Later, artificial obelisks took their place. To the ancient Canaanites the masbeh was the symbol of the shrine of Deity. At Bethel (Gen 31:30-31); at Ex 34, 'what?'; 8, of course, as a mere pun, by means of which the prophet expresses his contempt for high-place practices. Perhaps was—borrowed from the Canaanites. Ezekiel's derivation (30:10) of bemaht as 'ex. θωρακις' and 'crus' is, of course, a mere pun, by means of which the prophet expresses his contempt for high-place practices.

3. Another important part of the furniture of a high place was the dacohe, or sacred pole. It consisted of an artificial pole of wood, or stump of tree, planted in the earth (Dt 16:1), and regarded as a symbol of the goddess Ashtoreth, according to some, though this is not demonstrable. The dacohe was artificially constructed of wood (Jg 6:20, 1 K 14:24, 16:29, 2 K 17:17, Is 17:17), in image like form (1 K 15:14), and could be 'plucked up' (Mio 3:4), 'cut down' (Ex 24:17), 'broken into pieces' (2 Ch 34:1), and 'burnt' (Dt 12:1). It stood in close proximity to the masbeh and to the altar (Jg 6:25), and might be set up even beneath living trees (2 K 17:17). Whether this was customary is, of course, a matter of dispute, but it was evidently akin to tree-worship, the tree probably being revered as an abode of Deity (Dt 11:13), and as the symbol of fertility (Dacohe stood in Samaria in the days of King Jehoshaph (2 K 13:18), probably the one made by Ahab (1 K 16:24). Manasseh also made an dacohe, which he set up in the Temple in Jerusalem (2 K
but it was destroyed by Josiah (23:7).—(4) Ne
to the north, on the left, were rooms, chambers,
or sacred halls, called ‘houses of high places’ (1 K 12:31, 13:2, 2 K 23:4). These were used probably as dwellings for the priests, and as places where the infectious meals were eaten (1 S 20:3)- quite possibly as well as the places of the immoral worship—religious prostitution (Am 5:4), and the number of these ‘chambers’ mentioned by Ezekiel 16:14, 15, 16). These chambers also sheltered the images of the gods worshipped (2 K 17:12; cf. Jg 17). Tents, however, were used for the same purpose (2 K 23:19, Ezk 16:11; cf. Hos 9:1) for example, David pitched a tent to shelter the ark (2 S 6:7-17, cf. 1 K 2:25, Ex 33:11; cf. also the proper name Metsheil, symbolizing ‘tent of the high place’, Gn 30:18). The Carthaginians are said to have used tents as portable sanctuaries (Diod. Sic. x. 66).—(6) There were attendants also at the high places, sometimes called kohanim, ‘sacred priests’ (2 K 22). Besides these, there were goldsmiths, ‘male prostitutes, and goldsmiths, sacred harlots,’ in connexion with high places (2 K 23:7, 1 K 14:15, 2 K 23:21, 2 Chr 23:17, Hos 4:10).5. The cultus.—In general the worship practised at the bnimah was not only ceremonial but sensual. It was borrowed largely from the Canaanites. Joy and feasting characterized their ritual (1 S 9:13). The rites performed probably typified the annual renewal of Nature. Tithes were brought thither (Am 4; cf. Gn 28:22). Doubtless many of Canaan’s high places were dedicated to Jahweh. Solomon, for example, Am 5:4. Sacrifices lie in high places of Gibon, offering a thousand burnt-offerings upon the altar there (1 K 3:5), and to please his foreign wives he built other high places to Chemosh and Molech, burning incense and sacrificing to their gods (1 K 11:5). The Canaanites and Israelites may, indeed, have joined in the worship of Baal at some of these bnimah. Whether they did or not, by the introduction of foreign cults the worship of the sanctuaries became corrupt. It is no exaggeration to say that the grossest and most scandalous enormities occurred in the O.T. dwellings associated with high place worship. Hosea paints a vivid picture of their practices, though he mentions bnimah by name only once in all his prophecies (10:9). To him the high places of Aven were ‘the sin of Israel.’ Accordingly, he warns Israel against such sacrifices and libations (9): points a finger of scorn at their rewards of adultery—bread, water, wool, flax, oil, drink, grain, new wine, silver and gold, which in turn bestow upon Baal (28:7); denounces them for burning incense to other gods, themselves clad in gala dress and decked with earrings and jewels (28:2); threatens destruction upon the rewards of licentiousness received from the high places (28:8).—(7) Michaelis gives a striking description of the high places practised at the bnimah (28:4), explaining how the people in these sanctuaries are described as sociology among the oaks, slay their children in the valleys among the smooth stones (regarded as the abode of the demons, or god), pour out drink-offerings as sacrifices on high mountains, and set up memorials of shame (perhaps alluding to phallic worship; cf. Ezk 16). The same passage describes Moab as literally wearing himself praying upon his high places (16:15; cf. 1 K 18:19).6. History of high places in OT.—(1) In the Pentateuch, placed in the tabernacle and temple, are mentioned in either Genesis or Exodus or, in fact, as places of worship, in the entire Book of Deuteronomy; cf. however, the figurative allusions in De 21:7, 28, in which to ‘ride’ or ‘tread’ upon the enemies’ high places signifies to trample them underfoot. In Lv 20:18 and Nu 21:21-24:33 however, they are spoken of as places of worship. Two of these passages (Lv 20:18, Nu 21:21-23:33) warn Israel against the contaminating and degenerate influence of the heathen practices associated with such sanctuaries. They are the only passages in the He-.
tenach which use the term ‘high places’ with a religious significance. In Nu 21:21-23 and Jos 17:1 the word is used as a proper name. The plural form is employed in all these instances. (2) From Joshua to Solomon.—There is no mention by name of high places in the Book of Judges, and only a few cases (all in a single context) in the Books of Samuel refer to bnimah as sanctuaries. The allusions in 2 S 15:18-22 are poetical and figurative. In the classical passage in 1 S 18:12, 13, 19:10-13, Samuel the seer is represented as going up to a high place to worship, while the people wait him, expecting him to bless the sacrifice (1 S 18:14). While there, he is visited by Saul, who, with his servant, is searching for his father’s lost asses. Saul and his attendant are invited to join in the sacrificial meal, which they eat together in the napph, or sacrificial dining-room (1 S 18:12). Later in the account, mention is made of a band of prophets who are expected to come down from the high place, having presumably been there engaging in religious services (1 S 10:5). The story gives no hint that there is anything illegitimate in sacrificing at such a sanctuary. In David’s day, Gibon was the great high place (1 Ch 18:21). Under Solomon, also, the people continued to sacrifice at high places. When there was a house built for the name of Jahweh until those days (1 K 3:5). Even the king himself ‘went to Gibon to sacrifice there, for that was the great high place’ (1 K 3:4. 2 Ch 1:3). All this was in strict keeping with the traditional laws of Moses; namely, Ex 20:25, which allowed sacrifices to be made ‘in every place’ where Jahweh should record His name. De 12:11 insists upon the unity of sanctuary only when God has given Israel rest from all their enemies round about, when Israel shall conquer Canaan and the high places associated with high places worship. Hosea paints a vivid picture of their practices, though he mentions bnimah by name only once in all his prophecies (10). To him the high places of Aven were ‘the sin of Israel.’ Accordingly, he warns Israel against such sacrifices and libations (9): points a finger of scorn at their rewards of adultery—bread, water, wool, flax, oil, drink, grain, new wine, silver and gold, which in turn bestow upon Baal (28:7); denounces them for burning incense to other gods, themselves clad in gala dress and decked with earrings and jewels (28:2); threatens destruction upon the rewards of licentiousness received from the high places (28:8).—(7) Michaelis gives a striking description of the high places practised at the bnimah (28:4), explaining how the people in these sanctuaries are described as sociology among the oaks, slay their children in the valleys among the smooth stones (regarded as the abode of the demons, or god), pour out drink-offerings as sacrifices on high mountains, and set up memorials of shame (perhaps alluding to phallic worship; cf. Ezk 16). The same passage describes Moab as literally wearing himself praying upon his high places (16:15; cf. 1 K 18:19).6. History of high places in OT.—(1) In the Pentateuch, placed in the tabernacle and temple, are mentioned in either Genesis or Exodus or, in fact, as places of worship, in the entire Book of Deuteronomy; cf. however, the figurative allusions in De 21:7, 28,
further and farther from the worship of Jehovah, impure, as the prophet, as the people: did, and now, as a priest, could protest only against the worship of Israel's sanctuaries rather than against the sanctuaries themselves (1 K 19:14). On the other hand, the prophet of the 8th cent. attempted more than merely to reform the cultus of those sanctuaries. Hosea prophesies that the high places of Aven, the sin of Israel, shall be destroyed (10:8). Amos also declares that the high places of Israel shall be desolate, and the sanctuaries of Israel shall be laid waste (7:14). The only other allusion in Amos to high places is figurative—that of Jehovah as treading upon the high places of the earth (4:1). When the redactor of 2 Kings sums up the reasons for the downfall of North Israel, he ascribes it to their having built high places in all their cities and there burnt incense, as did the nations whom Jehovah carried away before them (17:18).

6. In Judah.—Under Rehoboam the people built high places in Judah, and the king appointed priests for them (1 K 14:2, 2 Ch 11:15). Asa is said to have taken them away out of Judah (2 Ch 14:4), but not out of Israel (2 Ch 15:1, 1 K 15:14). Jehoshaphat likewise removed the high places from Judah (2 Ch 17:7), but not from Israel (1 K 22:20, 2 Ch 29:25). On the other hand, Nebat, who married the idolatrous daughter of Ahab, actually made high places in the mountains of Judah (2 Ch 21:16), which need of his successors Jehoshaphat (2 Ch 13:9), Amoniah (14), Uzziah (15), and Jotham (15)—removed. Ahaz actively sacrificed and burnt incense on them (16, 2 Ch 28:28—). Hezekiah, on the other hand, removed them, instituting S. I. according to a genuine religious reformation (2 K 18:2, 2 Ch 31:1), the history of which is most reasonably attested (2 K 18:2, 2 Ch 31:2). But Manasseh rebuilt them (2 Ch 33:19). Josiah, however, removed all, and took and carried out a most drastic reformation, putting down the idolatrous priests and destroying the high places of all his predecessors, including Solomon's (2 K 23:1, 2 Ch 34:4). During all this period of schism the prophets of Judah say little or nothing against the high places as such. Isaiah, for example, shows no pronounced hostility to high places themselves (14:10, 15:10, 36:19, 58:1). Micah, likewise, is all but silent concerning them, his allusions being figurative rather than literal (1:4, 4:4), cf. Mic 6:8. Jeremiah rebukes his people for having 'built the high places (the LXX 'high places,' the A.V. 'hills')' (Jer 7:10), the ruin of the sons of Hinnom, to burn their sons and their daughters in the fire (7:31, 32), because they are centres of sin throughout all their borders (17), and he threatens in Jehovah's name to cut off (21:12). He points a finger of reproach at those who labour to make them attractive (16), and warns those who congratulate themselves on possessing 'the ancient high places' (31). Habakkuk's single allusion to high places is a figurative one (3:3).

The only other references to bemâqâ in the OT, with one exception, are Job 30:7 and Ps 116:18, both of which are figurative; the exception is Ps 68:11, which is a literal commentary on Israel's repeated depredation from the true worship of Jehovah. (44/4 for the Edomites. After the fall of Jerusalem we hear little of high places. The captivity accomplished what neither Hezekiah nor Josiah could do. The people had learned at great cost, the folly of idolatry, and her sons and grandsons, who returned after 586 B.C., had no disposition to revive the old local cults whose continuity had been so long interrupted. In the 4th cent. B.C., however, the Jews of Babylonia and Egypt, in particular, and in the 3rd cent. B.C., at various places in the Delta of Egypt.

7. Recent discoveries.—During the past fifteen years several ancient bemâqâ have been discovered, by the chief among which is: (1) The Great High Place at Petra, the capital of Edom, which was discovered by the present writer on 3rd May 1900. S. I. Curtis was shown it July in the same year. For location, size, completeness, and importance this high place still holds first rank among all the ancient sanctuaries yet found to exist. Recent writer speaks of it as 'undoubtedly existing already in the days of Moses' (F. E. Hobkirk, From the Nile to Nemo, Philadelphia, 1912, p. 536). It is situated on the very top of one of the most conspicuous peaks which surround the unique capital of Edom. Rock-cut stairways lead up to it from different directions. The entrance, a gateway 100 ft. apart, situated on the brow of the promontory, mark the approach from the S.E. The oval rock-dome on which the bemâqâ proper stands is some 300 ft. long (N. and S.) by 100 ft. broad (E. and W.). The view from the summit is unobstructed. Among the principal features of the sanctuary is the large, deep rock-cut court, 47 ft. long (N. and S.) by 20 ft. broad (E. and W.), where the worshippers probably stood. Near the centre of this court there is a raised platform 41 ft. high, measuring 13 by 13 ft. (N. and S.), on which the victims for sacrifice may have been slain. To the west of the court, some 15 ft. distant, with four steps leading up to it, is an altar, 3 ft. larger than the court (E. and W.), and 3 ft. high, with a rock-cut passage 32 in. broad, running about it on the N., W., and S. sides. In the surface of the altar there is an irregular oval rock platform, some 12 ft. 9 in. square, with circular depressions on the top surface (the one circle being inside the other), the diameter of the outer circle being 3 ft. 9 in., and that of the inner 17 inches. These were probably used as the place for pouring out libations (Ex 29:4). A drain from one is more explicit, and probably conveyed the water which carried the blood, or water, as the case might be, towards the stairway by which the platform was approached (Ex 29:4). There are two water cavities, which were probably used for purposes of ablution. About 25 ft. S. of the court is a pool or cistern excavated in the rock, and at one time cemented, whose dimensions, though somewhat irregular, are approximately 10 ft. long (N. and S.) by 8 ft. broad (E. and W.) and 4 ft. deep, with a drain to carry off the overflow. Two trees, a stump of growth naturally, and yet in one case measuring 2 ft. 10 in. in girth, are to-day growing in the near vicinity. From any part of the sanctuary the traditional Mt. Hor is visible. While this bemâqâ is old, it cannot be demonstrated that it is the most ancient high place discovered, or even the oldest of those (in all 20 or more) now known to exist at Petra; all are devoid of inscription and ornamentation. At the same time, there is no doubt that this Great High Place was at one time the central sanctuary of the Edomites, and the town, indeed, marks the very spot where religious rites were celebrated by the sons of Esau three thousand years ago.

2. High Place at Gaza.—This bemâqâ was
Haifa more recently found two others at Magiddo, and more recently still, Ktillet of Leipzig discovered cup-shaped depressions or hollows in the rock surfaces at Mepha, near Jeru.

The site of the ancient city of Bethhehem was discovered by T. E. Lawrence at Tell el-Mutesellim, Gibbon, Tell es-Safi, and Tell Sanaa by Guthrie, Vincent, and others. The latest discovery reported is that unearthed during June 1931 by D. MacKenzie, field-director of the Palestine Exploration Fund, at Ain Shemas, the ancient Bethhehem (cf. PEFQ, Oct. 1932, pp. 117-178).

While cutting a trench, from north to south, across the central area of the city, MacKenzie found, towards the middle of the trench, five pillars lying on their sides as though they had been knocked down, the one on the east side being broken in two as if it had been purposely smashed. These stones are regarded by him as the sacred pillars, or bēmāḥ, of a high place. Their tops are rounded, but their bottoms are flat for better standing. Three of the five bear marks of tools. Two are flat like the headstone of a tomb, and are composed of a rough-surfaced rock, while the other three are composed of a light-colored limestone which seems foreign to the environments of Bethhehem. MacKenzie conjectures that they were set up in veneration of the dead, the spirit of the departed being imagined by the ancients to take possession of his pillar on the performance of certain ceremonial and magic rites for that purpose. At a point west of one of the high places stones was found, which leads by a shaft through the rock down into a great subterranean chamber, or burial cave, resembling those found at Gezer and Tell el-Mutesellim.

The cave extended away from the well, and was entered by pillars of the high place, and contained all the paraphernalia of the cult of the dead, there in position as they had been left thousands of years ago.


HIGH PRIEST.—See Priest.

HILLUL.—Hillel was a most distinguished teacher, and head of the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem during part of Herod's reign. Known as 'the Babylonian' ('Paestm, 68c; Sukkoth, 30c) be- 1 See figures reproduced in Driver (I. C.), loc. cit., p. 68 and following pages.
HILLEL

cause he was a native of Babylon, he is also designated as Hillel the Elder,' either to distinguish him from later teachers of the name or to indicate his official rank (Běděk, 16a). The dates of his birth and death cannot be fixed accurately. From the fact that he was one of the pupils of Yohanan ben Zakkai and Abtalion (see C. Taylor, Sayings of the Jewish Fathers, Cambridge, 1897, p. 18), and that tradition is emphatic in describing him as in his prime when he first arrived in Jerusalem, the inference is warranted that he was born about a century and a half before the destruction of the second Temple. No credence attaches to the statement (Sipuro Berděk, 36) that he was forty years of age when he left Babylon, that he spent forty more as a student under the 'pair' (see Taylor, p. 14, note 9), or that he was named and elected presidemnt of the Sanhedrin at the age of eighty, and filled that office for forty years more. All this is clearly due to an endeavour to make Hillel's career a parallel with that of Moses, just as he is hailed elsewhere (Sukkoth, 20a) as a second Ezra, who, like the first, comes from Babylon to rescue God's Law from complete oblivion. Talmudic report names him among the men who held the Presidency about 100 years before the national catastrophe (Shabbath, 16a). There is, therefore, good ground for dating his death as about 50 B.C.

Of his family life is known. Tradition traces its pedigree, through the female line, back to king David (Jerra, Ze zu, 41). His father's name is not given, but a brother to Shabbetai, who is mentioned as engaged in mercantile pursuits (Sotā, 21a), and from him Hillel is supposed to have received subserviency assistance, though the passage just referred to admits also of the contrary interpretation.

Hillel from his earliest youth is represented as a student of the Law, differing from his contemporaries in the respect that he was a Babylonian (see above). He came and decided the question in the affirmative, considering that the Passover sacrifice sat on the Sabbath-sacrifice (תּוֹך הַנִּפְנוּך). He based his opinion on these considerations: Passover was, like the daily offering (תּוֹך יִפְנוּ), a community offering, with no religious purpose; and, as the Passover sacrifice also did the Passover lamb, and was, moreover, one of the sacrifices used in connection with the Passover-sacrifice. Hence the latter is in the same category as the former. Again, with his sacrifice, the latter entails lighter punishment than non-observance of the Passover, which is railed at, and excuseth. The presupposition in favour of the Passover is, therefore, all the stronger than it reasonably could be in the case of the others. These arguments failed to convince his opponents until Hillel had ascertained that he had heard them from his teachers, whereupon he was appointed to the Sanhedrin.

The historical accuracy of this story may safely be doubted. The narrative proves, however, that the Babylonian for some time must have led a growing opposition to the Rabbis of Jerusalem. Hillel was accustomed to bear on the text of Scripture a method of interpretation not in favour with them, and clenching his arguments by appealing to the authority and precedents of his masters. Finally, Hillel succeeded in dialging the Bathteires. His main support may have been Herod, who at this period of his reign was anxious for peace, and, therefore, not disinclined to the election of a man of peace, such as Hillel was (see below), to the presidency.

Certainly it is that Hillel is associated with the formulation of a set of rules (קְדוֹשִׁים, 'measures'). He is credited with having developed seven of them—by later teachers enlarged to thirteen. Though probably not the inventor of the method, with its renowned powers of reducing a mass of teaching to a comprehensive code, as of Mosaic origin (Sanh. 32a), Hillel may be held to have been among the first to divide these rules into distinct classes. Hillel is also shown in Sipuro at the end of the Bara ish at the end of the Bara ish at the end of the Bara ish at the end of the Bara ish at the end of the Bara ish at the end of the Bara ish at the end of the Bara ish at the end of the Bara ish at the end of the Bara ish at the end of the Bara ish at the end of the Bara ish at the end of the Bara ish at the end of the Bara ish at the end of the Bara ish at the end of the Bara ish at the end of the Bara ish at the end of the Bara ish at the end of the Bara ish at the end of the Bara ish at the end of the Bara ish at the end of the Bara ish at the end of the Bara ish at the end of the Bara ish at the end of the Bara ish at the end of the Bara ish at the end of the Bara ish at the end of the Bara ish at the end of the Bara ish at the end of the Bara ish at the end of the Bara ish at the end of the Bara ish at the end of the Bara ish at the end of the Bara ish at the end of the Bara ish at the end of the Bara ish at the end of the Bara ish at the end of the Bara ish at the end of the Bara ish at the end of the Bara
Hillel

Egoism and self-sufficiency found no favour in his eyes.

'Separate not thyself from the community, and trust not in thyself before the day of thy death; judge not thy fellow until brought into his place; do not delay teaching; say not, 'When I have leisure, I shall study'; perish he who says, 'I have leisure' (b. Ḥeb. ii. 18; see Taylor, op. cit. p. 30, note 11).

Ignorance and vulgarity procure piety.

'No boor is a miscreant; nor is the unmixed scapegoat; the shameful is not apt to learn, nor the passionate (prone to anger) fit to teach. Nor is every one that has many traffic wires, in a place where there are no men, endeavour to be a man' (b. Ḥeb. i. 6).

The thought that, as we do unto others, so will we be done by, he put into this language, suggested by the sight of a skull floating on the water:

'Because thou drownest the trees, and they that drowned thee shall in turn be drowned' (b. Ḥeb. 7).

That ease and luxury are, in the ultimate analysis, burdens is the dominant emphasis of this saying of his: 'More flesh, more worms; more maid servants, more lewdness; more men servants, more thefts' (b. Ḥeb. i. 6). 'But he who hath gotten unto himself the words of the Torah hath gotten unto himself life in the world to come' (b. Ḥeb. i. 6).

For most of the preceding sentences, he could easily have selected as supporting authority one or the other Biblical passage. In recording other sayings of his, this has been done. (W. Bank, Die Agada der Tannaiten, i. 2, 4 Hillel), and, as the apostrophe to the skull in Aboda ii. 7 suggests, he was by no means averse to employing the meshal, verbal, or simile, pointing to the status of the kings in the theatres and the circuses, he deduces from the duty to keep them clean by washing and re-securing them, which is done by the house-children, that 'the one on man to keep his body clean by bathing, for the human body is made in the image of God' (Midrash Lec. Babba xxixv. 1, Yalkut to Pr 110).

The soul he likens to a guest whose entertainment (i.e. study) was expected of man (b. 1).

The proselyte anecdotes of which Hillel is the hero are characteristic tributes to his humanity, his forbearance, his patience—traits which stand out all the more prominently because they are in contrast with the contrary dispositions of his colleague Shammai. How Hillel remains unperturbed under the greatest provocation is told in the story of the man who made a wager that he would succeed in angering Hillel, and failed ignominiously (Aboda b. 31a; Taylor, p. 23, note 23). The 'Golden Rule,' virtually the saying, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself' (Lv 19:18), he names the fundamental principle of the Jewish religion, and designates every thing else as an unfolding thereof. Thus, in conversation with a proselyte who professed to accept Judaism provided it could be taught him during the time he could stand on one foot (i.e. stante pede, briefly and without unnecessary delay), Hillel replied: 'What is hateful unto thee do not do unto thy fellow. This is the great foundation; the rest is commentary. Go now and learn.' This negative formulation of the 'Golden Rule' is not less comprehensive than its NT counterpart (see J. E., art. 'Golden Rule,' vi. 21; and art. under that title in the present work).

The esteem in which Hillel was held led posterity to attribute to him the knowledge of God's true name and that of the speech of plants and birds and of many peoples (A. Jellinek, Beth Ha-Ra-Mishraḥ, Leipzig, 1858-73, ii. 117; Maase. Sepherin, iv. 9). But the tribute paid him at his like in the lament, 'Woe! Departed is the pious man. Woe! gone is the humble man, the disciple of Ezra' (Sanh. 110b,据此), who in his worth was recognized by those who had heard him praise God every day (Babā, 18c), who had been inspired by his faith in God, so intense that he was confident of eternity at adversity did not come from his house (Berakhot 60b; Jer. Berakhot 16b).

Humility, wholly free from pretense, is the keynote of this observation:

'A name made great is a name destroyed; he who increases not, decreases; and he who will not learn (perhaps teach) disapprehends; and he who serves himself with the thorn (is arrogant) perishes' (b. Ḥeb. 14).

The clearest insight into the relation between egoism and altruism, posing the duty of self-reliance and self-development as the means of rendering service unto others—a conception which is characteristicly Jewish and soundly and sanely limits both self-affirmation and self-aggrandisement—is exhibited in the words:

'If I am not for myself, who am I? And if I am only for myself, what am I? If not now, when then?' (b. Ḥeb. 15).

Not many ritual-legalistic decisions are remembered as Hillel's. On a few points he is reported to have differed from his Vice-President Shammai, who inclined to more rigid constructions of the Law. Both of them founded schools, not always agreeing in theory or practice. But these controversies are of too technical a character to be noticed. On the other hand, a certain well-known affair, termed the定制 of Mishnaic law (Yebḥaḥanim, 37a).

Of greater interest as throwing light on the attitude of Hillel to the letter of the Law are the Tosefta, the modifying arrangements, of which he was the author. War, failure of crops, and the policy of spoliation pursued by Herod, which led to extraordinary burdens in taxation, and reduced the people to distressing poverty. The dispossession was forced to resort to loans, while those in better circumstances were little inclined to make the advances in view of the provision of the Pentateuch, according to which the advent of the Sabbatical year 'outlawed' all indebtedness. To meet the situation, Hillel devised the prosed (ဆու, sg.), which enabled the creditor, by making the court his agent, to whom before the Sabbatical year he had assigned his claim, to collect his due from the debtor's property. The saying of his, this has been done. (W. Bank, Die Agada der Tannaiten, i. 2, 4 Hillel), and, as the apostrophe to the skull in Aboda ii. 7 suggests, he was by no means averse to employing the meshal, verbal, or simile, pointing to the status of the kings in the theatres and the circuses, he deduces from the duty to keep them clean by washing and re-securing them, which is done by the house-children, that 'the one on man to keep his body clean by bathing, for the human body is made in the image of God' (Midrash Lec. Babba xxixv. 1, Yalkut to Pr 110).

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'If I am not for myself, who am I? And if I am only for myself, what am I? If not now, when then?' (b. Ḥeb. 15).
who had been taught by him true charity, which
endeavoured to restore to the dependent all the
comfort and honour of his better days (Kset rhkot, 670)
and who had been brought to see the learning generously
when there are men to gather in (Berakhoth, 63c).

HINAYANA.—From the Agama de la Pensé1., 1.
Ketschacher, Die Aigama der Penamsé, L.
Strasbourg, 1884; 1. H. Webel, Dor Dor-see-Dorekho, Vienna
1878; H. Gravitas, History of the Jews, Philadelphia, 1881;
G. Goring, Vorträge über die Geschsichte des Judentums, L.
Berlin reprint, 1909; Z., art. 'Bila', 67, 397.

EMIL. G. HIRSCH.

HYNARITE.—Hyna means 'abandoned', 'low',
'miserable'; gyna means 'carriage', 'means of progression', 'vehicle'; the compound word
Hynayana, as used of religious opinions, means a wretched, bad method, or system, for
progress on the way towards salvation. It was a term
of abuse occasionally used by some of the later
Buddhist authors, who wrote in Sanskrit, to stigma-
tize or depreciate those older teachings which they
desired to supersede. The use of the term in India,
however, is exceedingly rare—not that the theo-
logians of the later desetic Buddhist schools were not
sure that the word was no
politely, and the needs of controversy could be met
without it. It might be now left in fit obscurity,
had it not been adopted by one or two well-known
Chinese and European authors, to whose sym-
pathies it appealed, and who have made it a corner-
one of their views on the history of Buddhism.
The meaning and object of its use makes it desire to summarize the little
that is known on the subject of the so-called Hynayana
schools.

A. Origins and date of the term.—In the present
stage of our knowledge of the history of Buddhism
we suffer from a serious gap in the chain of avail-
able authorities. From the rise of Buddhism
down to the time of Asoka (g.c.), we have docu-
ments of varying age and importance, which enable
us to draw a fairly accurate picture of the original
Buddhism as understood by the early Buddhists,
and also of the changes in doctrine down to the
close of that period. The majority of these
documents are in Pali, but there are a number of
side-lights as to detail from other sources, both
cary and later.
The following period of about three centuries,
from Asoka to Kanishka, is an almost complete
blank. Even the date of Kanishka is uncertain.
The able and sober discussion of the question by
H. Oldenberg in the JPTS for 1912, the latest
utterance on the point, suggests the end of the
1st. A.D., or the commencement of the 2nd as the
most probable approximate time of Kanishka's ac-
cession. We have notices from Chinese sources as
to national migrations in Central Asia, which re-
sulted in successive movements of nomad tribes
into the districts adjacent to the extreme N.W. of
India. These notices are not always very clear,
and at times appear conflicting, but they are suf-
cient to show that such movements in Central Asia
were continually taking place during the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era, and cul-
iminated in the conquest, not indeed of India,
but of Kashmir and the Punjab, and of the districts
round Mathur and Gujarâî, by hordes of uncivil-
nized nomads, usually Hans or Bakers by race. These
aliens adopted the religion, language, and civiliza-
tion of the Indian peoples, mostly Buddhist, whom
they conquered. Kanishka, the most famous and
powerful of their princes, became a Buddhist, and
lavishly supported the Buddhist scholars in Kash-
mâr, who belonged to the Soabasvatsa, the Recluse
school.
The result of these events was a momentous
change affecting all the subsequent history of
India.

Politically the centre of power was moved, for
centuries, from the east to the west of the con-
tinent. Linguistically the Koâla dialect, of which
Pali is the literary form, had to yield its place as
the linga franca of political, religious, and literary
circles, to the dialect of Kashmir, of which Sanskrit
is the literary form. In religion a complete trans-
formation was gradually but surely brought about.
The brave barbarians became Buddhist so far as
they were able. But they were so soaked in ani-
mistical superstitions that their ability was so nil to
the task only after they had brought down the
religion to the level of their own understanding.
There had been a slacking already. It is ap-
parent in the later parts of the Wasagya themselves,
and is shown quite clearly by the questions con-
sidered in the Kaitha Vatihas as being discussed in the
schools at the date when that work was com-
bosed (c. 290 a.C.). From the time of Kanishka
the whole power and influence of the Imperial State
were thrown on the side of the animistic tendencies,
and it was the main task of the Saivites and Jains,
who were the chief opponents of Buddhism, to
supersede the latter and take the place of the
Kushan Tatas, who was the main that the important
of the innovations were introduced into Buddhist doctrine.

A precisely similar series of events took place in
Europe. A vanguard of the Suebi and Alans, which
broke the N.W. frontiers of India, and died
indeed, to similar national movements in Central
Asia, broke in its turn over Europe. The Goths
and Vandals adopted the faith of the Roman
Empire. But, in adopting it, they contributed
largely to the changes—some would call them
deteriorations—that had already set in. When the
conflict of nations subsided, the religion of the
Roman Empire had become Roman Catholicism;
politically the Continent was broken up among a
large number of petty principalities, and the
so-called Vivant was one of these. It was
authorised pattern.

The earliest period in India, we find
Buddhists who had borrowed from the pagans, and
pagans who had adopted and improved upon the
conflicting speculations of the many Buddhist
schools. Philosophy was very much alive; and
quite a number of conflicting systems were able, in
the absence of even any attempt at authoritative
suppression, to appeal to the suffrages of inquirers.
It was at this stage that the word Hynayana came
into use. The oldest datable mention of the word is
in the Record of Buddhist Kingdoms by Fa-Hian,
written shortly after his return to China in 414 a.C.
He states, in his account of Shen-Shan (N.W. of
Tibet):

'The king professed our Law (Dharmas), and there might be
in the country more than three thousand monks who were all
students of the Hyna.'

In about half a dozen other passages he has
similar statements. Legge, in his note to one of these
passages, says that there were three vehicles—the
larger, smaller, and middle (mahâ, hina, and mân-
âya), suggesting, therefore, that Fa-Hian had
these three in his mind. It is, however, by no
means certain what the word, at that date, exactly
meant, or what Fa-Hian had in view, whether he used the phrase the empira, or
picked it up during his travels in India. It is not
probable that Legge's suggestion is right. That
Group of three vehicles has not been found else-
where. The Saddharma Pundarika (G. Dhamma,
67.28) has, however, a different group of three: sravaka,
pacoeka-buddha, and mahâ—in which Hyna is
does not occur. This group seems to have been
widely known, as it is found also in the 3rd cent. in
Ceylon, only applied to the word (suchana) instead
of to the vehicle (gades).
The word occurs in the Lalita Vistara,¹ in a long list of qualities or states of mind, each of which is said to conduct to some other quality. In this it is said to be thought of as a quality of the beginning of religious light, conducive to scorn for a mean method (Nipanas).

Unfortunately, the date of the existing text of this work (which has been certainly recast once, and perhaps oftener) is late and uncertain. Such a list as this lies peculiarly open, in a re-casting of the work, to sectarian interpolation; and the passage throws little light on the meaning of the word, as it is short and ambiguous. It might equally well mean the Hinayana.²

Nearly two centuries and a half later we know that another Chinese pilgrim, T-Esah, explained the word Hinayana as meaning one who did not believe in the various deities and heavens created by the later schools. Fa-Hian may have thought the same, or he may have had, not a negative, but a positive test: that a Hinayanaist, for instance, was one who still believed in the Aryan eight-fold Path; or he may simply have considered that a Hinayanaist was a man who belonged to one or other of the eighteen primitive schools. The last seems the most probable explanation. It was the easiest way to draw the line. We know from Fa-Hian’s 36th chapter (Legge, p. 98) that he was familiar with the eightfold system current among so many of the Buddhists. But, whatever be the exact meaning attached to the word Hinayana by Fa-Hian, it is probable, from his use of the Chinese equivalent of it, that the word, and with it the division of Buddhists into Hinayanaists and Mahayanaists, was already current in India in the 4th cent. A.D.

2. The Hinayana schools.—We have quite a number of copies of the list just referred to. The Sinhalese give it in half a dozen different books from A.D. 500 to about 1000. They all agree in the names, having taken them from the list of the stūpa, but now lost, Sinhalese Atthakathā. Saint Julien⁴ reproduces five distinct lists from the Chinese, Schiefner, Wisselief, and Rockhill give us other lists from the Tibetan.⁵ These eight differ from one another, and from the Pali list, in a few of the names; omitting one or two, and adding others. Each of them also pretends to be able to say of each school that it arose out of some other, and gives the name of the latter. In the details of these lists and these differences, as they differ; and it is most unlikely that their language can ever have been exact except in a very limited sense. They can, at most, only afford us some guide to the relative age of the various schools within the period of a century and a half—since the time of the Council of Vesali to that of the Council of Patna (about 400-520 A.C.)—within which they are all said to have arisen.

All the lists agree, however, in one point of great historical importance. Each of them gives one particular school, the School of the Preceptors, or the School of Distinction (Thera-adina, Vihaja-adina), as the original from which each of the seventeen others was ultimately descended.⁶

We have information as to some of the doctrines of several of these schools in the Katha Vatthu (3rd cent. B.C.) and its commentary (6th cent. A.D.).

6. W. Geiger, Mahab explan (w. P.T1, 1812, p. 377). He has made a list of the names of these schools in the fasc. 5 of his Indische Forschungen.

This has been specified, and discussed, together with other information, in two articles by the present writer.¹ The conclusions reached are:

(1) The data are not sufficient to enable us to give a complete description of the doctrines, or even of the innovations, current in any one particular school.

(2) Both the commentator and Fa-Hian, writing in the 5th cent. A.D., are agreed in granting only to three or four of these schools any considerable importance.

(3) No commentator, and Fa-Hian, writing in the 5th cent. A.D., are agreed in granting only to three or four of these schools any considerable importance.

(4) Yuen Chwang—writing at the end of the 7th cent. A.D., attaches importance to the same schools only. It is very doubtful whether any of the others had been, at any time, either large numbers or much influence.

(5) The figures given us by Yuen Chwang—writing at the end of the 7th cent. A.D.,—are not always the same for the same schools only. It is very doubtful whether any of the others had been, at any time, either large numbers or much influence.

(6) The figures given us by Yuen Chwang—writing at the end of the 7th cent. A.D.,—are not always the same for the same schools only. It is very doubtful whether any of the others had been, at any time, either large numbers or much influence.

(7) From what has been stated above as to the number of the lists of the 18 schools it seems clear that the number 18 is purely conventional—a round number.

We were to make a new list, including all the names found either in the old lists or in inscriptions (such, for example, as those mentioned in J.E.A.S., 1891, p. 410; 1892, p. 597), we should have 28 or 30. That none of the names appears in the earliest inscriptions would seem to show that not much weight was attached to them in the earliest times. When the schools are mentioned, the name of each is given separately. A Hinayana school as designating a body of men is never referred to. So with the Mahayana. There are a score or more of schools that must be included under that name. Some of them to-day in Japan have become sects with separate revenues, government, dress, doctrines, and services. To compare Hinayana with Mahayana it is necessary, if one would serve any useful historical purpose, to compare the whole of the one with the whole of the other. The position will best be understood in the West, if one pointed out that the Mahayana schools bear a relation to the Hinayana schools similar to the relation borne by the various Roman and Greek Catholic schools to the early Christian ones. This similarity is due to similar causes (one of which was mentioned above). But there are also remarkable and interesting differences. The most noteworthy of these is that the early forms of thought unsubstituted

¹ J.E.A.S., 1891, 1892.
HINDUISM

HINDUISM.—I. Definition.—'Hinduism' is the title applied to that form of religion which prevails among the vast majority of the present population of the Indian Empire. Brahmanism (Skt. Brāhmanism), which is the term generally used to designate the higher and more philosophical form of modern Hinduism, is more properly restricted to that development of the faith which, under Persian influence, succeeded to Vedicism, or the animistic worship of the greater powers of nature.

The name 'Hindu' derives its name from the term 'Indus,' which is a corruption of the Persian word 'Ind,' or 'land beyond the Indus.' The term, however, is not restricted to the country drained by the river Indus, but includes the whole area drained by the river Ganges and its tributaries, from the Himalayas to the sea. Hinduism is the name given to the religion, culture, and history of the people of this region.

The word 'Hindu' is also used to refer to the people of India, who share a common culture and language. The term is also used to refer to the religion practiced by the people of India, which is known as Hinduism.

2. History.—The history of Hinduism can be traced back to the Indus Valley Civilization, which existed around 3300 BCE. The civilization was characterized by the development of a complex society, with well-organized cities and a hierarchical social structure.

The Indus Valley Civilization was succeeded by the Vedic period, which began around 1500 BCE. During this period, the Vedic religion emerged, which was based on the sacred texts known as the Vedas. The Vedas consisted of hymns, rituals, and philosophical teachings.

The Vedic period was followed by the Mauryan Empire, which was established by Alexander the Great around 327 BCE. The Mauryan Empire was a powerful empire that extended from the Persian Gulf to the Indian Ocean.

The Mauryan Empire was succeeded by the Gupta Empire, which was established around 320 CE. The Gupta Empire was a prosperous and cultured period, during which the arts and sciences flourished.

The Gupta Empire was succeeded by the Islamic conquests, which began in the 8th century CE. The Islamic conquests brought about a period of cultural and intellectual stagnation, which lasted for several centuries.

3. Beliefs and Practices.—Hinduism is a polytheistic religion, which means that it recognizes multiple gods and goddesses. The most important gods and goddesses in Hinduism include Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva.

Brahma is considered the creator of the universe, Vishnu is considered the preserver of the universe, and Shiva is considered the destroyer of the universe.

Hinduism is also characterized by its emphasis on dharma, or moral duty. Dharma is considered to be the foundation of all good and virtue.

Hinduism is also known for its complex system of caste, which is based on the idea of karma and rebirth. Caste is considered to be a fixed social order, which is based on birth and occupation.

4. Architecture.—Hinduism is also characterized by its magnificent architecture. The most famous examples of Hindu architecture include the temples of India, which are known for their intricate carvings and sculptures.

The most famous temple in India is the temple of Kailash, which is located in the town of Devagiri. The temple is considered to be one of the seven wonders of the world.

5. Literature.—Hinduism is also characterized by its rich and diverse literature. The most famous works of literature in Hinduism include the Bhagavad Gita, the Ramayana, and the Mahabharata.

The Bhagavad Gita is a religious poem that is considered to be one of the most important works of literature in Hinduism. The Ramayana is a epic poem that tells the story of Rama, a hero who is considered to be a representation of the god Vishnu.

The Mahabharata is a epic poem that tells the story of the Mahabharata war, which is considered to be one of the most significant events in Hindu history.

6. Conclusion.—Hinduism is a rich and complex religion that has played a significant role in the history and culture of India. It is characterized by its emphasis on dharma, its complex system of caste, and its magnificent architecture.

Hinduism is also characterized by its rich and diverse literature, which includes some of the most important works of literature in the world.

Hinduism is also important for its role in the development of the arts and sciences, which flourished during the Gupta Empire. Hinduism is also important for its role in the development of the caste system, which has played a significant role in the history of India.
HINDUISM

limita. Early traditions in W. India tell of fleets from the coasts of Sind and Gujarat conveying emigrants to Cambodia and Java, and Ptolemy's map of the Indo-Chinese names indicates, indicating the existence of Hindu settlements as early as the 1st cent. A.D. In Cambodia the remains at Angkor, Nakbon Wat, Borobudur, and other remains of Hindu origin are original. In Java, as in Sumatra, the early ascendency of the Hinduism by tradition is well connected with Buddhism, and then a period of aggressive Bakrism, followed by a period of apparent compromise between the rival faiths. Hinduism finally gave way to Islam, and has been with the original three (see E.B. ii. 229; E.B. xi. 286 f., 292, xxv. 74). But in Bali, or Little Java, it still holds its ground in a corrupt form, sanctioning the custom of widow-burning (suix) and the traditional fourfold Hindu caste system. It is now largely blended with the baser forms of Buddhism and the animistic cults of evil spirits (daka). For Hindu emigration to the Far East, see V. A. Smith, Hist. of Asia, in India and Ceylon, 1911, p. 256 f. In the early centuries of the Christian era, Hindu literature, and the literature of the Persian empire into Khotan, and all Chinese Turkestan up to the frontier of China Proper. The discussion of the influence of Hindu belief on the religions of the West is beyond the scope of this book. F. Petrie has discovered portraits at Memphis of an Aryan woman from the Panjâb and a seated Hindu figure.

3. Materials for the study of Hinduism.—The subject of Hinduism, in many of its varied phases, is considered in several articles in this work—those describing the great provinces of the Empire; those tracing the development of the faith as illustrated by the mummi five, etc.; those dealing with the greater gods, religious sects, and sacred places. The purpose of this article is to discuss, in a general way, the progressive evolution of Hinduism, and to group the facts, as far as is possible, in their historical setting. It must be remembered, however, that the materials for such a survey are in many directions incomplete and fragmentary. In the first place, the Hindu religious records are of much later date than those of Babylonia or Egypt. In Babylonia inscriptions from Kippar earlier than the third millennium before our era are available (Hdb v. 552; for various other estimates, see E.B. liii. 108 f.); the oldest Egyptian dynasty of which remains have been discovered goes back, according to Flinders Petrie, to 4777 B.C., or, in a later estimate, to 5510 (E.B. lix. 69). The accounts of the origin of Hinduism start with the Vedic age, which is believed to date from about 1500 B.C. Secondly, while the hymns of the Veda embody the naive speculations of the early Indo-Aryans on the character of the universe and the origin of the world, the later Brahmanic period were compiled by the priestly class to support its claims to the leadership of the Aryan community. A comparison of these writings with those of the Buddhists and

Jains, so far as they have been examined, leads to the conclusion that this Brâhmana literature does not accurately represent the early development of Hinduism (A. Davids, Buddhist Jâspas, 1908, p. 149 f.). The historical side, remains of this literature is vague and incomplete. These ancient religious teachers had little of the historical sense, and were not concerned to compile a systematic account of political events or of the phases of social progress. The inference which they desired to suggest was that Brahmanical Hinduism dates from the most ancient period; that Brahmanas have always been the political, religious, and social guides of the community; that the orderly progress of religious development was never inconsistent with violent cataclysm. The literature prepared by them contains no adequate account of the rise, progress, and decay of Buddhism and Jainism; and in a general measure it ignores the successive invasions of N. India by Greeks, Parthians, Scythians, and Huns, of which the two last races profoundly influenced the religious and social life of the Hindus. To this must be added the general insight and national patriotism which the Hindus share with other oriental races. The priestly record of the early Hindu period cannot, to any large extent, be supplemented from independent sources. The true historical period does not begin before the 7th cent. B.C., and there is little to show that the inhabitants of India, even the most intellectual races, seem to have been generally ignorant of the art of writing, and to have been obliged to transmit their memory for the transmission of knowledge (V. A. Smith, Early Hist. 7, Oxford, 1908, p. 34 f.).

No extant inscription can be assigned to a date earlier than that of Aśoka (p.c.), the middle of the 3rd cent. B.C., while numismatic evidence begins to be of value only from the time of the invasion of Alexander (16. 13 f.). The architectural remains of the earlier period which have survived are Buddhist or Jain, not Brahmanical; and the art and style are, for the most part, independent of religion. We possess no historical records and no sacred literature of the non-Aryan races of S. India, until they came into contact with the Hinduism of the North. The Tale of the Talism is said to date only from about 100 B.C. (V. Kankaabhai, The Talism: Eighteen Hundred Years Ago, 1904, p. 35 f.).

4. Vedic Arianism.—The Vedic religion will be discussed in a separate article. Here it is only necessary to point out that the methods employed by the school of mythologists represented in Great Britain by F. Max Muller, to reconstruct the divine personality from a single physical concept, such as the wind or dawn, are now generally discredited in the study of Indian literature. The study of Hellenic myths (Farnell, Cgs, Oxford, 1898-1909, v. 9 n.). The identification of the titles of the Vedic gods in language akin to the Skr. has been widely contested and found to be of a great measure unfruitful; and attention at present is more generally concentrated on the comparison of cults rather than of divine titles.

The priests and higher classes of the Indo-Aryan community, whose beliefs are represented in the Vedic hymns, had raised to the rank of gods the greater spirits which control the chief energies of Nature; but the lesser spirits, which were treated and propitiated by the mass of the people, were to a large extent ignored in the religious literature. The latter and lower form of Hinduism, though it has been denied that it formed 'anything like a complete background to Vedic mythology,' can be traced in the Veda (F. Max Muller, Contrib. to the Science of Mythology, 1897, p. 211).
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of omen, and other animals might be invoked; even objects fashioned by the hands of man, weapons, the war-cry, the drum, the plough, as well as ritual implements, such as the pruning-sickle, might be adored ('A. A. Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, pp. 3, 85, 147 f.).

Again, many myths (though an attempt has been made by Max Müller (op. cit. ii. 429, 553, 573) to derive them from physical happening) are of the type common to all primitive races. The tales of Indra overcome with drink, and committing adultery with Asura women; of the incest of Prajapati; of the creation of all things out of the severed limbs of a magnified non-natural man, Yuru, are all common to savage folk-lore, and in the various forms of races lower than the Aryans are. But the belief in the power of formula (mantra; see CHARMs and AMULETS (Indian)); the practice of sympathetic or mimetic magic, such as the use of figures which are wounded to destroy an enemy; magical practices connected with marriage, initiation, the anointing of the king; the use of homoeopathic magic for the cure of baldness or jaundice, are all similar to those current among the lower races of the world. In the case of the Brahmins, Die Religion des Veda, Berlin, 1894, pp. 508, 50, 477, 431 f., 507; M. Bloomfield, Athishva, SBE xlii. (1923) 7 f. Ideas of this kind are most largely found in the Atharvaveda, which was compiled from very ancient materials after the Aryans had penetrated some distance down the valley of the Ganges (Bloomfield, op. cit. Introd. xi, xiv). The fact that such beliefs were common to Aryans and non-Aryans naturally facilitated that contamination of the earlier and purer theology which developed into the Brahmanism, and at a later date into Hinduism.

5. Foreign Influence in Aryan culture and belief.

The view is now gaining ground that the Indo-Aryans were not unaffected by foreign influences.

(a) Some authorities recognize a stratum of Babylonian culture. If about 1400 B.C. the hegemony of Babylon had been established in Western Asia, it is not unreasonable to suppose that its influence may have extended to India. The great trade routes through Persia and Turkestan must have been controlled by the ruler of the Elamite-Tigris valley; ruins of terraced fields and irrigation channels in Baluchistan prove that in ancient times it must have been a very fertile land, through which communication between the Elamite-Tigris and Indus valleys could have been maintained. As early as at least as the 7th or 8th cent. B.C. sea commerce was carried on between the non-Aryans of S. and W. India and Babylon; and by this route the pre-Semitic alphabet, which is the basis of the Indian scripts, reached India (J. Kennedy, J.R.A.S., 1898, p. 241 f.; Smith, Early Hist., 22 n.; Sayce, Origin and Growth of Religion (II. 1887), London, 1891, p. 137 f.). Various lines of coincidence between the Babylonian and early Hindu culture have been traced: the resemblance of Babylonian chasms against diseases, evil spirits, the belief in the invisibility of those of the Athishva (M. Jastrow, Log. of Babylon and Assyry, Boston, 1888, p. 233 f.); the belief in sorcery, witchcraft, omens, lucky and unlucky days (ib. 204, 202 f., 280; Sayce, 130, 297); the custom at Taxila of selling maidens who failed to secure husbands, which was in force at Babylon (Herod. i. 198); the habit of burying in terra-cotta containers, found in India, resembling those of Babylonia (J. V. 235; Jastrow, 597 f.). It has also been suggested that India owes to Babylonian the introduction of brick masonry (JGI ii. 108), the adoption of the seven-days week, and of the system of the twenty-four or twenty-eight lunar mansions (nakatra) (M. Weber, Hist. of Indian Lit., 1878, p. 246 f.). On the other hand, Max Müller (India, What can it teach us?, 1885, p. 126 f.) strenuously denies that Babylonia shows traces of Babylonian influence, and M. Haug (Alt-assyri. Brahman., 1893, i. 49) suggests that the early astronomic observation identic with babylonian lunar mansions have been made in N. India. In any case, the lunar mansions were a late introduction in Babylonia, and, if the Hindus borrowed them, it was probably later than the 7th cent. B.C. (J. Kennedy, 291, 297 f.; further, F. K. Ginzal, Handb. der mathemat. und techn. Chronologie, Leipzig, 1906 ff., i. 74-77). A recent discussion of the influence of Babylon on the religion of Greece shows that so far as knowledge goes at present, there is no reason for believing that ancient Hellenism, wherever else across the streams that nourished its spiritual life, was fertilised by the deep springs of Babylonian religion or theosophy (J. R. Farnell, Greece and Babylon, Edinburgh, 1911, p. 307). Further investigation makes it clear that these conclusions apply to the relations of Babylonia with India. On the whole, the influence of Babylon on Hindu culture seems to have been comparatively late, and the results seen at Babylonia have been so thoroughly assimilated that they are no longer visible on Indian soil.

In the case of China, on the contrary, the primitive elements having become worn down or absorbed, it is difficult to trace the connexion between the two cultures. If the goddess Nana Devi worshipped at Hingha might be identical with the Babylonian Nana of Erech, we may suppose that the cults of the Mother-goddesses of east and west may here have been combined; her name, in the form Nana, appears on the cone of the Nana king Hys], who ascended the throne about A.D. 180 (J.R.A.S., 1907, p. 60; Smith, Early Hist., 255 f.; cf. J. G. Frazer, G.E., pt. i. The Magic Arts and the Rites of Kings, London, 1911, i. 37 n. T. Holdich, The Gates of India, do. 1910, p. 162 f.). An echo of the Sabel legend has been traced in the Brahmanas, where the demons pile up a great fire-altar, by which they hope to scale the sky; when they have climbed some distance, Indra pulls out a brick; they fall to earth, and all two, but who fly away and become the dogs of Yama, are turned into spiders (Bloomfield, SBE xlii. 500). The conception of the upper or heavenly sky appears in the Veda as well as in the Avesta and in the cosmogony of Babylonia. It has been urged that the coincidences between the Babylonian and the Hindu Flood-legend can hardly be accidental (Atarhazshas, xii. 36, 3; Satapatha Br. 2. 1. 6; Jastrow, 518). But the Hindu Flood-story is comparatively late, and it has been suggested that its independence of the legends in the Avesta and the Br. shows that it was not derived from Iran, but possibly, by Dravidian intermediaries, from Babylon, after the opening of communication by sea (J. Kennedy, J.R.A.S., 1898, p. 290 f.; also see T. K. Cheyne, in E.B. xii. vii. 976 f.; E.R. i. 1065 f.; F. H. Wood, SBE iv. 555 f.). It must also be remembered that such myths prevail in many parts of the world (T. E. Tylor, Social Inst. and Hist. of Mankind, London, 1865, p. 317 ff.), and that India has its own legends of the same kind, such as those prevalent among the Lepchas, Korkus, Mundas, Karsens, and Andamanese, which are almost certainly independent of Aryan tradition. The question of Babylonian influence on India has been discussed by (Korovin, Indo-Europ. Leipzig, 1894, Eng. tr. The Evolution of the Aryan, by A. Drucker, London, 1897),
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whose conclusions must be accepted with caution. For the wide-spread influence of Babylonian culture, see L. W. King, A Hist. of Sumer and Akkad, London, 1910, p. 377, the fact remains that the beliefs and cultus of the Hindus are, in the main, of indigenous origin, and that they developed on national lines of evolution. The Peninsula in east and west is bounded by an ocean, which in the early period was not open to the navies of the world. To the north and west India was cut off from the neighbouring Aryan kingdom by a rugged mountain barrier, a great river, wide tracts of desert, and a borderland held by savage tribes. This isolation of the country promoted that confiden
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which concerns the human, the natural, the world of nature, ancestor-worship, and so on; that is, all that lies on this side of the cult. What lies behind it, the truly supernatural, cannot originate in Animism, and Animism does not explain it. The idea of God is derived from Nature worship, at the back of which lies Man; and it is not contradicted by the recognition of possible links between souls and gods, or between magic and prayer. The facts seem to point uniformly to decaying phases of monothetical belief—belief in a power to work, or to whose, evil of any sort is ins

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The monothelism of the Svetambara Jains is exemplified in its [spelledsic] as the belief that the [spelledsic] of Indra still survives, but in an attenuated form (see art. BRAHMANISM, vol. ii. p. 804). Even in the Epic period he had suffered some loss of dignity, and he is now generally conceived as lord of a paradise of delights to which he conveys the souls of warriors slain in battle. In Buddhist mythology, under the name of Sakka, the Pāli form of the Vedic Sūtras, 'the mighty one,' he retains some measure of respect. In the older Buddhist Sūtras he is almost the only deity of a well-defined type; at a later period he is conceived as reigning in heaven of his own, whereas he occasionally descends to interfere in earthly affairs (H. Kern, Manual of Indian Buddhism, 1896, pp. 18, 23, 48; A. Ormskirk, Buddha. Art in India. Eng. Trans. New York, 1901, p. 197). The Buddhists of Nepal use the thunderbolt (vajra) of this god as the sacred symbol of their divine Master's victory over the king of the Hindu heavens, and they venerate it accordingly. All classes of Newars, Buddha as well as Hindus worship the sacred mountain, Meru, most closely associated with him. There he watches the dances of the nymphs who form his court—a view of his character which naturally commends itself to epic Hinduism. His cults extend even to the forest tribes, like the Bhils (p. e.), and in Bengal the non-Aryan Koch venerate a local god under the title of Indra, who is identified with Indra, and rides on his elephant, Airavata; and in Darjeeling it has suffered further degradation, seeming to be antinomious and represented by two figures, male and female, made of clay or cowdung. When drought is feared, the women make offerings of curds, parched rice, and molasses, and dance round the images at night, performing many obscene rites and abasing Indra in the foulest language, in the hope of compelling him to send the much-needed rain.' (Comer. Report Bengal, 1901, i. 190 ff.) In other places in the same province, after worship is done to him, his image is flung into the river as a mimetic rain-charm, and with the object of purifying the deity, and fitting him to answer the prayers of his worshippers during the coming year (W. Ward, The Hinduos, 1817, i. 32).

(c) Agni.—A Indra was the special god of the warriors, so Agni was closely connected with the Brāhmans; and this devotion, with the intensified belief in the efficacy of the sacrifice, was fully developed in the Brāhmans. This deity seems to have developed from the cult of the sacrificial fire; but his personification, like that of the Greek Hestia, was never sufficiently anthropomorphic to disguise its ritualistic origin (Farnell, GES v. 388). Some Brāhmans, known as
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Agni, still, in accordance with the sacred law (Mans, li. 67, xi. 68), maintain the sacred fire, which is produced by means of friction with the fire-stick (aruni). The sacred fire is also kept up at the temple as a sign of the sacred fire. In Nepal, the gom rite is performed by the priest himself in the jets of combustible gas which rise out of the earth near her shrine. Fire is also venerated as the agency by which the sacrifice of the sages reaches the gods; in the form of the koma it is an important part of the ordinary domestic ritual (see art. BRAHMANISM, vol. ii. p. 383 f.).

(c) Sun-worship.—At the present day, worship is performed in honour of Sūrya Nārāyaṇa, the Sūrya of the Vedic period, also known under the titles of Ṛṣiṣya and Sūriṣya (see ERS ii. 304 f.). All pious Hindus reverence the rising sun, and he is invoked when the pilgrim bides in sacred rivers, and at other devotional rites. But, like the Greek Helios, he is now regarded as a minor god rather than a great divinity, the most probable explanation of his loss of dignity being that his functions have been transferred to the greater Divinities. As Farnell (COS v. 420) remarks: "Earth, "hearth," "sun" were names of palpable objects, regarded indeed with some sense of mystery that is the emotional background of religion, which is capable of being transformed by the healthy materialistic perception, and in any case too limited in respect of local position, function, to satisfy the true Hellenic idea of godhead. The sun being a visible god whose beneficence is obvious to all the Hindu conceives that he has little need of image, and, though some temples, like those of the Kṛṣṇa at Oraiṣa, Gāyā in Bengal, and Ayodhya in the United Provinces, are dedicated to him, they are far less numerous than those of the sectarian gods; and his worship as a tribal deity is confined to tribes like the Kāśi of W. India, who are probably a branch of the Gūjaras, and comparatively late immigrants from Central Asia (J. Kennedy, J.E.S., 1907, p. 987). The Saur sect, which was specially devoted to this form of worship, seems to have practically disappeared (H. H. Wilson, J.A.S., 1901). The cult of the deity which prevails among the non-Aryan tribes is probably not based on imitation of the practices of the Aryans.

(a) Fasting. Vedic deities.—This list of four gods—Varuṇa, Indra, Agni, and Sūrya—practically exhaust those cults of the Vedic gods which survive in modern times. Of the four gods, Uṣas, the dawn, the twin Ṛṣis, Vāyu-vāta, and the Maruṇa, Pūjan, deity of roads and cattle, hardly even the names survive. Their places have been taken by a host of minor deities of tribe or village, or their cults have been appropriated by the sectarian gods. The cults of stars and sacred animals, mountains, rivers, and the like, which appear in the Veda, have now assumed forms presenting only a faint analogy to the primitive tradition. One cult, well established in Vedic times, that of the Pitṛ, or painted dead, continues perhaps more than any other to impress the imagination of the modern Hindus (see Ancestor-worship (Indian), vol. i. p. 450 f.).

(b) Hinduism to Brahmanism.—The leading note of the Vedic hymns is cheerfulness: the great gods are the benevolent patrons of their worshippers; they teach the Indian Arya in all his struggles with the Drāvyas, or dark indigenous races; the evils which assail men are the work of demons, against whom the kindly gods wage successful warfare. In the period which follows, that of the Brāhmaṇas (c. 800-500 B.C.), the prevailing feeling is very different. Its principal is perhaps due to climatic environment, and to the general acceptance of the doctrine of metempsychosis. The atmosphere of this period is that of religiosity rather than religion—the quibbles and elaborate ceremonialism of professional priests, contrasted with the peaceful poetry and naive speculations of the Vedic Devis—suggests the idea of things Divine and human. It may be compared with the transition from the prophetic literature of the Hebrews to legalism, and its crystallization in the later Phralism. This change of feeling may be attributed partly to climatic, partly to political, conditions. The Indo-Aryans had by this time advanced southward down the Ganges valley, where the climate is damper and more depressing than that of the Panjāb. They had apparently broken up into a number of petty States which waged warfare one against the other. They had also come into contact with the non-Aryans, by some called Dravidians, and more probably members of the Kāla-Khatri family, who, according to recent investigations, do not seem to have entered the Panjāb in any considerable number. Against these Mon-Khmer or Dravidian tribes, known as the "dwellers in the land," they waged constant war. The clash of these rival cultures formed the sources from which modern Hinduism ultimately sprang.

It is a popular error which mistake all conclusions regarding the early history of the Hindus, to suppose that these indigeneous tribes were all savage barbarians. Many of them were probably forest-dwelling tribes, like the Gonds or Munda, or nomadic horsemen, like the modern Bodīyas or Sākatas. Collectively they were known to the Indo-Aryans as "those who do not maintain the sacred fire" (anagnirata), or "fire-eaters" (jātayudham). Some of them seem to have attained a fairly high level of culture, even possessing, as the jealous Vedic singers admit, fame and credit, and possessing a rude form of husbandry (Muir, Orig. Skr. Texts, ii. 368 f., 399). Their religion, like that of their modern successors, was a form of Animism, and they had reached the belief in the existence of the soul after death. They "adorn," says an early text, "the bodies of their dead with gifts, with various kinds of ornaments in thinking that thereby they shall attain the world to come" (Muir, ii. 368). In short, it seems probable that in material belief, as well as in religious belief, they were not far below the standard of the mass of the Indo-Aryans. The importance of this consideration lies in the fact that this uniformity of the Dravidian religion is combined with this union of these two rival stocks, and led to that amalgamation of the cults of the conqueror and the conquered from which modern Hinduism was evolved.

10. Contributions to modern Hinduism from the Brāhmaṇa period.—The chief contributions from this period to Hinduism were: (a) a great system of religious philosophy known as the Vedāṇa; (b) the supremacy of the Brāhmaṇa; (c) the dogma of the efficacity of sacrifice; and (d) the doctrine of metempsychosis.

(a) Vedāṇa polemics, "which is breathed by every Hindu from his earliest youth, and pervades in various forms the prayer even of the idolater, the speculations of the philosopher, and the "verbs of the beggar" (Max Müller, India, What can it teach us?, 249), and which has been traced in a hymn of the Rigveda (x. 90), is fully developed in the philosophical literature known as the Upaniṣadas. It forms the subject of a special article (see Vedāṇa, and E.R.S. i. 47 f., 167 f.). Its chief interest at the present time lies...
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in the fact that its revival is one of the most important movements in the Neo-Hinduism of our day (see § 25).

(b) The supremacy of the Brāhmaṇa.—The priest, who in his most primitive form, is an exorcist or medicine-man, appears in Vedic times; but the priestly order does not seem at that period to have been organized into a profession, nor did its members claim a hold by hereditary right, though the transmission of magical powers from one generation to another may have been recognized. The home of the rite of the early Aryans, conducted by the head of the family, gave way to the in- 
terlacings of ritual, and thus led to the creation of the office of purāṇika (proprietor, ‘he that is set before’), or family priest, whose claim to office mainly rested on his skill in magic (Bloomfield, SBE xlii.; Introd. livii ff.). Hang, however, is inclined to date this office back to the period when Iranian and Hindu formed a single community (l. 67); and it seems clear that the hereditary magical power of the priestly class was re- 
cognized even before Vedic times (see ERE II. 435). The supremacy of the Brāhmaṇas was doubtless closely connected with the denial by the Indo-Aryans to the Daṣya of the right of possession, which was one of the causes which contributed to the establishment of the caste system (Thrae Davida, H.L. 1881, p. 23 ff.). But it is not till the Brāhmaṇa period that Brāhmaṇa claims are fully developed. ‘The gods,’ says the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (Hang, ii. 528 ff.), ‘do not eat the food offered by a king who has no house priest.’ There are two kinds of gods: the Dvaras and the Brāhmaṇas, the latter being ‘deities among men.’ At a later time Mann (xl. 85) lays down that ‘by his origin alone a Brāhmaṇa is a deity even for the common man; his teaching is авторi- tative for men, because the Veda is the foundation for that’; and, again (l. 317), ‘a Brāhmaṇa, be he ignorant or learned, is a great divinity, just as the siva, whether carried forth or not carried forth, is a great divinity.’ The Brāhmaṇa of the present day lays claim to the rights accorded to him in the early sacred books; and some of them, like the Nāgaras of Gujarāt and the Nambūṭiras of Malabar, surround themselves with rigid tabus of various kinds in order to enhance their personal purity (A. K. Forbes, Rta Māta, London, 1878, p. 504; J. A. Dubs, Hindu Manners*, 1906, p. 178 ff.; F. Fawcett, Bull. Madr. Soc. 33, 1887, pp. 108 ff.; L. K. Ananthārā Krishnā Iyer, Cōtiṅs Trāda and Cōtale, [1912] 100 ff.). Owing to its isolation and to the special environment of Orissa, the local Brāhmaṇas, with their metropolis at Jaipur, possess more power and property than in almost any part of India (W. Hunter, Orissa, London, 1875, l. 255 ff.; E. Hinthop, Survey General Prov., pt. v. [Allahabad, 1911] p. 29). But in the case of some of the southern Brāhmaṇas this affectation of ex- 
treme personal purity is not deemed incompatible with the strange marriage law under which some of them, like the Nambūṭiras, live in a recognized system of concentricity with women of the Nāgar caste.

The position of the Brāhmaṇa in S. India in relation to popular belief is specially interesting, as the respect paid to him depends partly on race, partly on history, and partly on environment. Thus, in the great delta of Tanjore in the E. part of the province,

Brāhmaṇa influence is predominant in social and religious matters. In almost all non-Brāhmaṇe castes the services of a Brāhmaṇa priest (family priest) are indispensable at weddings, funerals, and sacrifices; and the rites observed on these occasions are tinged with Brāhmaṇical observance to an extraordinary extent. As a result the Brāhmaṇas in Brāhmaṇism is here a living reality, and not the neglected cult, shrouded out by the worship of aboriginal godlings, demons

and devils, which is so often in other districts. Almost every village has its temple dedicated to one of the orthodox gods, holy places are legion, and every important town possesses a madrasah (university) building, but the Brāhmaṇa priestess of good fortune or ritual. Brāhmaṇas versed in the sacred law are numerous in Tanjore; Vedas sacrifices are performed on the banks of the river Kaveri; and Vedic chant is performed in a manner rarely equalled; philosophical treatises are published in Brāhmaṇical books, and religious associations exist, the privileges of initiation into which are eagerly sought for, and the rules of which are followed earnestly, even to the extent of relinquishing the world (W. F. Hemingway, Gazetteer of Tanjore, Madras, 1906, l. 67 f.). The explanation of this predominance of Brāhmaṇical life probably lies in the influence of the great Chola kings, to whose religious fervour the three temple numbers in the district (Smith, Early Hist. 4, 414 ff.)

In the adjoining District of Madura, however, the situation is different. Though Madura is a well-known centre of Brāhmaṇical, the religious sentiment of the people is Dravidian. The important temple-worship of the chief city creates the impression that the people must be devoted to the worship of the orthodox gods; but a closer examination shows that large areas are devoid of any important shrine dedicated to the members of the Brāhmaṇical pantheon, and the village people are known to have been unable to impose their rites to any great extent upon the people is that large sections of the community do not regard it as necessary that their marriage or funeral should be performed by any professional priest (W. Francis, Gazetteer of Madura, Madras, 1906, l. 84).

Passing to the northern Districts of the Presidency, in Ballyh on the N. slope of the Deccan plateau,

the religious worship of the people is devoted to the shrines of the local Hāmana (the local teaching) which are in several hundreds. The former abode, and there is a saying that there is no village without a hāman or a hāman temple. The village goddesses are many. Besides the usual Mahāma and Dur- 
ganama (of whom the former presides over small potters, while the latter is malignant), the water goddesses Gāndāma or Gānma, and the numerous unnamed Gānnas, or village mothers, there are several local Annas (brothers) held in great respect . . . Brāhmaṇi is worshipped in the form of four-handed images, some- 
times without any tangible image, a sort well and one of the pillars in a temple being declared to be his habitation and any professional priest (W. Francis, Gazetteer of Bellary, Madras, 1906, l. 86).

In the Godāvā district on the east coast, partially composed of a deltaic region, with tracts of hill country occupied by wild tribes,

coalitions and alliances are maintained by the various castes, and these alliances are celebrated by marriage, personal friendship, or ceremonial processions; and it is not unusual to see the more influential castes of Brāhmaṇa and the Brāhmaṇas of Northern India as degenerate, the one are the ‘fish-eaters.’ They again believe that all other Brāhmaṇas, like those of Northern India, are unable to pronounce Sanskrit speech correctly. On account of their peculiar environment, the Brāhmaṇas of S. India are, in contrast to the Brāhmaṇas of the rest of India, and they are able to carry on their religious and social duties, and to maintain their position, and it is a rule that the Brāhmaṇas are far from popular, irrespective of the fact that they are the most conspicuous of the castes, and that there are still a power, but their power is extremely limited. All the power they have is that of advice. They can tell the
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is proper and what is improper. They can tell which actions and thoughts are inconsistent with scriptural sanction, and which have not, but they cannot compel any other men to do anything. They again have a power of conferring Vedic or Puranic sacraments, as they are priests, and of bestowing on, the possessors with the power, and the good use to which this power can be applied, are those who consecrate them to this purpose, with the

The Brāhmaṇas of N. India, doubtless as the result of a long period of foreign domination, are much less pretentious and exacting. The laxity of practices among those of Kāmir and Rājputana is notorious; and, though the Kanaṣṇiṣṇas exercise extreme care in the matter of food, on the whole the priestly class, particularly in regions, subject by manlier races like the Jat or Rājputs, have lost much of the influence which they once possessed (J. Wilson, Indicæ Caste, Bombay, 1877, p. 139, 146, 148, 160; Thibetan, Puranic Ethnography, 1883, p. 120). Many of them, like the Gaṇapati of Gāyā, the Prayagwāl of Allahābad, the Chaubē of Mathurā, all of whom are pilgrims guides at these sacred spots and shrines, are but extensively learned. Among the ordinary village Brāhmaṇas the theory of vicarious sacrifice has been so far extended that maidens are sometimes offered, and others propitiated, by feeding at funeral and other feasts, and performed, no priestly duties. The Brāhmaṇa escurtist and astrologer still maintains much of his influence even among these classes which pretend to have assimilated the learning of the West, and particularly among women, who are specially devoted to the traditions domestic. (The efficacy of sacrifice. With the supremacy of the Brāhmaṇas was combined the dogma of the efficacy of sacrifice. “By sacrifice,” says the Vedic Brāhmaṇa, “the gods obtained heaven” (Monier-Williams, Brāhmaṇism and Hinduism, p. 23). According to other Vedas, should sacrifice cease for an instant to be offered, the gods would cease to send the rain, to bring boughs at the appointed time the sun and moon, to ripen the harvest, because they would no longer incline to do so, and also, as it is sometimes surmised, because they could no longer do so (Barth, Rel. of India, 1882, p. 86). There is not much evidence to support the belief that the Indo-Aryan sacrifices depended on the condition of life through the eating of the totem animal—a view advocated in the Semitic sphere by W. R. Smith (Rel. Sem. 238 ff.) and further extended by F. B. Jevons (Introduction to History of Eth., London, 1886, p. 18, ff.). There is little trace of totemism in Vedic literature, and we find little proof that the Vedics Indians believed that the eating of the god, or of the conception of the Semitic sacrificial meal (Macdonell, Vedic Myth., 183; A. B. Keith, J.R.I., 1907, pp. 931, 939). It is also improbable that sacrifice in all its complicated details could have been developed from one only of a group of kindred ideas included in the general system of primitive worship. In India it would appear that the first aim of sacrifice was to present a simple thank-offering. The second aim was to nourish the gods with the essence of the offered food, and to strengthen them for their duty of maintaining the universe. The next idea was that of making these offerings the occasion of reaping from the invigilates and gratified deities, and so accomplishing some specific earthly object, such, for example, as the birth of a son. A still more ambitious object was that of employing sacrifice as an instrument for the human beings of the world gods and even exalting to heaven (Monier-Williams, p. 23).

It gradually became a mystic rite, which of late gave supernatural power to the worshipper apart from the god; or it was since the time of the mimetic, the offering imitating the action which he desired the god to perform; or it was intended to propitiate spirits or tutelary gods. It gradually became surrounded with that air of mystery which Hindu thought associates with it, and it was often made to seem trivial, that making a symbol of symbols which at bottom signify nothing, and of playing with enigmas which are availed of with the trouble of trying to unravel (Barth, 209).

The great Vedic sacrifices, at which thousands of victims were immolated by hosts of priests—the rite lasting, it is said, in some cases three generations—have quite fallen into disuse; and the number of Brāhmaṇas fully skilled in the elaborate ritual is now small. Human sacrifices, rare in Vedic times, and possibly adopted from the non-Aryan races, increased at a later period; and, though the merit of sacrifice of the Kandus (yev.) has long been suppressed, isolated examples of such practices are still occasionally reported (H. H. Wilson, Works, ii. 288 ff.; W. Crooke, Things Indian, London, 1896, p. 288 ff.; Rajendrala Mitra, Ind. Aryans, London and Calcutta, 1881, i. 111 f.). At the present day sacrifices are of two kinds—bloody and bloodless offerings. The former are usually made to the Matha gods in one of their many forms, especially in Benares and Mathurā, and among the lower classes of the people rather than among the higher. Their object is to avert the anger of the goddesses, to propitiate the evil spirits, or to remove disease or other calamity, or they are made in fulfillment of a vow. Sometimes a compromise is made, the animal being merely laid before the shrine, or its ear is pierced and its blood presented, after which it is released. Bloodless offerings consist of the fire-sacrifice (homa), in which butter is cast into the flame so that the sweet savour may reach the gods, or presentations are made of grain, fruit, flowers, or leaves of some sacred tree or plant, which are laid before, or laid upon, the image, and are sometimes accompanied by a water oblation. Siva, except very rarely in the case of his Himalayan manifestation Pāṇḍu, which was probably adopted from some non-Aryan cult, receives none but bloodless offerings; and this, is, of course, the rule in the worship of Viṣṇu, the humanitarian Buddhist tradition being clearly traceable in his cult. The intention of the modern worshipper is to propitiate the god; ‘man needs things which the god possesses, such as rain, light, warmth, health, while the god is hungry and seeks offerings from the earth there giving and receiving on both sides’ (Barth, 85 ff.).

Metempsychosis, palingenesis. —The most important dogma which was admitted into the official creed during the Brāhmaṇa period was that of the transmigration of the soul. It is not found in the Veda, which inculcates a belief in immortality, and that of the dying soul, or of the conception of the Semitic sacrificial meal (Macdonell, Vedic Myth., 183; A. B. Keith, J.R.I., 1907, pp. 931, 939). It is also improbable that sacrifice in all its complicated details could have been developed from one only of a group of kindred ideas included in the general system of primitive worship. In India it would appear that...
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49 f. When it was taken over by Buddhism, Gautama did not teach the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, for which there is no place in his system, but the transmigration of character; and he held that "after the death of any being, whether human or not, there survived nothing at all but that being's karmas, the result, that is, of its mental and bodily actions... not a single instance has been found in the older parts of the Pali Piṭaka of man being born as an animal" (Rhyia Davids, H.L. 92; cf. Waddell, Buddhism of Tibet, London, 1896, p. 100 ff.). It is particularly prominent in the Buddhist Jātakas, or birth-stories, in which the "law of description" by which the character of the becoming occurred in a previous birth. Closely connected with this doctrine is that of abhinna, the respect for animal life, which was accepted by Buddhism, more fully developed by Jainism, and is now observed by the Vaishnava sectarians, who owe the inspiration largely to Buddhism. In opposition to Baraś (p. 97), Hopkins (Rel. of India, 190 f.) denies that "aversion to beast-sacrifice is due to the doctrine of karmas, and rebirth in animal form. The karmas notion begins to appear in the Brahmanas, but not in the earliest shape of transmigression. It was surely not because the Hindu was afraid of eating his deceased grandmother that he first abstained from meat. For, long after the doctrine of charms and amulets is established, animal sacrifices are not only permitted but enjoined; and the epic characters shoot deer and even eat cows."

At the present day the dogma is widely accepted. In N. India most Hindus believe that wrong-doing is displeasing to Paramēśvara, the great god, and that this must suffer for his acts, possibly in the present existence, but certainly in his future life or lives. It is, however, doubtful whether the future penalty is in any way connected with the sinner in the present life, because the operation of the law of karmas is regarded as so certain that the specific condemnation by Paramēśvara in each case is seldom required (Ceremonial of the Nails, 1901, l. 76). The same writer remarks that a fundamental difference in the way of the spread of Christianity results from a belief in transmigratio, which is in direct conflict with the belief in a Divine atonement. H. A. Rose, again (Ceremonial of the Nails, 1901, l. 161 f.), quotes, as a development of the Brahmanical atonement, the belief that certain classes and castes possess powers of causing evil or curing disease which are believed to be supernatural and to pass from one generation to another. These powers are independent of worldly status, and a person who possesses them retains them even when he purifies a menial occupation, provided it be not so disgraceful as to involve ostracism by his brethren. This, however, is the recognition of the influence of heredity rather than of direct transmigration. Several birth customs in the Ārya—burial of infants near the house door; offering of milk after the death of a child; the belief that if jackals or dogs disinter the corpse and drag it towards the house or village, the child will return to its mother; the preservation of the clothing of dead infants—illustrate the same belief (Ceremonial of the Nails, 1901, l. 99). On the basis of a所说的, see A. Bertholet, The Transmigration of Souls, London, 1909.

41. The anti-Brahmanical reaction.—While during the period represented by the Brāhmaṇa literature, the priestly body was engaged in elaborating the cultus, and the philosophers were engaged in the nature and destiny of the soul, the mass of the people was little affected by ritual or speculation, and the time was ripe for change. Hence arose both Buddhism and Jainism, both contemporaneous movements, due to the reaction against the Brahmanic monopoly of admission to the ascetic orders (see Hoernle, JAS, 1886, p. 39 ff.).

'Then Buddhism arose, the accepted and general belief was that the souls of men had previously existed within the bodies of other men, or gods, or animals, or had animated material objects; and that when they left the bodies they would enter upon a new life, of a like temporary nature, under one or other of these various individual forms—the particular form being determined by the goodness or evil of the acts done in the previous existence. Life, therefore, was seen to be a never-ending chain, a never-ending struggle. For however high the conditions to which a soul had attained, it was liable, by an act of wickedness, or even of carelessness, to fall again into one or other of the miserable states. There was a hopelessness about this creed in direct contrast to the child-like fulness of hope, the strong desire for life, that is so clearly revealed in the Vedas' (Rhyia Davids, H.L. 97). It was this and distinguishing characteristic of Buddhism that it swept away the whole of the animistic soul theory, 'which had hitherto dominated the minds of the superstitions and the thoughtful alike. For the first time in the history of the world it proclaimed a salvation which each man could gain for himself. In this world, during this life, without the least reference to God, or to gods, either great or small' (ib. 39).

The main distinction between Jainism and Buddhism lay in the fact that the former specialised and intensified the earlier ascetic discipline, and prescribed reverence for life, not only man, but inanimate animals, plants, fire, earth, water, and wind; while Buddhism advocated asceticism in a milder form, and its extinction for its members in knowledge and right living. It has often been suggested that this movement was part of a widespread religious and social revival.

The sixth century B.C. is one of those epochs in the history of our race which mark a widespread ascetic movement. In the case of the Hebrews it is still a moot question how far some fresh impact from Egypt or from further east had to do with this. But a sort of pantheistic and ritualistic religion, beginning from many centres, of which the names of Egypt, Hittites, Phœnicians, and the mythical Orphic may serve to remind us, had set going a wave of simple rejection, of religious striving, which was threatened to destroy mythology, at another to transmute it into novel forms. Waste ethics until then were used in various ways. Individuals were not satisfied with the tenets of Hellenic or Egyptian or Brahmanic religious and prophetic literature, starting in the 8th century, continued during this period (HDB iv. 119). In the Tigris-Elatharases valley, Nineveh from 907 B.C. Babylon was conquered by Cyrus in 539 B.C.; the life of Buddha may approximately be fixed between 507 and 487 B.C. (see EEE ii. 881). As in the case of the Harōe Jam in Eul, the spread of political and religious unrest and movement, promoted individualistic tendencies in this new grouping of peoples. It is at present, however, impossible to trace any real connexion between these almost contemporaneous and historical and literary events, or to find any evidence of the communication of the ideas underlying Buddhism from the east to the west, except that they were all the result of a long series of previous movements; and these previous movements were, in fact, so similar that they ran on nearly parallel lines on the common basis of animistic conceptions. And similar causes acting in these parallel lines took about, though by no means exactly, the same time to produce corresponding results (Rhyia Davids, H.L. 97).

42. The relations of Buddhism to the rival religions.—Buddhism and Jainism, as we have seen, were the result of an age of outburst of contemporaneous movements, organized outside the Holy Land of the Brāhmaṇas, by Kaśyapa, in
opposition to Brahman claims. But, in spite of these initial antagonisms, during the early period the three rival faiths seem to have existed side by side in comparative harmony. The lay members of the Buddhist and Jain orders, while they looked to their own teachers, retained the services of their Brahman priests for the performance of domestic rites. Buddhism has also completely disappeared from the Indian northern plains that it is impossible from modern facts to illustrate the conditions which prevailed at the period of its origin and vigour.

Even to the present day the heterodox Buddhists of Nepal combine the worship of Siva with that of Buddha, and employ Brahman in sacred and domestic rites (Oxenford, H. 147). The same fusion between Buddhism and Brahmanism, especially in the cult of Siva, prevails in Ceylon, and was recognized under the late Buddhist dynasty at Manisetra (R. H. Oldfield, Eastern Monomark, London, 1860, p. 206 f.; Shewky Yose (J. G. Scott, The Burmese, 1832, p. 178; B. J. Yule, Modern Ceylon, 1866, London, 1866, p. 50 f.). In continental India the same conditions prevail in the case of Jainism. Jainas, at least at present freely worship the Hindu gods that are connected with the legends of their saints. In Bombay, Major J. K. Wright, a Brahman, worship Siva and Saktis as Saktis; and observes Hindu festivals and holidays; some even worship the Saktis, or Mother-goddesses (Goyen, Burma, 1857). In 1816 and 1820, p. 487; 1821, p. 405 (1901) p. 131; xliii (1846) 105, xlviii (1840) 185; Wilson, N. India, 1828, p. 173; see, too, the accounts of the Viya or merchant caste freely intermarry; and, when a woman of this caste is married to a Jain family, she no longer sees the Jain rites, while she is at her husband's house, and worships the old Brahmanical gods when she visits her parents—a condition of things which is very common in other parts of the country (Custom Report Burma, 1903, p. 409; R.G. In (1801) p. 131). The same is the case in the Provinces of Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras (I. C. M., 1875). vi. 81). In India, too, when a Sakti will not eat food not intermarried with a Jain, she is treated with the same hostility by the Brahman as here. Indeed, in the Central Provinces, too, they are not allowed to sport, or to use the public wells, or to use the public latrines (Government of Bombay, 1858, l. 67). The Jains, in fact, which divide Jains from Hindus can with difficulty be traced; and there are other sects, admitting Hinduism, which press greater divergence from orthodox Brahmanism.

The evidence of the Chinese pilgrims and that derived from the present day proves that the same tolerance of the rival faiths prevailed during the greater part of the period when Buddhism was in the ascendant, and even when it began to show symptoms of decay. The decay of Buddhism, which was due to internal weakness and the competition of the revived Brahmanism, seems to have set in about A.D. 700; and, while it is still held its ground in remote parts of the land, its final disappearance was due to the Muslim occupation of N. India. Buddhism in its early form was probably simple, and was thus ill adapted to supply the religious needs of a race which has always found a sensuous type of worship more attractive. It demanded from its followers a standard of morals which was in advance of their stage of culture. It involved the discontinuance of sacrifice, and of the myriad ritualistic devices by which man has ever tried to win the favour, or avert the hostility, of his gods. It abolished the personality of Brahma, into whom most orthodox Hindus hope eventually to be absorbed, and it substituted the vague conception of Nirvāṇa, which meant to Buddha the extinction of lust, anger, and ignorance; to the Jains and some Buddhists eternal bliss; to the Magadhas, their proclamation of the date of Buddhist extinction and annihilation (Hopkins, 321; Rhys Davids, H.L., 283).

The State in India has always been tolerant of every form of religion (see A. Lyall, Fortnightly Review, Nov. 1906, p. 717 f.) and this rule was followed by the great Buddhist Emperor Aoka (c. 150). Though it may be true that the gradual decay of Buddhism in the Indian plains was due to causes other than persecution, it is also certain that fanatic rulers from time to time indulged in savage outbreaks of cruelty, and that both Jains and Buddhists were victims of outrage.

"That such outbreaks of wrath should have occurred is not wonderful, if we consider the extreme oppressiveness of the Jain and Buddhist prohibitions when ruthlessly enforced, as they were by some Bhāja, and probably by Aoka. The wonder rather is that persecutions were so rare, and that as a rule the various sects managed to live together in harmony, and with the enjoyment of fairly impartial official favour" (Smith, Early Hist., ii. 191; for a somewhat different view, Buddhist India, 219).

13. The continuity of Brahmanism and the rise of Hinduism.—Thus Brahmanism, even during the ascendancy of Buddhism, never suffered complete extinction, though it undoubtedly lost much of its dignity and importance when Buddhism in N. India and Jainism in the S. and W. enjoyed the patronage of ruling powers and were elevated to the rank of State religions. The extension of Indo-Aryan colonization, the continuous absorption of the non-Aryan tribes, and, finally, the establishment of the great Maurya Empire under Aoka (272—232 B.C.), which ruled the greater part of the Peninsula, led to a modification of the earlier forms of Hindu belief. The Hindu has always been accustomed to localize his gods, and probably from the earliest times the tutelary village-gods received more veneration from the masses of the population than the deities of a higher class whose cultus was the monopoly of the priestly body. This was the case with the Roman colonists under the Empire.

"The conditions of health and diseases are so obscure, the influences of will and imagination on our bodily states are so marked, that, in all ages, the boundaries between the natural and the unknown are blurred. . . . On hundreds of provincial inscriptions we can read the inscriptions and the Hindu self-sacrifice and purification in the Ekatan, the sacrifice by the Brahman to appease the gods of desert or forest, the dangers of march and battle, stimulated his devotion. If he do not know the name of the strange deities, he still invoke them collectively and perhaps the gods whom he has been taught to venerate" (S. Dill, Romes Society from Zero to Marcus Aurelius, London, 1904, pp. 440, 450; and see art. BRAHINDIA).

It was from this combination of Aryan and non-Aryan cults and beliefs that the Neo-Brahmanism took its rise.

14. The Scriptures of the Neo-Brahmanism.—The literature of the new form of Brahmanism is all the work of, or inspired by, the Brahman hierarchy. The theory which it suggests is that there was no violent break between the older and the newer faith. Hence it is difficult to trace the stages of the evolution by which the theology was reconstructed.

(a) The Purāṇas.—This difficulty has been increased by a long-standing error regarding the date of that body of literature known as the Purāṇas. To the Hindu mind their name—Archeologia,' the ancient writings,' suggests immemorial antiquity. It has been the boast of the best known of them, the Vāyu Purāṇa, about A.D. 1045 (H. H. Wilson, Vāyu Purāṇa, London, 1840, Intro. xxii). It has, however, recently been proved that this and other important works of the same series must be dated about A.D. 500, while the Vāyu Purāṇa is referred to the 4th cent., and all the principal works, which in their present form are recensions of a much older body of literature, were re-edited in the Gupta period (A.D. 300—500), when the study of Sanskrit was revived (Smith, Early Hist., i. 151; MacCrate, St. L., 298). From this conclusion the important result follows that the growth of the Neo-Brahmanism was contemporaneous with the decay of Buddhism in N. India, and its development naturally progressed side by side with that of the later Buddhism and Jainism.

(b) The Law literature.—The second body of literature connected with this religious revival is that of the Law-books. These, like the Purāṇas, are the result of various recensions. The two most important, the Vaiśeṣika-Dharmakāra and the Māṇu Dharma-Dharmakāra, probably assumed their present form about A.D. 200; and the latter is closely connected with the Mahābhārata, contain-
ING MANY VERSES QUOTED FROM THAT EPIC (Bühler, "Myst. Mess." II, 232; Macdonell, f. Law., 432). But, according to Bühler, the Law-book did not borrow from the Epic; both authors used the same materials; and those materials were not systematic treatises on law and philosophy, but the floating proverbial wisdom of the philosophical and legal schools, which already existed in metrical form in the Epic's treatises, which has become for modern Hindus the text-book in matters connected with religion and social observances, represents the period before the recognition of the sectarian gods in the schools where it originated. It nowhere teaches the performance of rites other than Vedic; it nowhere imitates the worship of any of the deities of the Sanskrit Epic school; nor is there any hint that it was intended to form a digest of the sacred Law. It rather bears unmistakable marks of being a school book, intended for the instruction of all Aryans (Bühler, SBE xxv., Introd.) It contains no allusion to the post-Vedic Trimurti, the triad consisting of Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, the last two gods being only once mentioned by name (xii. 121); and it ignores the cultus of the Sakta (female powers), and the efficacy of fervent faith in Kṛṣṇa (see art. BHAKTI-MĀRGĀ, vol. ii. p. 329 ff.). The great god is Prasādt, lord of created beings; the highest and by inclusion all objects are objects of reverence, and he is the fate of those who insult or injure them (ix. 316, iv. 165). A Brahman who serves his teacher until death enters forthwith the eternal mansions of Brahma. Image-worship is casually observed, but temple priests are spoken of with a measure of contempt (ll. 26, 180). The idea of transmigration is clearly stated, and, as a consequence of this, various halls described, though places of terrible torture, resolve themselves merely into places of torment. While the heavens bear only steps on the road to union with Brahma. The dignified isolation or calculated reticence of the school is shown by the absence of reference to Buddhism; and two verses which speak of the Mlecchhas, or barbarian, (l. 23, x. 46), are devoid of any particularity which would identify them with the Greeks or any other foreign races. For the ethical tone, see IA iv. (1875) 152 ff.

(c) THE EPICTHE Mahābhārata.—It is in the Epic literature, represented by the Mahābhārata and the Mahābhārata literature, that the Neo-Brahmanism is most fully illustrated. This period may be fixed roughly from 600 to 50 B.C. But beyond this the Rāmâyana lies a long period, when, as in the case of Homer, the ballads out of which the Epic were compiled existed in an oral form. Epistles are embedded in the existing texts which are regarded as fragments of older narratives, the antiquity of which is proved by the fact that their subject-matter often refers to the resistance offered by the warrior class to the growing claims of the Brahman hierarchy.

The Mahābhārata, after undergoing various reconstructions, is believed to have grown round a legendary nucleus during some eight centuries (400 B.C.-A.D. 400) (see Hopkins, The Great Epic of India, London, 1901, p. 336). The war between the Pánchavās and Kauravās, which forms the main subject of the poem, has been supposed to represent the contest between two successive bodies of Indo-Aryan immigrants, the former a Himalayan tribe practising polyandry, whose deity was Kṛṣṇa (Vāyu Purāṇa), the founder of the anti-Brahmanical monothetic Bhāgavata religion; the second much later comes and supports the official Brahmanism (G. A. Grierson, Census Report India, 1901, l. 287 ff., J.R.A.S., 1908, p. 904 ff.; 1909, p. 177 f.; A. Weber, IA xxx. (1901) 281 ff.). The Kauravya party won the day, but had in the end to yield to the supporters of Brahmānism. In this Epic the transition from the older to the newer Hinduism is marked in various ways. The facts have been carefully collected and analysed by W. W. Hopkins (Balt. of India, 351 ff.). There is, first, an abnormal growth of gods, or mental deities. "In the Brahmanism it is the sacrifice that is god-compelling; but in the Epic, although sacrifice has its place, yet when miraculous power is exerted, it is due chiefly to the intercession of the gods, or to the equally general use of formula; not formula as part of a sacrifice, but as is themselves potent; and mysterious mantras, used by priest and warrior alike, serve every end of magic."

Caste distinctions are now fully recognized, and the most heinous crime is to commit an offence against caste order. On the other hand, the greatest merit is to present gifts to priests, whose influence, greed, and rapacity are constantly dwelt upon. This, however, applies chiefly to court Brahmans and to ascetics, who are above all law, while the village Brahmans and heretics are free from the reproach attaching to their hypocritical, debauched brethren. Apart from the sectarian gods, the chief objects of worship are priests, the masses, and, for form's sake, the Vedic gods. These, with the addition of Kubera, god of riches, are now degraded to the rank of 'guardians of the house' (lakshapādana), and are definitely subordinate to the newer divinities. Among the latter is now included Dharmal Vasवā, the god of justice, son of the Sun-god. Another new and interesting figure is Kāma, god of love, who, in the form of the personification of sexual desire, is as old as the Atharvaveda (ix. 2, ii. 25) and is still the subject of a Mystery Play in S. India (K. Thurtton, Castes and Tribes of S. India, 366 ff.). The idea of kings as the "lords of the consorts, Bāti or Rāv, goddess of desire; and it has been suggested that his eminence is due to association with the Greek Eros, through the agency of Greek slave-girls, who about this time were imported into W. India (J. W. McInmlide, Peripatetic Calcutta, 1879, p. 133); IA ii. (1875) 145). The old Nature-worship is represented by the cults of mountains, rivers, and sacred trees, many ancient rites and beliefs being concealed under the "all-embracing cloak of pantheism," which appears in the Epic. It has been alleged that phallic-worship is often mentioned in the Mahābhārata, as if it had always been common everywhere throughout N. India; but this assertion has been disputed (Elvey Davidge, Buddhist Ind. iv. 155 ff., 1897, p. 357 f.). The local theriologv is illustrated by the cult of Hanumān or Hanumā, the monkey hero of the Rāmāyana, who in later times came to become the chief village guardian deity. Serpent-worship appears in the cult of Nāga.

From the religious point of view the most interesting portion of the Epic is the Rāmpwed-gīty, in which the Supreme Being incarnate as Kṛṣṇa expounds to Arjuna the result of the collective movement of the Śūrpiro, Yoga, and Vedānta doctrines (see E.B. ii. 336 ff.). It is now certain that portions of this poem, in which the doctrine of bhakti, or fervent faith, is taught, are pre-Christian, and therefore the doctrine itself is of indigenous Indian origin (ib. p. 547)."

"Nothing in Hindu literature is more characteristic, in its simplicity as in its profundity, in its logic as in its abstruseness, in its truth as in its falsity, than the Vedas, in which the Hindu mind has gathered the seed of its most ancient words in being interwoven inextricably, so that many of the penultimate anomalies, which would no less be the reader the hero to whom it was revealed, are probably later additions. It is a medley of beliefs as to the relation of spirit and matter, and other questions, which is uncertain in its tone in regard to the comparative efficacy of action and inaction, of sacrifice and prayer, and of the law of salvation; but it is at one with itself in its fundamental thesis, that all things are caught in each of the Lord, that man and god are but manifestations of the One Divine Spirit, which, or rather whom, the Vedānta re-writer identifies with Kṛṣṇa, as Vishnu's present form (Hopkins, The Great Epic of India, 351 ff.). It has become the Gospel of the Vaisnavas sectarians, and is the inspiration of the new school led
by Viveknanda (see § 32). For a criticism of its theology from the Christian standpoint, see Slater, Higher Hindustan, 1902, p. 128 ff.

The idea of the Makabhrata thus collected and popularized the legends and traditions which had their centre in the Holy Land of the Hindus, the Eastern Panjabh, the same service was performed by the Mahabharata, the eastern stories which originated in the kingdoms of Magadha and Kosala, the present W. Bengal. Like the Makabhrata, in its present differing forms, it is the result of a long series of recombinations, and considerable additions have been made to the original nucleus, which 'appears to have been complete at a time when the epic kernel of the Makabhrata had not as yet assumed definite shape'; and this earlier portion seems to be pre-Buddhistic (Mackinnon, Hist. of Skr. Lit., 363 f.; Rops Davids, Buddhist India, 163 f.). The first portion, that treating of the banishment of the hero Rama, is in form a historical saga, widely differing from the second part, which records the extension of Brahmanism and Buddhism, is based on N. Indian myths, and in the heroes, Sita, who is represented as having emerged from the earth with the power of prophecy, is the favorite myth of the Earth-spirit maidened to a consort, from whom union, by a sort of mimetic magic, the fertility of men, cattle, and crops is assured.

From a religious point of view the Edhayana is much less interesting than the Makabhrata, because it has been remodelled by a single hand, that of Vasilki, the traditional author, who has manipulated his materials to produce as an artistic poem and a religious treatise, in the interest of the Ramas-worshipping section of the Valayavas.

15. The historical development of Neo-Brahmanism.—The scanty information which we possess of the history of this period has been collected and arranged from materials derived from the writings of the later Vaishnavas and Buddhists, with the aid of inscriptions and coins, by V. A. Smith (Early Hist.).

The Maurya dynasty, founded by Chandragupta Maurya (321 B.C.), attained its supremacy under Asoka-Varudhana (see BEB II. 184 ff.), who made Buddhism the state religion. It was destroyed in 184 B.C. by Yasvantra and his followers, who, in order to assert his claim to be paramount sovereign, performed the auspicious rite of the horse-sacrifice (asvamedha a.y.c.). Thus marking the beginning of the Brahmanical reaction against Buddhism, which was fully developed under Chandragupta II. and his successors five centuries later. At the same time, there is no evidence that Buddhist or Jain suffered persecution. Under the next dynasty, the Cholas, we find a king supporting the idea system of Manu, and acting under the advice of Brahman ministers. This was followed by the Andhra dynasty, among the kings of which Hala is famous as a patron of Kritiki literature.

In the obscure period which followed, N. India was overry by hordes of invaders from the north under the names of Skaha or Skanda. The date is much disputed; but it appears that about A.D. 400 the Yuezhi or Kusana domination was consolidated in the N.W. by Kshatrapa, and that his successor, Yasvantra, ascended N. India and destroyed the Indo-Parthian power in the Panjabh. This Kusana empire lasted till A.D. 580. The important point to be noted here is that these foreign chieftains rapidly succumbed to the incessant invasions of the Huns and Turks, and were at least formally, to become Hindu Rsavencs (a.c. 150-250 A.D.).

From this point we have nearly any information until the rise of the Gupta empire under Chandragupta I. (A.D. 290-376), whose successor, Samudragupta, showed a sympathy with orthodox Brahmanism in his rule over the N. Indian states.

The claim of the people of the subcontinent to be the descendants of the Brahmanical religion to popular favour, and the associated revival of the Brahmanical religion to popular favour, and the associated revival of the Brahmanical religion of the Hindu-Aryan period, was fostered by the western empires during the third, and made a success by the Gupta emperors in the fourth century. These process, though apparently perfectly tolerant of both Buddhis and Jainism, were, beyond question, controlled by Brahman adherents, and skilled in Sanskrit, the language of the penitents. An early stage in the reaction against Buddhism condemnation of sacrifice had been

marked by Pusyamitra's celebration of the horse-sacrifices to the close of the second century. In the fourth, Samudragupta revived the same ancient rites with a enthusiasm; and in the fifth, his grandson repeated the solemnity. Without going further into detail, we may sum up the remark that coins, inscriptions, and monuments agree in furnishing abundant evidence of the Brahmanical belief. Among the Indian states the major influence afforded by the ruling powers to "classical" Brahmanism, especially in the expm of the more extreme, is indicated (Early Hist., 267).

The Gupta empire fell before the attack of another body of invaders, the Huns, about A.D. 500.

These successive invasions produced important results on the etymology of N. India. The progress and final absorption of these foreign elements in the Hindu population have recently been fully investigated for W. India (29 in. 1900) pt. i. p. 488 ff.; The Huns, or Hun, invaders were admitted by the Brahmanas among the Muns or wards of the Brahmans, the greater legend of the Brahmanas (Munice-Abh) (BEB. 114). Similar legends describe the successive introduction of foreign groups into the Brahmanic tradition (V. A. Smith, The Geography of the Brahman, 1906, ch. i.; D. B. Bhandarkar, The Geography, JASA, 1900, p. 197 ff.).

The influence of these foreign elements on Hindu beliefs must have been considerable; but the official Brahmanic literature gives little or no indication of the process of the reconstruction of the faith during the period of foreign rule. When we come to the establishment of the national power under Harsha (A.D. 606-647), the Brahmanic influence seems to have been re-established. Harsha was a Hindu, but in his later life favored Buddhism. He worshipped at times the Buddha or the Sun, or followed the Buddhist ritual, and he impartially erected temples to all three. Most of his subjects worshipped the sectarian gods, and selected as their patron deity whichever god they preferred (see Cowell-Thomas, The Harsha-caries of Edga, London, 1897, Introd. ii. ff.; M. L. Ittis, Brahmanism under Harsha, Vardhana, Louvain, 1906, ch. ii.). Thus the modern sectarian worship was gradually established in N. India; and the same revival occurred in the Deccan under the Chalukya king, Pula-kein I. (A.D. 550-608), who, in his decadence of Buddhism, is said to have performed many Hindu sacrifices, including the horse-sacrifice (BG I. [1896] p. ii. p. 191). The activity of the new faith is shown in the erection of numerous cave temples in the period A.D. 500-600 (Fergusson-Burpee, Cave Temples, 1980, p. 403).

16. The extension of Brahmanism in S. India.—The extension of Hindu influence into the South was obstructed by the great forest tract known as Dandakarya, the present Maratha country, and by the ranges of the Saptara and Mahadeo hills which cross the Peninsula, dividing the North from the plateau of the Deccan. Here the Brahman missionaries seem to have made their way along either the eastern or the western coast-line, or by the sea route. The question has been discussed in the article on the Bombay Presidency (BEB II. 788), and the facts there collected need not be repeated. The Aryans before the 7th cent. B.C. seem to have had little contact with the South, and R. G. Bhandarkar dates their acquisition of information regarding the southern region about 250 A.D. (BG I. ii. p. 141). The question has also been discussed by Rop Davids (Buddhist India, 23 ff.), by Caldwell (Davison Grammar, London, 1875, p. 114 ff.), and by H. A. Stuart, quoted by Theritri, Costume and Customs of Southern India, i. 573 ff. Burnell (A.I. (1872) 310) believes that about A.D. 700 Brahmanical influence was inconsiderable in the South, and that the Skr. place-names which are found appear only in the fertile deltas and at the seaports, where they were probably introduced by Buddhist missionaries. The latest discussion of the subject (A. G. Govindacharyar Svamini, (A.I. 211. 1912) 227 ff.) rejects Burnell's view, and places the Arianisation of the South after the 6th and before the 3rd cent. B.C., which is too early. The modern school of S. Indian scholars naturally adopts the higher
series of dates. Whatever may be the exact date of the introduction of the Brahmanical beliefs and practices into S. India, it was certainly, when contrasted with N. India, comparatively late; and this fact accounts for the characteristic form of S. Indian Brahmanism, which has developed on lines of evolution quite different from those of the North. (V. Kankasaahbi, T. Tamila: Eighteen Hundred Years Ago, 1904, p. 227 ff.; L. K. Anantha Krishnas Iyer, Cocker Tribes and Castes, ii. (1912) 171 ff.; Rice, Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, 204 ff.).

17. The establishment of Hinduism in its modern form.—We have now reached the stage at which the Brahmanical reaction against Buddhism and Jainism was completed, and Hinduism, as we find it in existence at the present time, was firmly established. The Brahmanas now controlled the law and social institutions of the people. The theory of caste was fully adopted, and they were placed at the head of society; the movement led by the Kshatriyas in opposition to them had collapsed.

All philosophy, except their own pantheistic theosophy, had been driven out of the field. But Vedic rites and Vedic divinities, the Vedic language and Vedic theology, had all gone under in the struggle. The gods of the people received now the homage of the people. Virtues were still venerated (though feebly), but to new divinities; and Brahmins no longer presided over new rituals. Their literature had had to be revised to suit the new ritual, to gain the favour and support of those who did not reverence and worship the Vedic gods. And all sorts of new elements were added by the law of the country to give the theory of the past so as to make it tally with their own pretensions. The lower castes, with their increasing minority, continued to keep alive the flickering lamp of Vedic learning; and to them the Indian philosophers come only to look back with especial gratitude and esteem. (Rajas Devadas, Buddhism India, 1827, p. which somewhat overstates the case).

18. The development of Hinduism.—The Neo-Brahmanism, henceforward to be called 'Hinduism,' was developed in two ways: first, by the creation, mainly illustrated by the Epic and Puranic literature, of a gallery of deified personages, the legends regarding whom were largely drawn from the current folk-lore or popular tradition, and, by a reconstruction of the traditions, were in a measure connected with the system which they had superseded; secondly, by the adoption of deities, religious myths, and cults derived from the races beyond the BrahmITICAL pala.

We have examples of the first class in the deified heroes of the Mahabharata, the five Pandava brothers, whose cult still prevails in various parts of the country; at many of the hills in the Himalayas; in Bengal; in the Konkans and the Deccan; in S. India (Atkinson, Himalayan Gazetteer, (1864) 283 f.; M. A. Sherring, The Sacred City of the Hindus, London, 1883, pp. 177, 217; SG i. pt. i. (1896) p. 278, xxii. 389, xii. 404; Ferguson-Burgess, p. 113: Thurston, Ethnog. Notes, Madras, 1859, p. 251); and the second process by which the pantheon has been formed was by the adoption and absorption of the local deities, this localization being a feature which Indian polytheism shares with the Semitics and the Egyptians (W. R. Smith, Rel. Sem., 38 ff.; Sayce, HL, 59, 121; A. Erman, Life in Ancient Egypt, Eng. tr., London, 1894, p. 209 f.; A. Wiedemann, Rel. of the Anc. Egyptians, do. 1897, P. 81 f.). Naturally, the process of absorption, in India as in Greece, assumed many and varied forms.

We recognise now that the personages of the Greek and other polytheism were not pure crystallised products of a single and identical people, but were modified repeatedly by their environment, borrowing traits and epithets from other local pantheons, whom they may have dispossessed or whom they may have shared their rule. . . . The divine names, especially in ancient religions, was a powerful talent, a magnet attracting to itself a dense set of cult-ideas and legends (Parshall, CGS v. 86 f.).

The worship of vague spirits of the forest by the most primitive tribes, as the stage of settled agriculture displaces nomadism, develops into the cult of spirits which promote the fertility of the soil, cattle, and man. In Mysore, for instance, no fewer than 'four definite orders of spiritual beings have crystallised out from the amorphous mass of animistic Deities' (Hodson, The Madikas, 1906, p. 96). By degrees, one of these local deities, usually known in N. India as Devi, in S. India as the Grâmadevâta and Aiyârakâ, the central figure in the Madikas' mythology, and finally adopted by Brahmanism. This may occur because the shrine is on the borders of the territory occupied by more than one allied tribe or village, and thus acquires a reputation more than local; or because at this particular place there has been a manifestation of special spiritual power, always by their possession. Oft the medicine-man or his followers, or by some notable case of healing. Such a shrine is, in process of time, appropriated by some low-caste Brahman priest, and the local deity comes gradually to be identified with some manifestation or incarnation of one of the greater gods. Hence arose the Devi or Kâli of Calcutta, of the Vindhyâ hills, of Devi-patin in Orisâ, and the Bhârâti of Tâjpur in the Nizam's Dominions, who possess powers of magic, wonder-working, and healing superior to those of the village gods of the area in which they have been promoted. The same is the case with the shrines dedicated to men who gained a reputation for good works or wickedness in this world (Lyall, A Book of Tales, 259 f.) or in the next, it is not always possible to trace the exact course of the evolution. This difficulty is increased in India by the absence of expressive cult-titles, which in Greece have so largely facilitated the tracing of the elements of the pantheon (CGS l. 25 ff.).

19. Modern Hinduism defined.—In tracing the evolution of religion in India, no problem is more difficult than that of framing a definition of Hinduism as we observe it at the present day. Many of the tests which have been proposed from time to time are obviously inadequate. It has been said that a Hindu is one who receives religious service at the hands of Brahmins. But in the Panjab nearly all Sikh villagers reverence and employ Brahmins as their Hindu neighbours do, and the same is the case with the Jains; while many Hindus who have been converted to Islam appoint the Brahman to conduct their marriages according to the Hindu rule, adding the Muhammadan ritual as a legal precaution (Ibbetson, Panjab Ethnography, 121 f.). The difficulty of framing a definition of Hinduism arises from the fact that under the general title 'Hindu' are included classes whose beliefs, ritual, and mode of life are strangely diverse—the learned Brahman, who is a follower of the Vedânta philosophy; the modern theist or agnostic, trained in the learning of the West; the semi-barbarous hillman, who eats almost any kind of food without scruple, knows little of Brahmânical mythology, belief, or ritual, and is in need of custom to point out the stones which he supposes to be occupied by the god of his tribe or village; lastly, there is the vagrant, or the member of a caste like the Chuhra or Bhangi of N. India or the Telugu Brahman, who is abhorred by all pure Hindus. The difficulty, in short, lies in separating the Animist from those classes of Hindus whose beliefs have a more or less animistic basis.

Recent writer proposes to include among Hindus

1all natives of India who do not belong to the Muslim, Jain, Buddhists, Christian, Parsi, Jew, or any other known religion of
the world, and whose form of worship extends from monothelitism to deism, and whose theology is wholly written in the Sanskrit language" (Census Report Baroda, 1901, p. 190). 

This statement is factually satisfactory, though it ignores the fact that Hinduism is not a religion in the sense of the word as used by European scholars. Thus a Hindu writes: 'Hinduism is that which is set forth in the Vedas.' In other words, it is a question of ritualistic and social observances (Guru Foshad Sen, Intro. to the Study of Hinduism, 1883, p. 9). The current terms, 'Hinduism' and 'Brahmanism,' are of European origin, the only Hindu general term for 'religion' being dharma, defined as 'established order, usage, institution, custom, prescription; rule, duty; virtue, moral merit, good works; right, justice, law' (Macdonell, Skr. Eng. Dict., London, 1885, etc.). According to Mann (Laws, ii. 6 [Skt. xxv. 30]), the Veda Veda is 'the head source of the sacred law, next the tradition and the virtuous conduct of those who know the (Veda further), also the customs of holy men, and (finally) self-infusion. Dharmas is distinct from 'the path' (marga), inasmuch as 'the path' came into existence at a definite period, while dharma is eternal. 'The path' and 'the doctrine' (marga), combined together, are often expressed by one word, sampradaya, literally 'that which is given,' which Monier-Williams (Brahmanism and Hinduism, x, 61) defines as 'a particular body of traditionary doctrines handed down through a succession of teachers,' also designated 'darsana or marga—that is, particular views or opinions on religion or philosophy.'

'The great difference between the Hindu conception of the ḍharma' and the European conception of 'religion' is this. The latter is defined by us in strictest terms, and the acceptance of these ideas and practices that are included under the word would include Christians. In the case of Hindu dharma, the relation is different. Hindus are a definite body, and Hindu dharma is that indefinable thing which the Hindus consider their own dharma. . . . The word ḍharma is itself a foreign one. The Hindu never used it in any Sanskrit writing, that is, those which were written before the Mohammedan invasion. In fact there was no need of calling themselves by any particular name (all the rest of the world being 'foreigners') (Machiavelli, Greek Philosophy). . . . Hindus define a Hindu as a man who has not fled from Hinduism, that is, taken up the membership of any community like Christians, Mohammedans, and Buddhists. Hinduism is an ever-changing society, which may expand and take in races and peoples irrespective of their religious beliefs. What society it will absorb depends almost entirely on the circumstances' (Byron K. Bunker, Theodore F. V. Lane, 25, 26).

For practical purposes the definition proposed by Lyall may be accepted, that Hinduism is 'the collection of rites, worship, beliefs, traditions, and mythologies that are announced by the sacred books and the ordinances of the Brahmans and are propagated by Brahmanical teaching. And a Hindu is one who generally follows the rules of conduct and ceremonial thus laid down for him, particularly worship of gods. And the Hinduism as distinguished from other than Hinduism, may vary within the same limits, believe in God, respect the cow and cremate the dead' (General Report Punjab, 1913, I. 109). For criticism of other proposed tests of Hinduism, see Ganges, 1911, United Provinces, I, 120, Madras, I, 60, Madras, I, 60, Madras, I, 60, Madras, I, 60.

20. Hinduism as a missionary religion.—Though the idea of a missionary religion, the theory which underlies the system is that all residents of India are born Hindus. This is illustrated by the controversy which arose upon the question of admission of Indians of other faiths to missionary societies, and by the history of missionary activity in India. The Lectures on Missions delivered in Westminster Abbey in 1877 (Selected Essays, 1881, p. 49), F. Max Muller argued that the Hindu faith is essentially a missionary one, and that it is opposed to all missionary enterprises; while three have a missionary character from their very beginning—Buddhism, Mahomedanism, and Christianity. Comparing Brahmanism with Judaism, he argued that 'a very similar feeling prevented the Brahman from ever attempting to persuade those who did not by birth belong to the spiritual aristocracy of the country. Their work was rather to keep the light to themselves, to repel intruders; and they went so far as to punish those who happened to be powerful enough to hear the sound of their prayers, or to witness their sacrifices.'

This was written from the point of view of a student of the Hindu sacred books, not of a practical observer of the people, and, as he afterwards explained, by missionary religions he meant 'those in which the spreading of the truth and the conversion of unbelievers are regarded as the rank of a sacred duty by the founder or his immediate successors' (ib. I. 94). This view is so far correct that Hinduism was not the creation of any single founder, and that no authority has ever controlled its organization or systematically promoted the conversion of the heathen. In his reply to these remarks, A. Lyall (1. 134 ff., cont). contends:

'so far from it being a non-missionary religion, in the sense of a religion that admits no proselytes, one might safely say that more persons in India become every year Brahmanists than all the converts to all the other religions in India put together. . . . If by Brahmanism we understand that it is the religion of the Hindus which refers for its orthodoxy to Brahmanical scriptures and tradition, which adores the Brahmanas, which finds their incarnation in the cow, observes certain rules of intermarriage and the sharing of food, and which regards the Brahman's presence as necessary to all essential rites, then this religion can hardly be called proselytizing, in the sense of stagnation and exclusive immobility. . . . It is the word proselyte may be used in the sense of one who has come, and who has been formally admitted, not necessarily before one that has been lost, or persuaded to come, then Brahmanism might lay claim to being the most successful proselytizing religion of modern times in India' (ib. I. 135).

The question thus resolved itself into a controversy between two writers who disagreed as to the question from two different points of view—one a student of the sacred books, who treated Hinduism as an organized religion founded on an ancient literature, and who regarded proselytizing as a conscious, well-defined procedure carried on under conditions analogous to those which characterize Christian missionary work; the other an acute observer of the almost unconscious, unorganized methods by which the non-Aryan tribes are induced to enter the fold of Hinduism. The controversy is now somewhat obsolete, and, in the judgment of all competent observers has been finally settled in favour of the views advocated by Lyall. For a recent discussion of Hinduism as a missionary religion, see Shribhar V. Keshava, Theologie Religiose, 1902, 22.

21. The conversion of the non-Aryans to Hinduism.—The process by which the non-Aryan tribes are converted to Hinduism is desribed by Lyall in an essay familiar to all students of comparative religion (l. c. 174). Such conversion is naturally most common on the outskirts of the territory long occupied by the settlers of Aryan descent and visited the queen, who was herself none other than an incarnation of his divine spouse, Păravtī.

The Kachchhi kings of Bhimnagar were simultaneously converted and after their ancestor had been satisfactorily traced back to Bhim (one of the Prajapati princes of the Mahabharata) the two chiefs were placed about A.D. 1793 in the body of a large copper image of a cow, and thence proscribed as declared Hindus. . . . For the Arunachal, India was selected as the proper place for the conversion, but no special origin seems to have been assigned to the common people, so that an Arun on conversion takes his name in the Hindu caste system, in his own estimation, as he does in that of orthodox Hindus (Census Report Assam, 1898, I. 83; cf. art. KACHCHH, vol. ii. p. 177.).

The process is often gradual. When the Kachchhi first puts himself under the guidance of a goad, or teacher of the Vaiṣṇava sect, he is a Hindu in little more than name, eating pigs and fowls, and continuing to drink strong liquors. After a time he somewhat modifies these abominable practices.
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and then, after several generations, when the family has given up or concealed its taste for forbidden food and drink, becomes, in appearance and to some extent, ceremonially pure, its members are finally promoted to the rank of orthodox Hindus.

This, however, is a matter of many years, as spirits and gods are mortal. and what a man who would have been a pure Hindu remains outside the pale, becomes, in fact, to recover the nourishing diet of his ancestors (Cr. ii. 94).

Some Asamese, when they profess a desire for conversion, are compelled to fast for a day or two (fasting being a form of purification from malignant spirit influence [A. E. Crawley, The Mystic Roes, London, 1901, p. 153]), after which they undergo a rite of atonement (prayashchita) at the hands of their teacher, who claims a suitable fee. But for at least three generations they are somewhat despised, and take no part in social affairs. After this, they rank as Hindus (Census Report Asam, 1901, i. 282). The condition of things in the Central Provinces, where tribes like the Gonds (q.v.), are rapidly becoming Hinduised, is very similar (Census Report, 1901, i. 96).

22. Hindu sectarianism.—The process of the formation of new sects provides another method by which outsiders are admitted into Hinduism. The worship of the sectarian deities grew up during the period represented by the Epics and the Pāñḍava, but the material for tracing their evolution is very scanty.

(a) Brahmap.—Of the members of the Hindu tribes, Brahmap has now become an old, decadent divinity, mainly because he was always a god of the philosophers rather than of the common people. The process of his degradation is clearly marked in the Mahābhārata. It is commonly said that he has only a single shrine, that at Puskara in the Rājputana. But he has also a temple at Khed Brahmap in the State of Māhārāṣṭra in the Ghats (BG, 1780, p. 282); but the material for tracing their evolution is very scanty.

(b) Siva.—The philosophical side of the cult of Siva represents him as 'the earliest and universal impression of nature upon men—the impression of endlesss and lifeless change' (Livy, ii. 220). But he has also assimilated much of the demonolatry and Animism of the non-Aryan races, as in his manifestation as a Bhūmap, 'lord of gods', in which form his cultus was well adapted to serve the needs of the devil-worshipping Dravidians of S. India. He is the descendant of the Vedio Rindra, who has a benediction, as well as a malevolent character (Muir, iv. 339; Macdonell, Vedio Myth., 77), the latter being veiled under his epithetic title, Siva, the suspicious one. This seems no good reason to assign the origin of Siva, the special Brahman god, to the non-Aryan races, though his cultus may have been contaminated by their influence (Muir, iv. 349). It must be noted, however, that his temples are very commonly served, not by Brahmanas, but by members of the sacerdotal orders connected with his cult. For example, among the Sāiva temple priests in the Himālayas (H. A. Rose, Census Report Punjāb, 1901, i. 127 f.). This is also shown by his cult-titles, Girās and the like, 'mountain-god', and those of his consort Uma, Parvati, the 'she of the Himalayas', and some Greek writers identified him with Dionysus (J. W. McCrindle, Ancient India as described in Classical Literature, 1901, p. 94 n.; and in the introduction of the cultus was due to the movement of Hun tribes from the north (BG ix. 1901) p. 478). He is at once a god of Nature, the impersonation of the archetypal love and desire in him, to recover the nourishing diet of his ancestors (Cr. ii. 94).

The worship of Siva.—In modern Hinduism the symbol of Siva is the linga, or phallic. Phallic worship appears in the Vedas in the śākta-dēśas, 'those who have the phallicus as their deity'; but this seems to be regarded as a non-Aryan cult, and Siva is besought not to allow them to approach the sacrificial (Macdonell, Vedio Myth., 156). In Buddhism and in the Aṭhavārāveda we meet phallic genii (bhūmabhāsa, bhūmabhāsā; Weber, IA xxx. (1901) 292), and in the Mahābhārata it is mentioned as if it had been common in N. India; but it is not included in the magnificent forms of worship described in the Buddhist Nīkāya (Iṣya Davids, Buddhist India, p. 165 f.). The original significance of the lingas in India is obscure. Ferguson was disposed to connect the symbol with the Buddhist dagāka, one of which has been found adapted to Sāiva worship in a cave at Wāl (Hist. of Hindu Arch., i. 1899, p. 304 f.; Ferguson-Buerges, 213; F. A. Malsley, Sascoē, London, 1892, p. 16 n.). Oppert suggests that it is derived from the Greek— a view which seems improbable (Orig. Inhabs., 281; Muir, iv. 181, 421). Stephenson (J. R. A. S. viii. (1842) 330) and F. Kittel (Vestfer den Ursprung der Linga-vuluses in den Kāshī) connected phallic worship with the non-Aryan tribes. In opposition to this view, we have the important fact that the twelve great linga shrines, only three, those at Orchha, the Narāyan, and the Bhāmatas at Nāsir, and Bhima-śākhara in the Deccan, can be reasonably classed as outside the distinctively Aryan area, and early traditions associate the establishment of lingās in N. India with Aryan saints and worthies (Muir, ii. 302, iv. 189 ff., 405 ff.). It may also be said that phallic worship is not general among the forest tribes at the present day. Thus, though the Todas are apparently immigrants from Malabar, there is no evidence of phallic worship among them (W. H. R. Rivers, The Todas, London, 1906, p. 441). On the whole, the facts seem to indicate that, though the cult may have prevailed among some of the indigenous tribes, it was not confined to them, and that in the forms in which it now appears its extension was largely due to the Aryan.

The prevalence of this ancient symbol of fertility and life in the cults of India shows that in the more naive religion of the older age there was not yet that divorce between the physical and moral world which the spiritual law of modern religion has made (C. G. S. iv. 11 f.). It is 'by no means an early or a universal cult. It can only become prominent in a population having a settled abode and cultivating the soil (Hardras, Primitive Potency, i. 122). It seems to be an aberrant form of the cult of stones and pillars which was widely distributed in the Himalayas and the Deccan (Frazier, Faw]an., London, 1888, iii. 530, iv. 110, 154, 318 ff.; C. G. S. iv. 149, 307; BDB lii. 1070 ff.; art. BAAL, vol. ii. 387 f.). Some of the goddesses, and Śimvas, 'she of the Himalayas, and some Greek writers
shrines of Yajñavalkya at Benares is 'simply an enormous block of stone, round and black, six feet in height, and twelve in circumference' (Sherring, Sacred City, p. 117). That of Rishabharat in Bhopal is 7½ feet high and 17 feet 6 inches in circumference, raised on a massive platform (IIG viii. [1906] 18). That of Siva at Shyamlila, Jamnagar, by J. Frawza has shown, widely distributed (JBS xx. [1901] 99 f.). One of the pillars of Ašoka at Benares (ERE ii. 458) has now become the famous fist, or palm, of Śiva. The yinbol, iron belt, is not necessarily indecent (Rajendralal Mitra, Indo-Aryan, i. 146 f.; IIG xvii. 209). Among the Salvas it is not connected with eroticism, a tendency distinctly absent from the cult of Śiva. This, however, refers only to the devotees of the higher class; and, when it is worshipped in connexion with the female sex, the yinbol among the Yaunja (q.v.) occurs. In the Deccan, it undoubtedly has a sexual suggestion (cf. Elliot, Hist. of India, iii. 91; Hartland, Primitives Paternal, i. 193). Its connexion with Śiva may probably be traced to his manifestation as a god of reproduction, as, for instance, when he appears as Mātrurājya, 'destroyer of death.' Even in the Veda, he, as Fadsputa, 'lord of beasts,' a title of Rudra, is regarded as the agent promoting fertility in cattle (Macdonell, Vedic Myth., 75). In parts of the Deccan, as a mode of mimetic magic, the marriage of Śiva and Parvati periodicaly celebrated (BG xxii. 1862) 578; V. A. Smith, Hist. of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, p. 215; cf. CGS v. 217; Fraser, GSB ii. 304 ff., and in this connexion to be connected with tree-worship (ERE ii. 312). The same conception doubtless underlies his manifestation as Arūḍhā-nārāyaṇa, half male and half female figure of Puruṣottam and Prakriti, the central idea of Nature-worship (see ERE ii. 389). We may also compare the phallic processions which occasionally accompany the Holt celebrations in India, as in the cult of Nathūram at Gwalior (Crooke, PBP ii. 319 f.), the phallicōra of the Dionysus worship in Greece, 'which arises from the same source as those which (q.v.) use the corporal union of the husbandman and his wife in the cornfield at the time of the sowing or after reaping' (CGS v. 197, 206; Fraser, GSB ii. 206 ff., GSB, p. l. vol. ii. p. 97 ff.). The story of Viṣṇu cutting up and scattering the fragments of the linga throughout the world reminds us of the mutilation of Ośtra, and the Kāñch custom of distributing the ashes of the human representative of the spirit of vegetation as a fertilizing charm (Fraser, Adonis, Atis, Ośtra, London, 1907, p. 321; OVS vii. 191). As in the case of the goddess of fertility, the bull is the appropriate emblem of Śiva (Fraser, Adonis, pp. 86, 180, GSB ii. 312, 295; J. J. Milne, Hymns of the Vedic Age, p. 72; J. C. Walker, Wademann, 178 f., 197 f.). The conception, also, of the phallos as a protective (aproteroimg) may, as in the case of the Greek Hieromai, have contributed to its popularization (CGS v. 32). On the worship of the linga in India, see Mrir, iv. 343 ff.

23. The popularization of the cult of Śiva.—The popularization of the cult of Śiva involved a number of Jesus, the adoption of various local deities as his manifestations. The most respectable of these is Ganesāi, or Gaṇeśa, lord of the triple of deities attending the god. His worship starts from the Paurāṇic period; and, except in one legend contained in the northern recension of the Mahābhārata, he does not appear in the Bhārata. His symbols of the elephant and the rat connect him with some local idolatry; but he is now independent, and, though he is a member of the Śiva group of deities, he has become a chief of his own sect, and all sects agree in doing him honour as the god of luck (IA xxx. 255 f.; cf. Brāhmaṇism, vol. ii. p. 807 f.). Another deity of the same class is Kanda, or Karttikeya, who was the family-god of some W. Indian dynasties, and now, under the name of Subrahmāya, is most popular in S. India, where his association with the Mother-goddesses is shown that he is connected with the cult of Śiva. (BG i. pt. ii. pp. 180, 287; Oppert, 309, 370). In a much lower class is Khaḍḍobh, or Khandaṅva, 'sword father,' probably a defiled non-Āryan prince, now the chief guardian-deity of the ocean, where his cult shows obvious signs of contamination with those of the forest tribes (BG xviii. pt. i. pp. 200, 413 f.). Similar instances are to be found in the identification of Śiva—Viṣṇu as Harihara with the non-Āryan Aiyārak, or Veṭāla, the demon-leader and ghost-scare of the Tamil, Kamarāsa, and Deccan peoples (BG xxii. 1885) 558, xviii. (1885) pt. iii. pp. 347, 388.

24. The yoga and asceticism.—The system of yoga, by which, through strange postures, suppression of the breath, self-restraint, and meditation, the soul seeks union with the Supreme World Spirit, was an outgrowth of the Sākhya philosophy, and, though dogmatically no part of the Vedanta, reached its fullest development under Patañjali about the 2nd cent. B.C. In the time of Buddha it was recognized, as it continues to be in the later forms of Buddhism, and the condition of ecstatic abstraction was held in high esteem (H. Kern, Manual of Indian Buddhism, 11; Macdonell, Hist. Sbr. Ltd., 330 ff.; L. A. Waddell, Buddhists of Tibet, 148, 141). It is to be connected with tree-worship (ERE ii. 312). The same conception doubtless underlies his manifestation as Arūḍhā-nārāyaṇa, half male and half female figure of Puruṣottam and Prakriti, the central idea of Nature-worship (see ERE ii. 389). We may also compare the phallic processions which occasionally accompany the Holt celebrations in India, as in the cult of Nathūram at Gwalior (Crooke, PBP ii. 319 f.), the phallicōra of the Dionysus worship in Greece, 'which arises from the same source as those which (q.v.) use the corporal union of the husbandman and his wife in the cornfield at the time of the sowing or after reaping' (CGS v. 197, 206; Fraser, GSB ii. 206 ff., GSB, p. l. vol. ii. p. 97 ff.). The story of Viṣṇu cutting up and scattering the fragments of the linga throughout the world reminds us of the mutilation of Ośtra, and the Kāñch custom of distributing the ashes of the human representative of the spirit of vegetation as a fertilizing charm (Fraser, Adonis, Atis, Ośtra, London, 1907, p. 321; OVS vii. 191). As in the case of the goddess of fertility, the bull is the appropriate emblem of Śiva (Fraser, Adonis, pp. 86, 180, GSB ii. 312, 295; J. J. Milne, Hymns of the Vedic Age, p. 72; J. C. Walker, Wademann, 178 f., 197 f.). The conception, also, of the phallos as a protective (aparotomēw) may, as in the case of the Greek Hieromai, have contributed to its popularization (CGS v. 32). On the worship of the linga in India, see Mrir, iv. 343 ff.

25. Development of the cult of Śiva.—We know little of the early development of the cult of Śiva.
The Sibbs of the Panjâb, according to Magaszenes, who visited India about 20 years after the death of Alexander the Great, branded their cattle with the trident symbol of the god, or rather perhaps with the mark of the club of Hercules, who was identified with him (McCrindle, *Anc. India* as described by Magaszenes, 1877, p. 111; *J.R.A.S.,* 1907, p. 267). Earthenware, who seems to have lived in the beginning of the 3rd cent. A.D., and whose account is preserved by a late compiler, Johannes Stobbius (c. A.D. 500), apparently describes the worship of the god in the hermaphroditic form of Ardhanârîs (McCrindle, *Anc. India* as described in *Classical Lit.,* 172 f.). His image, attended by that of his bull Nandi, with the noose, trident, and other symbols, appears on the coins of the Kuśâ king Kañhipiśa II. (c. A.D. 90-100) and Vâṃśâvara (A.D. 185-236). In the 3rd cent. his cult seems to have been established throughout India (*J.R.A.S.,* 1907, p. 978). In S. India, Saivism was the oldest form of Brâhmanism, and its rise is connected with a teacher named Lâkûlîs, as far back as the first centuries of our era (Rice, *Mysores and Coorg,* 206; cf. D. R. Bhandarkar, *J.R.A.S.* xxvi. [1910] 161 f.). At a later period his worship was adopted by Hindu, king of Bengâl, the founder of the Buddhists, and by the emperor Harâsa, both of whom reigned early in the 7th cent. A.D. (Smith, *Early Hist.,* 251 f., 518 f.).

The propagation of the cult was the work of a series of missionary teachers, who, like the founders of the revived Vaiṣṇavism, came from S. India, where Hinduism, comparatively safe from the invades of the foreigner, was allowed to follow the natural course of its evolution undisturbed. This is shown by the greater abundance of the inscriptions surviving in that region, where the Mohammedan influence has been least. The centres of fanaticism in the N., were less hostile to Hinduism, and did less damage to the temples and the records in stone (I* A xxx. 17*).

The first of these teachers was Kumârâs Bhâšâ, a learned Brâhman of Bihâr, who in the 8th cent. A.D. restored the ancient Vedic rites, and encouraged the practice of Buddhism in the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. A follower of the Mimâmsâ school, he was accused of heresy, and thus led to a divine act of creation, and assumed an all-powerful Deity as the cause of the existence, continuation, and destruction of the world. He is celebrated, as a philosophical argument in opposition to Buddhism, the Veda principle of the non-duality (advaita) of the Godhead. His mantle fell upon his more famous disciple, Sâkśkarâcarya (c. A.D. 747-749), who moulded the Uûâ-mimâmsâ philosophy in its final form (Sri Sâkâkrâcarya: *His Life and Times, His Philosophy,* by C. N. Krishnaswami Aiyer and Pandit Sûnanâth Tatâktâvâsûñak, Madras, n.d.; *Census Report Travancore,* 1901, p. 101 f.; L. K. Ananta Krishna Iyair, *Cochin Tribes and Castes,* ii. [1912] 226 f.).

"He seems to have arisen as an inspired genius to throw a quick, bright light, like to the momentary after-glow of an Indu’s subside. In the darkness descends over the land, on the failing glories of Aranyana before they sink into the dimness of the four dark days of Hinduism.... According to the teachings of Sâkâkarâcarya, the entire system of Vedântic thought finds its national completion in an uncompromising declaration that the sole object of the sacred literature of India was to reveal the divine appearance of what appeals to the senses as reality and the doctrine of non-duality. The question of metaphysics is solved, not as Kant resolved it, by referring all objective reality to perceptions of the intuitions where he sought a solution, but in endeavouring to pierce, in the manner of Plato, and Parmenides, the sense of reality itself. The objective form was held by Sâkâkarâcarya to be the mode in which the devotion of his worshipers was mirrored forth" (R. W. Frew, *Literary Hist. of India,* 1864, p. 293 f.).

To him is due the foundation of the Smârta sect among the Brâhmans of the Deccan, who take their name from their adherence to authoritative tradition (smritis), as opposed to the Vedic Scriptures (*brâhman*). They worship the Triad, Brâhma, Vîšnu, and Siva, under the symbol of the mystic syllable Oṁ, and while abiding these three deities they exalt Siva to the highest place. They hold the pantheistic Vedânta doctrine of non-dualism (advaita), asserting God and matter to be identical, and everything else an illusion. The Deity is said to be the sole being and is the Supremest Being (*Râma Gâtaka*; *Mysore,* 1897, l. 256, 471 f.).

But these Brâhmanic movements were too philosophical to be comprehended by the common folk, and the real popularization of Saivism in S. India was left to the Brâhman Saiva, as he is called in the Lîngâyat Purâṇa, the date of whose origin is discovered by tradition in A.D. 785. But it has recently been discovered that the real founder of this sect was the Brâhman Ekâstâras, who revived Saivism in its popular form in the latter half of the 12th cent. A.D. (I* A xxx. 2*; *BG* i. 15. 30; p. 243 f.; Rice, *Gâvâcarya,* l. 476, *Mysores and Coorg,* 206).

The Lîngâyats (p. s.) may be described as Hindus who deny Brâhman ascendency, and claim to receive from their own priests (jâgannâtas) the eightfold protection (*śrûyusnras,* or, as others term the rites, "the six things") and to be the designated "future temple". With the denial of Brâhman ascendency they have discarded other orthodox rites, such as the cremation of the dead, the observance of the fasts of the month and the observance of caste, pilgrimages, and penances. As is so often the case with such movements in India, there appears now to be a tendency among these orthodox sects to adopt the more modern theologies, and to compromise between the Vaiṣṇavism and the Saivism (Rice, *Gâvâcarya,* l. 476 f.; *Census Report Bombay,* 1901, l. 190 f.; *Census Report Mysores,* 1901, l. 530 f.; *BG* xxviii. 216 f.).

26. Vaiṣṇavism.—The centres of the Vaishnava cult are the temples of Siva, the like of the ancient Vedic rites, and encouraged the practice of Buddhism in the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. As a popular movement, it has spread throughout India, and its influence is felt in every corner of the land. It is characterized by a deep devotion to the deity, and its followers are known as Vaishnavas (p.s.).

"The Vaishnavas are devoted to the worship of Lord Krishna, the eighth avatar of Vishnu. They believe in the divine nature of Krishna and his ability to manifest himself in various forms. The Vaishnavas have a rich tradition of literature, which includes the Bhagavad Gita, the Ramayana, and the Mahabharata. They also have a strong devotion to the goddess Radha, as the consort of Krishna. The Vaishnavas have played a significant role in the cultural and religious life of India."
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only in aberrant form (J. G. Fraser, Totemism and Esvagam, London, 1910, iv. 13). More probably the animal cultus sprang from the Aryan or non-Aryan theocratie, the sacred animals being 'regarded in relation to a more generalised conception of the Divine power, which lies behind them and finds expression through them'. (A
dv. v. 114). As Seelye points out in the case of Babylonia (H. L., 112), in the local god was originally theriomorphic, and when he assumed an anthropomorphic shape there was no room for the primitive animal forms save as they are retained or are remnants of the god. To the modern believer it is sufficient to be told that the god assumed these successive forms to save mankind from ever recurring attacks of the forces of evil.

It is in his later developments that the influence of the non-Aryan races is most apparent. On this question Molony (Census Report Madras, 1912, I. 81) remarks:

Whatever be their present-day union or interminglement, it is difficult to imagine any original connection of the Aryan Brahmans, and their native philosophies, with the gross de
coracy of the Dravidian peoples who surrounded them. Philosophy, however, which has never been suspected of being dead, is likely to be the attempt to find an answer, without the aid of a specific cultus, to a certain demand to absolve; it is unlikely that the early Aryan theists made any serious efforts to other deities, but after the rise of the Aryan culture the deities are known to the Undeclared intellectual supern
cient, and the connecting bridge between their own somewhat unsatisfactory speculations and the extremely materialist dogmatics of the Dravidians.

There is some force in this statement; but when the Brahmans, at some period subsequent to their arrival in S. India, seriously undertook the task of absorbing the local idolatries, the result of the com
dition between the cults of Visnu and Siva, the special groups like the Nambittiris, Brahmanism survives merely as a veneer over the indigenous beliefs. This process of absorption assumed varied forms. Thus in the Deccan and S. India, Vithoba, or Vytahal, of Pandharpur (q. e.), who is generally believed to have been a deified Brahman, is accepted as an incarnation of Visnu. It has been suggested that his name is derived from Visnu, a form of Visnu, modified under Dravidian influence (J.R.A.S., 1907, p. 1033). So also Balaji, usually identified with the god from the Khond Community of Tripetty, or Tirupatti (q. e.), and claimed to be a local deified saint. The same process appears in the case of some Vaishnavas. Badeo and Kurupattina, 'best of men,' are believed to be mountain-dwellers absorbed into the Visnu cultus (Atkinson, Himalayan Gazetteer, ii. 792; Mur, iv. 297) in Travancore, under the title of Pad
tanaha, 'he whose nasal springs the lotus,' he is at Trivandrum connected with a serpent-cult. In A.D. 1752 the Maharajah dedicated his royal person and kingdom to this his tutelary god, and at his succession his first official title is that of a Ser

These local manifestations, however, are of small importance compared with Rama and Krishna. Their cults present so many intricate problems that the consideration of them must be left to special articles. The influence of Christianity on their development is discussed in art. Brakti-Marga, vol. ii. p. 549, and the Keralites, vol. ii. p. 811 f.; J. Kennedy, J.R.A.S., 1907, p. 561 ff.

27. The popularisation of Visnavism.—As was the case with Daivism, the popularisation of the Visnavas cultus was the work of several missionary teachers, and in this case also the inspiration came from S. India. The first of these teachers was Ramanujacharya, also called Emburumunarkar, who, according to the common tradition, was born at Srimattur about A.D. 1197, and, after a life which is said to have extended to 120 years, was buried in the temple of Srinivanasana at Trichi

The chief religious tenet of the sect of Ramanujas or Sri Visnupas is the assertion that Visnu is Brahma, the original creator of the world, and when he assumed an anthropomorphic shape there was no room for the primitive animal forms save as they are retained or are remnants of the god. To the modern believer it is sufficient to be told that the god assumed these successive forms to save mankind from ever recurring attacks of the forces of evil.

It is in his later developments that the influence of the non-Aryan races is most apparent. On this question Molony (Census Report Madras, 1912, I. 81) remarks:

Whatever be their present-day union or interminglement, it is difficult to imagine any original connection of the Aryan Brahmans, and their native philosophies, with the gross de
coracy of the Dravidian peoples who surrounded them. Philosophy, however, which has never been suspected of being dead, is likely to be the attempt to find an answer, without the aid of a specific cultus, to a certain demand to absolve; it is unlikely that the early Aryan theists made any serious efforts to other deities, but after the rise of the Aryan culture the deities are known to the Undeclared intellectual supern
cient, and the connecting bridge between their own somewhat unsatisfactory speculations and the extremely materialist dogmatics of the Dravidians.

There is some force in this statement; but when the Brahmans, at some period subsequent to their arrival in S. India, seriously undertook the task of absorbing the local idolatries, the result of the com
dition between the cults of Visnu and Siva, the special groups like the Nambittiris, Brahmanism survives merely as a veneer over the indigenous beliefs. This process of absorption assumed varied forms. Thus in the Deccan and S. India, Vithoba, or Vytahal, of Pandharpur (q. e.), who is generally believed to have been a deified Brahman, is accepted as an incarnation of Visnu. It has been suggested that his name is derived from Visnu, a form of Visnu, modified under Dravidian influence (J.R.A.S., 1907, p. 1033). So also Balaji, usually identified with the god from the Khond Community of Tripetty, or Tirupatti (q. e.), and claimed to be a local deified saint. The same process appears in the case of some Vaishnavas. Badeo and Kurupattina, 'best of men,' are believed to be mountain-dwellers absorbed into the Visnu cultus (Atkinson, Himalayan Gazetteer, ii. 792; Mur, iv. 297) in Travancore, under the title of Pad
tanaha, 'he whose nasal springs the lotus,' he is at Trivandrum connected with a serpent-cult. In A.D. 1752 the Maharajah dedicated his royal person and kingdom to this his tutelary god, and at his succession his first official title is that of a Ser

These local manifestations, however, are of small importance compared with Rama and Krishna. Their cults present so many intricate problems that the consideration of them must be left to special articles. The influence of Christianity on their development is discussed in art. Brakti-Marga, vol. ii. p. 549, and the Keralites, vol. ii. p. 811 f.; J. Kennedy, J.R.A.S., 1907, p. 561 ff.

27. The popularisation of Visnavism.—As was the case with Daivism, the popularisation of the Visnavas cultus was the work of several missionary teachers, and in this case also the inspiration came from S. India. The first of these teachers was Ramanujacharya, also called Emburumunarkar, who,
reform which led to important results throughout N. India, and especially in the Panjab (Census Report Panjab, 1891, l. 123 f.; Census Report Punjab, 1894, l. 177 ff.; Proc. R. Soc. [1893] 53). 38. The Muhammadan conquest.—The course of the evolution of Hindu beliefs was rudely interrupted by the Muhammadan conquest of N. India.

The period between the conquest of the three major empires—the Maurya, the Guptas, and the Cholas—appears to the same tale roughly into three periods: first, a time of invasions ending in final conquest (A.D. 607-1303); that of the Kingdom founded as a result of the first conquest (1303-1603); and, lastly, the Mughal Empire, which finally passed away when the last emperor was deposed (1603-1803). During the early period the Muhammadans aban in descripts of religious and cultural annals of Hinduism, its destruction of their temples and other religious institutions, in A.D. 988, Mahmud of Ghazni penetrated Kashi, the Mughal Empire, which finally passed away when the last emperor was deposed (1603-1803). During the period the Muhammadans annals abound in descriptions of ruthless massacres of Hindus, destruction of their temples and other religious institutions, in A.D. 988, Mahmud of Ghazni penetrated Kashi, and destroyed the famous Somnath (p. 182) temple, a.p. (1814) captured Benares, destroyed nearly a thousand temples, and raised mosques on their foundations (Gilchrist-Bowen, Hist. of India, 1897-99). A.D. 1625-1868 sacked the capital city of Bhillah, and sent the idols to the gates of Delhi to be buried under the feet of true believers (p. 148). Even Pritjch (1814-1884) more moralistic than many of his predecessors, prized himself on destroying temples and torturing unbelievers (pi. 800). The invasion of Timur in A.D. 1650 accounted for 20,000 Hindu pilgrims, and such as Hardwicke and other places (iii. 304 f., 305 f., 306 f.) was not till the reign of the great Akbar (a.p. 1668-1663) that the faith of his Hindu subjects was deemed any security of protection. This change of policy was due mainly to his laxity on questions of Moslem orthodoxy, to which he was very indulgent. When he died (1666), Hindu Populates, few priests, and Jesuit missionaries, dreaming of a persecution which was to succor the many creeds of the Moguls, and to his statesmanship desires to conciliate the powerful Rajput tribes (Johannsen-Jarrett, Ali-Ahmed, Calcutta, 1879), his son and grandson were too indifferent to religious questions, and too dependent upon the support of their Rajput allies to engage in a crusade against Hinduism. This was not until the accession of the Purana monarchs, Anonymous, the recognition of the Hindu temples, such as that of Kedara Deva at Mathura (a.p. 1668), that of Delhi at Belundur (a.p. 1668), and the Jarni's monarchy in the Christian times. It is not too much to say that every great movement was a result of earlier movements of the old faith of Hinduism, such as that of the Qutb Minar at Delhi, the Jarni's monarchy in the Christian times. It is not too much to say that every great movement was a result of earlier movements of the old faith of Hinduism, such as that of the Qutb Minar at Delhi, under the Jarni's monarchy. But the Muhammadan dynasties of S. India were more tolerant, and the religious rules lived on good terms with the Mahrattas and the Deccan. But it is possible to exaggerate the destructive effect upon Hinduism of the Muhammadan invasions. Persecution and the competition of the new creed stimulated religious activity among the Hindus, and during the Muhammadan period various spiritual teachers arose. New sects were formed, and theological controversy divided the intellectual classes—a revival to which the early Muhammadan rulers seem to have been generally indifferent (Loyalty, Holy or False, No. 86, p. 729). The numerous conversions to Islam were not so much the fruit of active persecution as the result of a desire to gain the favour of the Court, or of missionary teaching (T. W. Arnold, The Preaching of Islam, London, 1896, p. 208 f.). It is also significant that at the present day the proportion of Muhammadans is comparatively small in the neighbourhood of the chief centres of Mogul power—Delhi, Agra, and the cities in the Bengal Delta. The explanation is that, in the neighbourhood of the great Hindu and Buddhist cities of S. India, Islam was confronted by the powerful Rajput tribes, devoted to their ancestral faith, and offering strong resistance to proselytism, in which they were supported by the great Hindu and Buddhist princes. In E. Bengal the assimilating tribes had imbibed little of the tenets of Hinduism, and were ripe for the missionary agents of Islam. Hinduism would have collapsed during the reign of Aurangzeb had it not been protected by the Rajput and Marathas, outside Rajputs and the Danarajputs the land. The strength and influence of Buddhism collapsed when its monasteries were burnt and its monks slain. But Hinduism possessed no single administrative body, no centre of religious life, the destruction of which might have involved a general collapse. It survived because it depended upon its caste and tribal organization; because in it represented the basis of social life, with its perpetual round of ceremonial observances; because it possessed a great and indefatigable religious literature. 39. The influence of Islam on Hinduism and of Hinduism on Islam.—The contact of these two great religions profoundly affected the evolution of both.

The pure monotheism of Islam, which became the State religion of N. India, could not fail to exercise influence on Hinduism. At this time, also, Christian and Jewish teaching began to affect Hinduism. It is significant that the Saiva and Vaishnav missionaries came from the S. and W. of the Peninsula, where Arab, Jewish, and Christian communities first settled; and Islam in S. India has adopted many Hindu practices—worship of local deities, the black art and divination, rites of birth and marriage (Census Report Madras, 1912, l. 54). Some are inclined to believe that the theory of fervent faith in the Godhead was derived from Islam. It is certain that these ideas derived from the indigenous Animism, Islam came fitted to enter upon the task, which it still pursues, of establishing itself as the national religion. To forestall the progress of various religious movements, Hinduism was indebted for the effort to suppress the cults of the mythological and sectarian deities, and for the recognition of a single Divine Power, the Almighty Rule of One.
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abuses which contaminated Vaishnavism in its later stages. It also encouraged a more personal tone in the teaching of the reformers. The Saiva sects, which were differentiated more by distinctions of practice than of theology, as a rule, took impersonal titles. The Vaishnava sects, on the contrary, are known by terms derived from their ideology, and, as a necessary consequence, there is a constant tendency to exalt the founder to a position of divine or semi-divine authority, in which the worship of the Deity becomes of secondary importance.

Kabir (c. A.D. 1488-1518), one of the twelve disciples of Ramananda, has become one of the most prominent figures in the popular Hinduism of N. India. His career illustrates the eclecticism of Hinduism. His leaning towards Islam was no bar to his becoming a Hindu Bhakta, and his writings display a wonderful combination of beliefs drawn from Christianity, Khatsim and Vedantism (J.R.A.S., 1908, p. 245 ff.). The result of his attempt to fuse Hinduism with Islam is that in Bombay some of his followers describe themselves as Hindus, some as Mahomedans (Census Report, 1901, i. 61; cf. Census Report Pundits, 1912, p. 121 ff.). As in other religious movements in the same kind, his later followers have maintained the name of their founder. They now occupy a position between idolatry and monotheism, and some of them have added the ecstatically expressing cult of Ramananda to their adherence. Among the peculiarity of the present day Kabir retains his authority as a hymnist more than as a religious reformer. His racy religious and moral aphorisms are constantly on the lips of the middle-class Hindus. They incite a pure and tender morality which has strongly affected popular feeling. Many of his writings the Xal-granth, the scripture of the Sikhs, are largely based on. (See KABIR: G. A. Grierson, Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan, Calcutta, 1880, p. 7 f.; G. H. Westcott, Kabir and the Kabir-Panth, London, 1908; Macauliffe, The Sikh Religion, vol. 122 E.)

31. Vaishnavism in Bengal.—Another side of the Neo-Vaishnavism is shown in the teaching of Mirza Ismail, a prophet who was born about A.D. 1500, and preached the doctrine of fervent faith in Krishna in its most ecstatic form (Grierson, 12; Macauliffe, vol. 349 ff.; H. H. Wilson, i. 189 ff.). This form of mysticism found a communal soil in the Bengal Delta, among an emotional race little affected by Aryan influence, and steeped in Animism.

The leader of the sect Chaitanya, born two years after Luther (A.D. 1484-1527), he taught the sufficiency of faith in the divine Krishna and his consort Radha; and the only form of worship prescribed was the repetition of the name of the Deity without any concomitant feeling of genuine devotion. This creed naturally found acceptance among the people of Bengal, who, still retaining some leaning towards Buddhism, were depressed by the results of long-continued social disorder, and had no alternative but to accept either Saktism or Anismism. The stress laid by Chaitanya on ecstatic devotion towards Krishna and Radha had encouraged sensuality, and the Baikhti Vaishnavas of Bengal have acquired such an evil reputation that Vaishnavi, the title of the female members of the order, has become synonymous with courtesan (Wine, Notes on the Bengali Courts, and Temples of E. Bengal, 1853, pp. 154, 165). For Chaitanya and the Vaishnavas of Bengal, see Calcutta Review, xv. (1851) 189 ff.; E. A. Cott, Census Report Bengal, 1901, i. 182 ff. Another characteristic of the order is its aversion to the use of animal food, and its reverence of the father of his flock, the essence of this type of modern Vaishnavism; and the worship done to him differs in no way from that addressed to the Godhead (see E.E. ii. 548).

Respect for these ideas is not a modern feature, for it was inculcated by Manu (ll. 130, iv. 251 f., and l. 1. ix. 235 E.). Such reverence, however, when paid by the pupil, ceased on the completion of the term of religious training.

'From the twelfth century, on the contrary, the founder rises to the rank of Buddha or Jesus; he becomes what the Prophet or the Imam are for the Moslem, a revelator, a supernatural saviour. He is confounded with the god of whom he is an incarnation. Like him, he is entitled to adoration (devotion) and if the soul attaches to a traditional hierarchy, his successors share more or less in the same privileges. Ramanuja, Ramanandasa, Annakuta, Bhakta, and many others who established trans-ordinate divisions, or who have been distinguished saints or poets, were from an early date regarded as Arakas (incarnations) of the deity' (Haris, 329).

The same pretensions are now displayed by some of the Dharma gurus, and, in particular, by those of the Vallabha sect, whose headquarters are at Gokul (q.v.). Similar claims made by the Saiva gurus in Madras are fully described by Dubois (p. 152 f.). In more recent times their authority has much decreased.

The great herearch, Vallabha, a Brahman from S. India, was born in A.D. 1478; gained his first triumphs as a disputant, had visited all the holy places in N. India; and at Brindaban (q.v.) saw Krishna in a vision, who directed him to establish a cult of Bhagavata, or Balgopal, the god in the form of a boy owlshead, which is the form of worship still most popular among the members of the sect. This cult seems to have been later in date than that of Krishna as a hero, from which it appears to have developed (J. Kennedy, J.R.A.S., 1907, p. 975 ff.). In his later years Vallabha showed ascetic life, married, became the father of sons, died at Benares A.D. 1531. His followers are the Epi- cures of the East, and frankly avow their belief that the ideal life consists in solitude and self-mortification. The doctrine of the sect which has specially aroused popular resentment is the declaration of the gurus, with the corollary that his devotees, in body, soul, and substance (sam, san, dham), are at his disposal, this rule being enforced specially in the case of the female votaries. The sect is found in the largest numbers at Gokil and in the commercial cities of W. India. At Bombay the immorality of their leader, the Mahakavi, was exposed during a famous trial in 1801 (Karnanada Muktii, Hist. of the Sect of the Maharajas in W. India, London, 1856; B.G. ix. pt. i. p. 556 f.; Census Report Baroda, 1913, l. 77 f.). The same criticism applies to another sect of wandering beggars in W. India, known as Manbhav (Sktr. mahabhavade, 're- spectcd'); and this evil reputation is enhanced by the contempt in which they are held by the Brah- mans who serve the orthodox gods (B.G. xiii. pt. i. p. 196, xvii. 181 ff.; art. CHITRAVATI [Indians]).

32. The Saktas.—This licentious type of Hinduism appears still more clearly in the form of Saktism, the worship of the active female principle (prakriti) as manifested in one or other of the forms of the goddess Siva—Kali, Devi, Parvati, and many others. The general character of this, the most debased side of Hinduism, is fairly well known; but comparatively little study has been devoted to it by European scholars, and the sordid under which its rites are celebrated ensures that its mysteries are revealed to none but the initiated. It is believed that the Saktas, or followers of the family of Lord Siva, are older than the age of the Buddha (J.R.A.S., 1904, p. 557); but in its present form it seems to have been popularized among the senseless population of Assam and E. Bengal about the 9th cent. A.D.
On the one hand, it has been supplied with a philosophical justification, being a popularised version of the Sankhya principle of the union of the soul of the universe (purusa) with the primordial essence (prakriti). By being self-existent Being as not only single, solitary, and impersonal, but also quiescent and inactive. Once it is conceived of as a personal principle, it acts through the associated female principle which, again, is conceived to be possessed of a higher degree of activity and personality. Combined with this is a literal and misconceived interpretation of various passages in the Veda, in which the will and power to create the universe are represented as originating from a greater, as coeternal with Him, and as part of Himself. On this theory, the belief is more closely connected with Saivism than with any other religious system, originating in philosophical Brahmanism, and tracing back its history through Brahmanism to the earliest Vedic conceptions (Monier-Williams, 186 f.; H. H. Wilson, 324 f.; Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 109 f.).

On the other hand, Saktism has a second and less reputable side, and this is more present to the majority of its adherents. Among its more popular local speculations and reminiscences of Vedic doctrines. The impersonation of the female energy in the form of Mother Earth appears among the non-Aryan tribes in the cult of the village-goddess (gāndācakṣa), some of whom are purely local or tribal, while others, like Kali or Marīyamma, though they retain some local characteristics, have become national deities. Even in the Veda, Pṛthivī appears as a kindly guardian-deity (Macdonell, *Vedic Myth.*, 88) but with her, by a process of syncretism, has been associated the non-Aryan Mother-cult, which has been described in the art. *Dravidians.*

The progress of this syncretism is indicated in various ways. In the Pāñcāla cave-temple, for instance, Pṛthivī is identified with Bhūmi-devi, or Hiti-devi, the Earth-Mother of the non-Aryan goddess of patience and endurance, who is Manu and in the formal ritual of Brahmanism receives special adoration (Ferguson-Burgess, 409; Manu, iii. 85 f., ix. 311; Colebrooke, *Essays*, 1856, p. 85). In one of the S. Indian temples, again, Devī appears in the form of a female image in stone, in which the head alone is visible, while the body is still concealed in the earth (Oppert, *Orig. Indol.* 488). The same other appears in Buddhist art, where she rises under the feet of the horse of the Master (Ortwein, *Buddhist Art in India*, 98 f.); and in the *Buddha Representations of the goddesses* (Farnell), iii. 29, 27, 52, 216, 223 f., 296, v. 349 f.; J. H. Harrison, *Proleg. to the Study of Gr. Rel.*, Cambridge, 1903, p. 275 f.). In its benevolent manifestation the cult of the Earth-goddess is shown in that of the Ranjīt Gaurī, 'the brilliant one,' whose annual marriage to Śiva or Siva is intended, by a sort of mimetic magic, to stimulate the growth of the young corn (Tod, *Annals of Rajastān*, Calcutta reprinted, 1884, i. 602 f.; Fraser, *Bod. Anth., Attis, Orissia*, 199 f.). In other cases manifestations she is known as Sākambhī, 'herb-nourisher,' or Sākṣaṭkāra, 'she who fulfills desire' (*BO* i. pt. i. p. 158, xxiii. 679 f.; Atkinson, *Himalayan Gaz.* ii. 325; Tod, i. 67). But, besides these benevolent manifestations, she exhibits more of the non-Aryan feeling when she displays her chthonic and malignant nature. Cults of this class are especially common in S. India. The temple of Marīyamma in Tiruvannamalai, mother of all,' who is the Bhūmi, includes animal-sacrifice, and the brutal rite of hook-swinging, intended as a mimetic charm to promote vegetation, the plant springing as the victim rises in the air; Marīyamma, 'plague mother,' at whose shrine an officiant known as Potrās, 'ox king,' tears open the throat of a living ram and offers a mouthful of the bleeding flesh to the goddess, as in the frenzied offerings of human savages. A feature of the Dīnysian ritual (*COS* v. 156, 166); or Pābhāri, the Tamil form of the Skt. Viśāhī, 'poison-remover,' a passionate incarnation of the goddess, was a woman of both mind and body, and on her head a burning flame; when drought or murrain prevails, she is propitiated with fire-sacrifice and the slaying of a bull; lambs are slain in the route of her procession, and the blood, mixed with wine, is flung into the air to propitiate the powers of evil (*Bull. Madr. Mus.* iii. 190; Oppert, *Oldfield*, i. 341 f.). The cults of these goddesses have recently been carefully investigated by H. Whitehead, bishop of Madras (*Bull. Madr. Mus.*, 1917 f.; cf. Gopal Panikkar, *Mālapura and Its People*, Madras, 1916, p. 129 f.; Dubois, 286 f.).

From deities of this class the transition to the orthodox cults of Kali and Devi, shorn though they may have been of some of their brutality and licence, is easy. A modern orthodox Hindu, however, traces goddess-worship to the Veda, and denies its origin in the Earth cults (*Commentary on Panjūli*, 1912, i. 114 f.).

Devi still retains much of her chthonic character, as when she manifests herself as Vindhyavāsī, the presiding deity of the present-day Vindhya range, or as the Saptātri Devī of Sāgaragad in the Kolāna district of Bombay, who have their homes in caves, and represent the original aniconic cult of the vague, directionless, and wandering tribes; or when, as in the Panjūli, she is manifested in a young girl, who performs mimetic magic to foster the growth of crops; or when, as in Nepal, in the form of Kumārī, 'the maid,' she is accompanied by boys representing Gopēśa and Mahākālī (Siva) in his malignant form (*Commentary on Panjūli*, 1912, i. 114 f.).

Vindhyavāsī seems to be a non-Aryan goddess imported into Hinduism, and identified with the Vindhyavāsī Kali, (see *ΕΕΕ* v. 117 f.). She does not appear, at least by name, in the early Vedic or Brahmanic literature, though there are several prototypes from which she may have been developed, and it is believed that her identification with Kali took place about the 7th cent. of our era. (*JEAS*, 1865, p. 36) By birth she has been connected with Nīrīti, the Vedic goddess of evil—which would account for the malignity of her character (see *Brahmanas*, vol. ii. p. 813). When she appears seated on a lion, she represents a well-known Oriental type, indicating that these deities were originally indistinguishable from the beasts, and that the complete separation of the bestial from the human or divine shape was a consequence of that growth of knowledge and of power which led man in time to respect himself more and the brute less (*Fraser, *Achāśi*, 107).
them being Kshatriyā, the embodied curse of the spirit (A. K. Forbes, Reśa Mārga, 193; BG vii. 1894, 643). In Madras also many of the Mothers are of human origin; Gaṅgāmā was a Brahman woman who, after the death of her husband, constructed a famous tank (Cox-Stuart, Manual of N. Arūṭi, Madras, 1896, i. 180). Such worship religiously and sociologically, is exemplified by the Sayyid Aslan the Muslim who, at the command of his master, cut off his head and held it in his hand, as is related by Anbālah Bhāvanī of Gujarāt, who is propitiated by animal-sacrifice and offerings of spirituous liquor, her image being a block of stone rudely hewn into the semblance of a human face (ED. v. 423 f., ix. pt. i. Intro. xxxv f.; for Mother-worship, see Monier-Williams, Brāhmaṇam and Brāhinsūm, 222 f.)). The cult may be compared with that of at Śrī parturi at Enningam in Sicily, which Cicero calls ‘augustissimum et religiosissimum fanum’ (in Vers. iv. 44, v. 79), and the Dūrūṭ al-Būrū of the Kāθūrīs in Hindustān; it is also practised in Assam and Bengal that the cultus appears in its most popular form (see ERE ii. 134*, 491 f.). Here the old savage beliefs, temporarily submerged, but not extinguished by Buddhism, assume a new development. The cultus is believed to have originated at Kāṃrūp in Assam, and may be older than the preaching of Buddha (Census Report Assam, 1891, i. 90, 1901, l. 39 f.; JRAS, 1904, p. 557). The goddess reveals her blood sacrifice, and satisfies the desires of her votaries for a diet of meat by permitting the use of the flesh of the animals sacrificed (Wilkins, Modern Hinduism, 1887, p. 168). In one Assamese form, Kāṃkā, ‘goddess of desire,’ ‘the most abominable rites are practised, and the sacred animal upon which it is scarcely possible to suppose the human mind could be capable of deviating; and up to quite recent times these were accompanied by human sacrifice’ (Census Report Assam, 1891, i. 38 f.; ERE ii. 134 f.). Human sacrifice, though it appears in the legend of Hiranyakṣiṣū, is not a characteristic of the Vedic religion, and was probably derived from some non-Aryan cult. In former times human victims were immolated at shrines of Kāthī in Assam; when the temple of Kāthī was raised in A.D. 1568, the brahman consecrated it with numerous human sacrifices, the heads of the victims being offered to the goddess on copper plates; similar sacrifices were frequently offered at the copper temple at Sādāyā, and at Bālotalā in Kāṃrup; it was owing to the seizure of four British subjects for this atrocious purpose that the Bāja of Jainti was deposed in 1853 (Census Report, 1891, i. 80). In Bengal, again, the worship of Durgā is accompanied by wearisome purifications and gross idolatry (Pratisākshanda Gāndha, Durgā, and Vedic and Hindūrātav, Calcutta, 1971). The cult of Kāthī-Devi is also associated with the horrors of Thāgi (E. Thornton, Hindūs and Thāgas of India, London, 1837; W. H. Sleeman, Ramakātana: Vocabulary of the Peculiar Language used by the Thāgas, Calcutta, 1838; Report on the Depredations committed with the Thāg Cages, Calcutta, 1840).

34. Later developments of Hinduism.—The modern development of Hinduism aims at the reconstruction of the faith in order to adapt it to new conditions. On the one hand, it proposes to reconcile it with the social uprising of the more depressed classes resulting from the imperial reign of British law; on the other, to meet the requirements of the educated classes who have to some extent assimilated the results of Western thought. (D. G. Howson, A History of Hinduism, p. 10.) Hinduism, in fact, has for several centuries been using the general use of English, like that of Greek under the Roman Empire, or of Latin in the Middle Ages, tends to form a bond of union, and results in the growth of a feeling of common nationality among

the diverse races of the Peninsula. The first movement is illustrated by the growth of sects founded on social revolt; the second by those which seek to reconcile the faith with European philosophy, materialism, or agnosticism, and which seem usually to reject the more objectionable dogmas and practices of Hinduism, and to substitute for them the ancient deities in new forms, as in the case of the Parsees, or the Theosophists, or the Sāṁjñā (see H. G. Wells, The History of Civilization, 1904, p. 366). The climax of this movement is reached in the Amritsār sect of Sikhism, of which the chief object is to propagate the tenets of the Tāhāqīn, which encourages the growth of unitarian beliefs, and by the ascetic preaching of Kabir and his followers. It was originally an attempt at religious reform, and, in process of time, assuming the character of a political organization. Founded by Guru Nānāk (A.D. 1469-1539), it was in the beginning agnostic, and its successors, notably by Guru Gobind Singh (A.D. 1675-1708), the credence in its strictest form enjoin the belief in a single God, condemns the worship of other deities, idolatry, and the great shrines of Hinduism, faith in omens, charms, and witchcraft; and does not recognize ceremonial impurity at birth or death. As a social system it aimed at abolishing caste distinctions, and, as a necessary consequence, Brahmā́nical supremacy and ordinances, in all family rites. But this ideal system is accepted by few, and there is a growing tendency, now strongly resisted by its leaders, to conform more closely to official Hinduism (see Macauliffe, The Sikh Religion). Recent investigations show the difficulty of assigning an exact date to the foundation of Hinduism (Census Report Panjab, 1912, l. 184 ff.). In more recent times a similar movement has been started among the depressed castes, who resent the contempt in which they are held by the punctilious high-caste organizations, particularly in S. India. Thus the Pariah of Madras have founded an organization of their own, and now assert claims to privileges from which in former times they were rigidly excluded. This movement has caused considerable alarm among some of the leaders of Hindu society, who have attempted to expel the position of these outcasts is seriously considered, there is a risk that they may, in despair, adopt Christianity, as many of them have already done (for recent efforts to relieve the so-called ‘untouchables,’ see Census Report Baroda, 1912, l. 205; Madras, 1912, l. 161 f.). In the same way the Satnāms (p.s.) of the Central Provinces have revolted against Brahmā́n domination, and are divided into rival groups, one of which refuses intermarriage with the other, and has adopted a rival which admits some of the fouler practices of the Vaiśavas and Śaktas sects (Census Report Central Provinces, 1901, l. 90).

(b) Sects aiming at the reconstruction of Hinduism.—This movement owes much of its inspiration to the translations of the Hindu sacred books into English, which now, in this form, appeal to a wider educated public. The results of the Brāhmaṇa Sāṁjñā (see ERE ii. 813 ff.) have not been encouraging.

Many who are really Brahmos, other than those of the Śvāmārak Brahma Sāṁjñā sect, prefer to describe themselves as Hindus; and so far as outward appearances go, the present-day tendency amongst the educated classes of Hindus, the Brāhmaṇs alone the (Brahmo) sect . . . is likely to appeal, is towards agnosticism or indifferentism, matter (material), and Hinduism has no special attractions for them when orthodox Hinduism allows them all the latitude they need (Census Report India, 1901, l. 253; Bengal, l. 189). Its most important innovation has been the establishment of public and Government schools and the spread of English, the medium of instruction in these schools is hitherto unknown in India (see ERE ii. 813 ff.). The Arya Sāṁjñā, which repudiates idolatry and in a large measure ignores the sectarian deities, studies Christianity chiefly in the works of its
opponents, adopts toward it the attitude of hostility rather than sectadism, and depends mainly for its influence on the sympathy of the advanced political parties in India (see Bee ii. 57).

35. The new Vedantism.—Some attention, particularly in America, has been directed to the new development of the old Vedantism taught by Sthri Ramanan, Paramahamsa, and expanded by his disciple Swami Vivekananda.

He thus delivers the message of his master: "Do not care for doctrines, do not care for dogmas, or sects, or churches, or temples; you count for little compared with the essence of existence in each man which is spirituality, and the more that this is developed in a man, the more powerful he is for good (Speeches and Writings of Swami Vivekananda, Madras, u. s. (1899), p. 21). He denies the existence of polytheism in India. "In every temple, if one stands by and listens, one will find the worshippers apply all the attributes of God—inclining his semblance—correspondence—to the images. This is not Polytheism" (ch. 43). The earnest worshipper before an idol recognizes in it a necessary stage of his life. "The child is father of the man."

Would it be right for the old man to say that childhood is a sin or youth a sin? Nor is image-worship compulsory in Hinduism (ch. 43). His ideal religion is what we call in India Yoga, union between God and man, union between the lower self and the higher self. To the worker it is union between man and the will of humanity to the mystic, between the lower and the higher self; to the lover, union between him and the God of love; and to the philosopher it is union in all existence (ch. 96). The greatest, most touching, as it is most pleasing, as it is most inspiring, is the one scripture the teaching of which is in entire harmony with the results which have been obtained by the modern scientific investigations of the external universe. As a result of our modern reforms; movements have been made for giving imitations of Western means and methods of work, and the future will not for India (ch. 48)."

The most horrific ceremonies, the most horrible of all the ceremonies that human hands ever wrote, or the human brain ever conceived, are the most bestial forms that ever passed under the name of religion, have all been the creations of degraded Buddhism (ch. 504)."

"My idea is the conquest of the whole world by the Hindu race (ch. 528); in Hamsaka, as in general, Max Muller, Edwarkhala, his Life and Sayings, London, 1890)."

36. Theosophical Hinduism.—Another movement, having as its object the reconciliation of Hinduism with the most advanced forms of thought, may be called Theosophical Hinduism, which has its centre at the Central Hindu College, Benares, under the guidance of Mrs. A. Besant.

Theระบบจึงไม่สามารถนำข้อมูลที่อยู่ในภาพเข้าสู่ภาษาอังกฤษได้.

37. Hindu eclecticism.—This summary account of Hindu sectarianism may tend to exaggerate its extent. It would be a mistake to suppose that the faith is divided into so many water-tight compartments between which communication is impossible. The position of the advanced Hindus on the question of sectarianism has been defined as follows:

"The attitudes of an educated Hindu towards the question of doctrine and worship is this: What God is God is not entirely knowable, as it is an infinite conception. Of this infinite conception some are all power, some are all knowledge, some are all action. Of what is infinite knowledge, of what is infinite action, of what is infinite action the student becomes acquainted. All worship, therefore, should be tolerated. Any deity may constitute a sect for the worship of the deity of his own sect. The infinite conception becomes widened. It is not only necessary to replace one deity of the other, but to replace one sect of the other. There is no need of importance whether the absolute and infinite conception is called Brahman, Vishnu, Shiva, Dakshinamurthi, or Mahadeva. Such a conception is the Sun, Jupiter, or Saturn, or any historical great hero, or a saint, or a river like the Ganges, or any other object that inspires awe or creates feelings in the human mind. None of these gods or goddesses are but starting-points. To disturb the faith of a man in a finite God is foolish as long as the human mind is not fitted to accept the higher" (Shridhar V. Raskar, 182).

While the Saktas are more distinctly separated from Saivites and Vaishnavas, these two are, in the view taken by most Hindus, complementary rather than antagonistic. Both appeal to the Puranas as their Scripture; members of one sect may reverence the delities of another. Thus in some places Haribara (Vishnu-Siva) is worshipped (Rice, Mysores and Coor from the Inscriptions, 206). In Malabar we find "none of the strict adherents of worshipers of Vishnu and Siva, or, indeed, between any of the forms of the deity, whether venerated as gods or goddesses, which are to be seen elsewhere in India, being divided or secting or thinking up and dwelling on differences among the people. People generally do not, as a rule, give much regard to such differentiation. The Nambotiris do, but by no means to such an extent as one sees, for example, in the differences among the Vaishnavas. The people are divided into two sects, each hating the other with the most bitter enmity (Bull. Madr. Mus. iii. 79; cf. Census..."
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Representing Viṣṇu, and a pair of phallic emblems of Śiva and his consort; when he goes on pilgrimage to sacred places, he offers worship to the Saiva and to the Viṣṇu images (Yogendra Nath Bhattacharya, Hindu Castes and Sects, Calcutta, 1896, p. 364). In Bombay every Brāhmaṇ household worships a strict form of the Śiva Deity. In the image of Śiva, as well as in the image of Viṣṇu, there is an amanī (or in a picture); a metal image of the Śakti, or Mother-goddess; Gaṇapati, or Gaṇapati, god of luck and wisdom; Surya, the Sun, or Hanuman, the sacred monkey (BG II. pt. i. Intro. p. xxviii). In the temple of the Mādhavachārya sect in the Baroda State are found images of Śiva (I. G. x. 125 f.). Beside those of Viṣṇu and his consort, the explanation given by members of the sect being that the founder, originally a worshipper of Śiva, afterwards adopted the cult of Viṣṇu (Census Report, Baroda, 1901, l. 157 f.). In this State any hostility towards adherents of rival sects is not felt by the population at large, but by the leaders and inner circle of devotees (id., 1912, j. 74).

The continuity of religious life is exemplified by the successive occupation of the sacred sites by various forms of religion. Benares and Mathura, which are centres respectively of Buddhism and Jainism, the former being at present devoted chiefly to the cult of Viṣṇu, the latter to Viṣṇu in the form of Kṛṣṇa. At Śaktri Sārva, a village in the same range, Hindus perform their rites of prayer and absolution. Śikh venerate a shrine of Nanak, Muḥammad the tomb of a Muḥammadian saint (I. G. x. 390). Nālī and Wāt, both at the present day, are centres of Hinduism, have lines of Buddhist caves (Fergusson-Burgess, 285 ff., 211). In Kāsmir, in spite of the nominal conversion of the population to Islam, their shrines stand on the sites of the holy places of the Hindus, and receive a veneration not accorded to the modern mosques and their Muḥammadians. Though Hinduism is eminently ecstatic and tolerant, disputes between rival sectarians, ending in bloodshed, are not uncommon. Serious riots between rival bands of ascetics have occurred (I. G. x. 744, 441). In the same way, Benares, a Saiva stronghold, is a museum of cults associated with other gods (Sherring, Sacred City, 63, 120, 130, 172). The shrine of Śiva, as Mahākāla, at Kāthigāra (g.v.) is visited by all sects and by all ranks of the people, from the Hindu Gorkhi king and his relations, the finest Buddhist devout: Bāhūras, or Buddhist priests, officiate at Hindu celebrations, and Hindus regard the Buddhist deities as eminent saints (Oldfield, II. 285 f.). The association of the cult of Śiva and his consort with that of Viṣṇu at the temple of Jagannāth, a chief seat of Viṣṇu worship, is specially noteworthy (Hunt, Orissa, 130). In Ceylon, Budhais continue to worship many of the Hindu gods (Hardy, Eastern Monachism, 201; cf. Waddell, Buddhism of Tibet, 232). Pr. and W. Pr. many Christian shrines command respect from Hindus, and in a less degree from Muḥammadians (BG xii. pt. i. p. 209; N. Manuṣṭ, Storia del Mogor, London, 1861, II. 248; I. G. x. 167). In the N.W. Frontier Province the predominance of Islam has seriously influenced the local Hinduism (Census Report, 1915, i. 93). Hindus and Muḥammadians worship at the shrine of the Virgin Mary at Cochin, and the bust of a well-known missionary at Madras was recently associated with the image of Sararvati at a Hindu religious rite (Thurston, Religion of the Hindus and Buddhists, 1909, Khwarā, no. 114, p. 6). On the other hand, many groups of Christian converts retain Hindu beliefs (Census Report Cochin, 1901, 1. 59 f.). In N. India Śiva converts Brāhmaṇs, who keeps in his private house-charset an amanī

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39. The beliefs of the peasant classes.—The primitive animistic or pre-animistic beliefs (see § 7) have been to some extent obscured or modified by the predominant Brahmanism among the mental races of the plains, and in a less degree among the forest tribes. The Hindu villager, like the Jew at the period of the growth of Christianity (W. B. Cassel, The Land and Mental Religion, London, 1906, p. 57 f.), lives in an atmosphere peopled by spirits, generally malignant, capable of being repelled or conciliated by sacrifice, spells, incantations, amulets, and other magical or semi-magical means.

A belief in every kind of daemoniac influence has always been from the earliest times an essential ingredient in the religious thought. . . . Certainly no one who has ever been brought close contact with the Hindus in their own country can doubt the fact that the worship of at least ninety per cent. of the people of India in the present day is a worship of spirits' (Monsor-Williams, Brahmanism and Hinduism, 1910).

The Hindu villager has no conception of the reign of law in the natural world. The occurrence of miracles is a matter of daily observance. He appeals to the intercession of the半导神 of his own sect to the protection of his gods, because the latter have, in his belief, in a large measure lost touch with humanity, and no longer interest themselves in the petty details of his ordinary life (H. R. Fair, The Hindus as they are, Calcutta, 1881, p. 109).

The word, while the idol of Grämänsd Jaya-balgevard is being re-painted, the spirit of the deity is extracted and kept in a jar until the work is finished, when it is restored to its abode (W. M. Todd, Jat of Nepal, 127). The same idea, in a grosser form, appears in the degraded northern Buddhism, when internal organs made of dough or clay are inserted in the larger images; in those most highly valued, precious stones, filigree of the hollow metals, consecrated rice, scarfs containing the Buddhist creed, texts, and sacred relics are placed (W. S. Judd, Buddhism of Tibet, 259).

The luxuriance of modern idol-worship is best observed at the most important holy places.

In 1905, Sherring estimated that there were 444 temples in Benares; and this enumeration did not include the minor shrines and walk-niches, each containing one or more images, which are found everywhere in the streets. These inferior shrines were, on one occasion, by a curious contrivance discovered. A large number of the walls of the temples had been generally perceived. Bâk Mân Bith of Jeypoor, wishing to present his divinity to the temple at Jeypoor, made the stipulation that they were all to be commenced and finished in the same year. In the course of one night he set fire in blocks of stone a great many tin carvings, each one representing a temple. The separate blocks, on the work being completed, were sold off to, or, on all sides, a mass of minute temples. These blocks are still to be seen in various parts of Benares. . . . In regard to the number of idols of every description actually worshiped by the people, it is generally exceeded the number of people themselves, 40,000,000. . . . However, in the case of the Ganges, it is the river of life, and may be many more' (Sacred City, 43 f.)....
one of the incarnations of Viṣṇu when he feels pious and religious. The religious wants of these people are sufficiently provided for by an occasional visit to a sacred river or place of pilgrimage, where he bathes, visits the chief temples, and feeds a Brah- 
man. He goes to the propitiations of his deceased ancestors; to attendance at village or local festi-
vals, where the religious service is only an adjunct to trade or amusement. There is little or no domes-
tic worship save the rites at birth, marriage, and death, the first two being discharged by his family chaplain (purohita), the third by some degraded Brahman or a saivite or a funeral priest. Occasionally a pious man hires a Brahman and invites his 
friends to attend a recitation (kathā) of one of the sectarial Scriptures. Such rites involve consider-
able expense, which the thrifty want, and want as far as they can consistently with the desire to con-
ciliate his gods and escape the contempt of his neighbours. Among the trading classes it is the cus-
tom at the close of life to devote considerable sums to the erection of a temple in their native village or at some sacred place. The peasant may thus seem to be lax in the discharge of his religious duties. But this is not actually the case, because all his ordinary social rites are performed from a motive which to him is religious, that is to say, in obedience to the laws of his caste, or because they belong to the community or the social group to which he belongs. It may be said that there are few races among whom religion, as they conceive it, forms a larger part of their daily life. In the eastern Punjab he has practically no belief in the transmigration of souls, but he has a vague hope that there is a future life, in which those who are good in this world will be happy, even if the viole-
ance of the laws of his caste, or because they belong to the community or the social group to which he belongs. It may be said that there are few races among whom religion, as they conceive it, forms a larger part of their daily life. In the eastern Punjab he has practically no belief in the transmigration of souls, but he has a vague hope that there is a future life, in which those who are good in this world will be happy, even if the viole-

In Gujarāt, as the peasant wakes, he utters the name of his patron deity, Mahādeva or Śiva, Thakurji or Viṣṇu, Aīmbākavant the Mother-
goddess, or to some little deity. In Gujerāt he recite the verse: I call to mind in the morning the Lord of deities, the Destroyer of the fear of death! If he is a layman under a special vow, he davacayata; if his patron deity be Śiva, a verse from some vernacular poet, or medi-
tates upon his attributes and perfections. If he is a Brahman of high caste, he always behaves, 
invokes the sun, and pours water in his name, and, 
thrusting his right hand into an ornamented bag, known as the ‘cow’s mouth’ (gajasvātha), he runs 
over his rosary, repeating the ancient Gāyatrī, or prayer to the sun. His house oratory contains images of Bālmukunda or the infant Kṛṣṇa, the deity amonoon representing Viṣṇu, guqures of Śiva, Ganesa, Durgā-Devi, Kāli, Śiva the sun-god, Hanumān the monkey-god, and others, thus show-
ing the extreme eclecticism of his beliefs. These he washes, dresses, worships, and adorns with flowers and other offerings, and, if truly pious, he performs the six rites of worship, including all modes of service to the deities, and ending with the circum-
ambulation of the images and procession of praise (Forbes, Rāj Māla, pp. 522 ff., 586 ff.).

In Berar the peasant is both a polytheist and a monotheist, believing in Viṣṇu, God, to whom the others are subordinate. His special deities are the village Māruti or the monkey-god that is the 
village guardian, and his family tutelary deities. His

chief religious duty is to make pilgrimages, but these are not compulsory. A thousand or more deities are regarded as sacred. He is tolerant, regarding every 
religion as true and good for him who is born to it.

He believes that a very strict account has been kept of his good and bad actions; and that he is as sure of getting his reward as his punishment, very often in this world, but certainly after death. His belief in a region beyond the grave is very firm. There he will meet with his deities and, after enjpying 
the bliss of heaven or enduring the torments of purgatory, he will be sent back to this world in the incarnation of a man or a beast, according as he has made good or bad use of his time in this life (Comenius Report Bihar, 1901, l 644).

For similar beliefs in Madras, see J. E. Padfield, The Hindu at Home, 1896, ch. iii. and iv.; for Benga1, Comenius Report, 1901, l 186 ff.; for the Punjab, Ithiboten, Punjab Ethnography, ch. iv. 

40. The ethics of Hinduism.—The influence of Hinduism on life and character is a subject too wide to receive detailed treatment here, and it is perhaps best 
elsewhere discussed (E.E.B, v. 496 ff.). The supernatural beings of savage belief frequently 
display the utmost indifference to questions of worldly morality; and in the early stages of the 
evolution of public justice, the community inter-
feres only on supernatural grounds with actions which are regarded as endeavouring its own exist-
ence (Westermann, M.T. i. 61). A man is a 
house, Morals in Evolution, London, 1906, l 119). In other words, sin is regarded as a social or ritual 
offence, not as the desecration of the individual soul.

From the earliest period, it is true, sin was fully 
recognized, and its removal is stated to be the 
work of the gods; but the first mention of the 
public confession of sin is found in the Dharmasa-
stra (Hopkins, 42, 60, 55, 329). It was fully de-
veloped under the Bhāgavata monotheism (see 
E.E.B, vol. ii. p. 544) and of EXPLANATION AND 
ATTORNEY [Hindu], vol. v. 608 ff.). It is true 
that the official Hinduism of the sacred books 
(cannot be charged with indifference to moral ideals. Its sacred 
literature terms with reflections on the vanity of human life, 
the glory of renunciation, the necessity of good works, the duty 
of sympathy with all living things, the beauty of benevo-

lence, the hollowness of revenge, and the power of man to determine 
his own fate by right conduct. It appeals both to the intellect 
and to the emotions, and it derives a certain measure of support 
from the penalties imposed by the caste system' (Bisley, The 
People of India, 285).

Such is the official view of the Brahmanical 
teachers, who share with the lay members of the community a craving for moral guidance and 
programmes, and an incapacity for applying them in practical life. Much of this teaching is 
thus merely idealistic, and is beyond the com-
prehension and above the capacity of the average disciples. Much, again, of this official morality is 
open to criticism. Thus, though a regard for 
truth is taught in Hindu literature from the earli-
est period, Manu admits that false evidence of a 
man with a pious motive does not involve the loss of 
heaven (F. Max Müller, India, What can 1 teach you? 54 ff.; Manu, viii. 105, l. 119). At the same 
time, the lawgiver reprehends perjury in certain 
cases (Manu, viii. 97-101, xi. 67). On the other 
hand, the assertion of Dubois (p. 171) that 
neopaghtes, as a part of their training, are instructed 
in the art of lying, has no foundation, at the present 
time at least. A recent native writer remarks that 
the chief ethical defect in the Hindu Scriptures 
is that penance is regarded as an atonement for 
sin.

Frey, who believes that he will be washed of his 
sins by performing a penance or by giving din. He is 
who have proclaimed that pardon or even merit will be attained 
through their agency. . . . It leads to the monstrous belief that 
evil deeds, of whatever severity, can be atoned for and expiated 
by money' (Comenius Report Bihar, 1901, l. 138).

The belief, again, that morals depend not on 
religion, but on the relations of family, caste, or tribe, tends to produce dangerous results.
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He whispers into the ear of the acolyte the secret formula which is to be his guide during life, and he thus admits him into the society of the morally wicked. In after life the influence of such teachers is often valuable. In Bengal the gurus rank higher than in the Panjab or the United Provinces, where he seldom makes official progressions to the rats or disciples and inquire into questions of morals and caste discipline (Buchanan, Eastern India, London, 1838, ii. 751; Wilkins, 26 ff.). In S. India he is an important personage, vested with wide powers of control and discipline over the members of the sect of which he is the leader (Buchanan, Journey Through Mysore, London, 1807, i. 144 ff.; Nelson, Manual of Madura, Madras, 1885, p. 160 ff.; Dubois, 123 ff.).

41. The lack of organization in Hindism.

Hinduism thus provides a characteristic example of the primitive, unorganized polytheisms—an example probably unique among the races of the world. This is partly due to the peculiarities of the Eastern temperament, the devotion to mystical speculation, and the incapacity for political organization, which are obvious throughout the history of the Hindu people. It extends over an enormous area, inhabited by many races, all differing in origin, language, and character. The absence of any great and powerful Hindu empire, except under Akoka and Harsha, with a single capital city as a centre of religious and political life, prevented the consolidation of the local cults into a State religion, like that of Babylonia or Egypt. The condition of things has been often compared (as by Lyall, t. 156) with Gibbon’s account of the state of religion in the Roman Empire (Decline and Fall, ed. Smith, i. 195 ff.):

"The various modes of worship which prevailed in the Roman world were all considered by the people as equally true; by the philosophers as equally false; and by the magistrates as equally useful. Like the Brahman Vedantists, the devout polytheists, though feebly attached to his national worship, yet observed the polite but implicit faith in the different religions of the earth. Fear, gratitude, and curiosity, a dream or an error ... occasionally disposed him to multiply the articles of his belief, and to enlarge the list of his protectors. The modern sects resemble the ingenuous youth ... alike instructed in every school to reject and despise the religion of the multitude."

There is, again, a philosophic class who, "viewing with a smile of pity and indulgence the various errors of the vulgar, diligently professed the common ceremonies of their fathers, secretly preserved the mysteries of the gods. Lastly, the Anglo-Indian magistrates 'know and value the advantages of religion, as it is connected with civil government.'"

Hence Hinduism has never prepared a body of canonical Scriptures, and it has never had a General Council or Convocation; never defined the relations of the laity and clergy; never regulated the canonization of saints or their worship; never ordained a re-legal life, like Rome or Canterbury; never prescribed a course of training for its priests. This is not due to the fact that war, or civic turmoil, or foreign domination prevented the growth of institutions of this kind; but simply to the fact that all such action is essentially opposed to its spirit and traditions. Added to this is the prevailing tendency towards pessimism.

Lyall (ii. 80), writing under the guise of an orthodox Vedantist, says: 'The inwardmost religious idea of the Hindus has for ages been the supreme unimportance, if not the nothingness, of this particular stage of existence, and they have looked into a deep indifference for humanity at large, a feeling that is probably as much the product of their environment as are their marked skins and pig its appeal, and yet remain directly non-moral' (CGS v. 238; cf. F. B. Jevons, An Introduction to the Study of Comparative Religion, New York, 1906, p. 215 ff.).

In default of a well-defined religious sanction for morals, Hinduism has made the ordinary sinner responsible to the caste council for breaches of the moral or religious laws, interpreted by the elders of the castes. The only agency which really provides moral teaching is the guru, or religious preceptor.
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Hinduism is obviously confronted with serious difficulties, due to the spread of new beliefs and theological speculation. The most obvious problem is the position of the Roman Empire during the early centuries of our era, when the official paganism was assailed by Christianity, Neo-Platonism, and sundry foreign cults. Long after the 3d cent. of that paganism finally succumbed. In India the movement has already extended over a much longer period, and the process has been much more protracted. It is now some twenty centuries since the attack of Islam began, and Hinduism shows no obvious signs of weakness. It possesses wonderful powers of adaptation to novel conditions. It has held its ground for long ages against anarchy and persecution; it has proved victorious against the assault of Buddhism. If it yields, it yields not as slowly as Mahatma and Christianity. Even if in the present conflict it has to surrender much, it is possible that it may emerge from the struggle purified and reinvigorated. The question has been thus treated by A. C. Lyall:

'Taking things as they are now, and looking upon the actual state and movement of religions, it is evident that both Buddhism and Hinduism will go on, and will still be justified in affirming that this religion, although powerfully attacked by social and political changes, has come to look so natural and so sudden that they would try the constitution of any national creed, is nevertheless not yet dead, nor dying, nor even dangerously ill; and, moreover, that so far from making it a proscribed or a condemned religion, it converts more and more of the other Indian faiths. . . . Although polytheism still prevails in the crowded sparsely inhabited regions throughout the land, and although the Brahmanic system, deep-rooted and with a never-sleeping, still vigorous and vigorous, has its adherents, it may nevertheless venture to anticipate that the end of simple paganism is not far distant, that, in truth, it is powerless to attempt any kind of prevention as to the nature or bent of India's religious future, yet we may look forward to a wise and rapid transformation, in two or three generations, if England's rule only be as durable as it has every appearance of being. It seems possible that within the next two or three centuries the spirit of old gods and goddesses shall die in these new elements of intellectual light and air as surely as a net of fish lifted up out of the water; that the alteration in the religious needs of such an intellectual people as the Hindus, which will have been caused by a change in their circumstances, will make it impossible for them to find in their new world a place for their ancient deities. Their primitive forces will fade and disappear entirely, as a wind that vanished from Europe, and as all early modes of thought and symbolism become gradually changed; the result will be not that there is nothing new, but in India it is possible to go on with speed and intensity unprecedented' (Lyall, Asiatic Researches, i. 136, 87, 219).

Regarding this forecast, it may be urged that too little stress has been laid upon the numerical weakness of the educated or semi-educated classes, and upon the immobility and ignorance of the rural population; and that the possibility of the rise of some great religious teacher, a new Buddha or Shankara, has not been sufficiently considered. Another writer, N. Maseneol (RE VI. 1907) 63 ff., has discussed the same question from the standpoint of Christianity. He points out that

'...two features of Hinduism that have been emphasized as peculiarly characteristic of it, its lack of articulation as a system of belief, and its adaptability to new circumstances, have been possible to it because of another parallelism which is a main source of its strength and yet is likely to prove a fatal weakness. The danger of anarchy is avoided by reason of the fact that Hinduism is, at the same time, a fully organized and articulated social system. However frequently and completely the spiritual organism may change, the permanent department of caste carries on the government and maintains continuity. In this lies its strength to resist assaults upon the rationalism or the truth of its doctrinal tenets. However may the ward become as a system of truth, so long as it retains its authority as a social system it is unlikely to lose its power of survival. But in this lies a fundamental weakness, for those who were at the last war out even more the most imperious of all, that rests on privilege and prejudice; and if, by that time, the spiritual content of Hinduism has not found a better foundation, a one may perish with the other' (p. 96), . . . 'This religion is suffering, with a success that is certain to be increasing and enduring, to slowly be supplanting and to recover and revive the spiritual content of its ancient heritage' (p. 90). But he urges that 'an unthinking observer, whatever his political convictions, will deny that the main factor in producing the movement of thought and the reconstitution of beliefs is Christianity' (p. 97). He refers specially to the new Vedantism,
which has overshadowed the old Theistic churches, like the Brahmanism and Aryan faith. There are three main factors in securing Hinduism in the crisis which is now imminent. The first is the general acceptance of the system of caste, with the social duties which it confers, and the social duties which it enforces. This system, indefensible though in theory it may be, shows at present no signs of decadence. On the contrary, we find that those groups which possess claims to social respect are most tenacious in asserting and maintaining them; that those in the second rank, that is, below the 'twice-born' classes, are endeavouring to claim equality with them; and that even the depressed and despised races, like the Pariah of the South and the sweeper of the North, are anxiously seeking an escape from their present position, whose quite prepared to join the caste-system whenever its doors are open to them. The second force is the universal recognition of the power of karmas—a term which connotes much, but may be roughly explained as personified social law. The third is the influence of women: 'without their support, both Brahmanism and Hinduism would rapidly collapse'.

As regards the influence of foreign creeds, Islam wins adherents by its clear-cut monotheism, and its distinctive civilization, which, to a large extent, forms the convert drawn out of the lower ranks of society from the bondage of caste. Its religious ideals—action as opposed to hypnotic contemplation—its practical spirit which affects a single life only, and its deep and devout sentiment of paganism. Ghotese or barbarous religious symbols, even those tainted in their character with the impurity attaching to nature-worship, often brought off their bacter elements, and the deviation of a large portion of Hindu morality, and an higher conception of the divine, may have been the vehicles of a real religious emotion. What the worshipper will find in a worshipper depends greatly on what he brings.

LITERATURE.—Under the various articles dealing with the many phases of Hinduism a special bibliography is given and many of the more important books have been quoted throughout the article. Here it is necessary only to name those works which are of general survey of the subject or throw light on special topics.


2. TRANSLATIONS OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST:—see esp. F. P. Max Muller, The Upamana; G. Buhler, Sacred Texts of the Arya, Institutions of Manu; J. Jolly, Yajur-Veda of Vajrasya; K. T. Tadung, Bhagavadgita; H. Jacob, Jaina Sutras; G. Thalban.
HINDLAIJ

HINDLAIJ (said to be derived from Skr. *hingula*, a preparation of mercury with sulphur, vermilion; possibly, on account of the smearing of a sacred stone with red pigment, a survival of a more primitive blood-sacrifice (Tylor, PC ii. 184).—One of the most famous places of pilgrimage in Baluchistan; situation in Lat. 31° 31' N., long. 65° 31' E., in British Mahratta, on the W. bank of the Hingol river, a few miles from its mouth. The place is specially interesting inasmuch as it is mainly a place of Hindu pilgrimage and the goddess extends. By Hindus it is held sacred to the goddess Pārvatī, Mātā, or Kāli, the mother-goddess in her malevolent form. The local legend tells that after the quarrel between Śiva and Dakṣa, Viṣṇu cut off in pieces the body of Umā, wife of Śiva, and that the crown, head, and feet were buried in the bed of the river (Gopātha Brāhmaṇa, Calcutta, 1872, p. 30 ff.; Ann.-Asi., tr. Blochmann and Jarrett, 1894, lii. 313). Like many other sacred places in the East, Hindlaij is venerated by other faiths. Muhammadans reverence it as the abode of Bi bi Nānī, the 'lady grandmother.' This title, as was suggested by Masoom (Narration of a Journey to Kailās, 1843, p. 801), may be identified with Nāne (RV Nāne), the mother-goddess, worshipped in Syria, Persia, and Armenia, and other parts of Asia, under the titles of Anāt, Amsa, Amsū, or Tana, the primordial Babylonian goddess Nāna, the Lady of the temple Ešana of her home Utaru (Erech) (HDB iii. 485; G. Maspero, Dawn of Civ., Eng. tr., London, 1896, p. 665 ff.; M. Jastrow, Z. v. Babel. Asypr., Boston, 1888, i. 51, 85, 90). Scholars are now beginning to admit that this is possibly a stratum of Babylonian culture underlying the early civilization of India, either ante- or possibly influencing, the Aryans or the Dravidian culture, or both. This view seems to be not unreasonable. The Tell el-Allarna records disclose an extension of Bab. culture in W. Asia as early as the 12th cent. B.C., and a wave of the same culture may well have passed eastward, particularly if, as Riceley (Census of India, 1901, l. 858 ff.) remarks, remains of buildings, irrigation networks, and terraced cultivation in the Indus valley in an early period—how early it is at present impossible to decide—Baluchistan, which now is largely inhabited by seminomadic tribes, is probably the cradle of this ancient civilization, and it seems possible that this condition of things must have existed from a very much earlier period.

This inaccessible shrine has been visited by few Europeans. The best account of it is that of Goldsmid, who explored it in 1881. Moving along the course of a stream bisecting the Hindlaij hill (3740 ft. high), he observed the place of sacrifice, a hollow in the hill smeared with the blood of animals sacrificed to the goddess, and the stones were decorated with sectarian marks (*ḥidak*) in a red pigment. From this place up to the temple itself was a procession of the stones under which flowed a stream of blood. About a quarter of a mile higher up the hill is the shrine itself, quite surrounded by mountain peaks. It is not a place of any architectural magnificence or beauty. It is the worst sort of a simple temple. The absence of an infantile taste for architecture would create out of wooden toy bricks. In its appearance and site it is in good scenic effect. It is the left, far deeper and more minute than the sacrifice hollow, is visible, surmounted by a long arch of pale sandstone, the so-called abode of Mart or Nānī, the presiding goddess of the place. It is a low castellated mud edifice with a rude wooden door. In the penetrations of the temple, we found the shrine of the goddess. Two diminutive domes, one at the head and the other at the foot of short, tomb-shaped mud erection, marked the chosen sanctum of this divinity of the Hindu pantheon. A wooden rail has been set at the foot and on the sides. This is, as is the case at the shrine at Pandharpur and at other places, seems to be intended to prevent access to the holy place. 'Some rods steeped in vermilion were placed near the wall at the back. These were intended for the use of pilgrims unprovided with the wand of office borne by their aparās or līḍesās.' The ritual
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directs that the worshipper should creep on all fours through a narrow entrance, and it is believed that no parallel is to be made with oring with grievous sin can accomplish this feat. There appears to be no image of the goddess; at least, nothing of the kind is noticed by travelers. Though the barren desert region, Hinglaj is surrounded by abundant verdure—the wild plum and various shrubs and flowering plants; one report states that near the Hinglaj [shrine] there is verdure enough to make glad the heart of a pilgrim even from Southern India. To the Panjabi it must be a verdant garden of Eden.

Bands of pilgrims from all parts of India, each conducted by a leader known as a aegout, make the journey by land from Karachi. Fees are collected at Miani by a Bakhri, or hereditary pilgrim overseen, from all except devotees and unmarried girls. The proceeds amount to about £40 annually. On the return of the pilgrims, at Satta he is invested with a string of white beads like grains of yam by, which is told, is the petrified grain of the Creator, left on earth to remind men of the Creation. These are found and pierced at Jhirak in Son (Jinz), Thar, near Goklana, ii. 93 f.). A native pilgrim, Hajji Abdul Nabi, who recently visited Hinglaj, adds that near the shrine is a well, 'the water of which rises times with a bubbling noise, discovered like that of a river fresh swoken after rain, and carrying mud in suspension. The Hindo pilgrims, when this well rises, throw in their beads, gloves, cardamoms, and coconuts. Should there be a delay in the rising, the pilgrims in the meantime place their hats, a sign of regard for the divinity itself, exposing each other to reveal their sins and inwardly repent. When the water rises, they embrace both hands joined, and throw in their offerings, which, after some time, on a second rise, are brought back again, when they are collected and thrown into huge vats which they make near the spot.'

It is thus an example of those eucharistic wells from which omens are taken in many parts of the world (Fras, Panamas, London, 1886, ii. 298, iv. 151). The shrine is much frequented by the Kapti devotees of the goddess Kaspura, 'she who fulfills desires,' who is much revered in Cutch. It is said that, if dawn overtakes their Raja or headman at the Hinglaj hill, the goddess will drown or otherwise destroy him (BO ix. 1901).

1 The habit of creeping under a sacred stone or through an orifice pierced in it is common in many parts of the world. Sometimes it seems to be that the person performing the rites may receive some benefit from the stones, or rather benefit the peculiarity of the spirit occupying it, and thus gain some spiritual or material advantage. This belief is illustrated by the English custom of passing children through师资 as a cure for scrofula and tuberculosis, a sympathetic connection being established between them and the tree. (J. G. Frazer, G.E. ii. 386 f.; K. W. Land. "Hippolyte's", London, 1868, i. 282) describe how women pass in a trance through the rock forward, several times under it and over the stone table on which the bodies of desecrated criminals are washed before burial, as a cure for epilepsy, to obtain cures for a number of other diseases in Homans, as asunder creeping under the marble deck which holds the Qur'an in the great mosque as a cure for social disease (E. Schurir, "Funklo-

The custom of creeping through the foundations of rocks, dolmens, and other megalithic monuments is common in Ireland as a means of procuring spiritual benefits (W. G. Borrie, The Deans of Ireland, London, 1897, ill. 757 f.). Women in Galway creep under the hator of a dead monk when he has taken the vow of suicide by abstaining from believing that they thus obtain the offering for the comfort of his soul (A. E. Forbes, "Nats Mitak," London, 1875, p. 211). In the present case the performances of the feat is regarded as a test of purity or chastity. As the long bellowing horn sound there is a peculiar side, through which it is believed that no thief can creep; and as Ma'labar Hill, near Bombay, a famous rock -enforced rock is supposed to purify or purifies its possessors who pass through it, the Mahakal of Travanmore, on his installation, passes through a gap in the rock. The same may be said of the 'two-bridged' dike (BO viii. 1887) 664; J. Dobson, Bombay and W. India, London, 1860, ii. 86; E. Meine, "Sind and Kashmir," (The Curr, p. 92; E. Troubridge, Biblical Notes, Madras, 1896, p. 277). As a very sacred horn sound the rites of a test of virtue is found in the case of the 'thirsting' St. Wilfrid's 'Ndris' in the Murray of Eupos Cathedral (F. L. B. 1856) 356; J. Burton, Anatomy of J. M. Miller, ed. Hulbert, London, 1898, ii. 225; E. 2, 52, 123, sec., ill. (1898) 356 ff.).

The goddess has another shrine on a hill at Cheelu in the Konkan District of the Konkan (BO xi. 1887) 276, 301). The Hill is sacred to the worshipper with grievous sin can accomplish this feat.

HISTORY.-The profound changes which have so drastically altered the whole situation in the religious thought and practice of modern times make it necessary to give, in this place, an outline of the religious history of the Indian peninsula, and the change in the view of the modern conception of Nature, which, as comprised in the mathematical-technological method, has dissolved the purely metaphysical teleology of Nature given by Aristotle, demolished the cosmology of the Bible, and provided modern philosophy with all its essential problems. There is, secondly, the new conception of history, which has radically altered our whole view of the past and future, and with which the present is a link in the whole concatenation of things. Thirdly, there is the modern ethics of humanity, which, besides the unwonted virtues of love to God and one's neighbour, has emphasized the intrinsic excellence of artistic and scientific culture—treating them, indeed, as peculiarly indispensable ideals. Finally, there is also recognized the positive ethical imperatives involved in political, social, economical, and industrial problems. There are, finally, the new conditions of social life on its economical and industrial sides, and the socialistic mode of thought issuing from them, which, in contrast to mere abstract speculation, insists upon the movement of the whole situation in its social and economical aspects. The first three movements sprang from the Renaissance, while the fourth is a product of the Illumination, and, under the influence of 19th cent. thought, has become a force that towers above all else.

Among these various tendencies, of course, there exists a manifold inter-relation and inter-action. But, if they are to be properly understood, they must be isolated and severally analyzed. In this article only the second, i.e., modern historical reflection, will be specially dealt with, and the nature and results set forth in the shortest possible compass.

1. The development, function, and results of modern historical thought and the concept of a relatively high state of civilization. Primitive man is content with the recollections of his family and clan. As his tribe and the great things coalesce in his mind with religion and mythology, so, in particular, his ideas of the
beginning and primitive history of things are bound up with religious cosmology, the myths of holy places, and the legends of his tribal deities. In this domain he delights in the extraordinary, the prodigious, the uncanny and the fantastic, the ingenuous and the intricate. Hence the beginnings of history are found in religious cosmology, the transmigration of souls, and, among almost all peoples primitive recollection is embedded in a vast romanticism. At this stage there is not the slightest trace of a desire for real knowledge or of a critical spirit. And not only does primitive man lack the sense of continuity and criticism; he likewise tends to regard himself as something apart and absolute. His origin, his mode of life, and his morality seem to him to be the only true and primordial forms, in comparison with which all that is foreign is barbarian and irreconcilable; the ties of custom and morality availing only in his own circle, and do not concern those beyond it. He has no conception whatever of the unity of mankind or of the concretion of events. The chronological era with which he deals are purely fanciful—sometimes idlyfically short, sometimes fabulously long. The only people of ancient times who in the fullest sense consciously passed beyond this stage of popular legendary reminiscence, of priestly tradition and royal annals, were the Greeks; and in this, as in all other provinces, it was they who laid the foundations of science. Among the Greeks, the traveller and the inquirer, untrammelled by the traditions of temples and the archives of princes, and impelled only by a thirst for knowledge to investigate and reflect historically. Here Herodotus, Thucydides, and Polybius, partly as a result of their contact with the non-Greek world, partly from the need of elucidating their own people's affairs and the operation of them, and, finally, impelled by their predilection for a philosophical generalization of knowledge, laid the foundations of history as an explanation of public movements by material or psychological causes, and, in particular, as a reason for the concretion of events occurring in the Eastern Asiatic region. They were the first to demonstrate that a general tendency was not only the explanation of human unity, and a supreme ethical and religious end for the race. These provided new and powerful incentives to historical reflection. In reality, however, they served to produce, not a scientific, but a revived mythological representation of history. The early Christian conception of mankind, alike as regards time and space, was narrow in the extreme, and involved in all manner of purely speculative pre-conceptions. The history of the human race, with respect to both its beginning and its end, was saturated with mythology; in the middle stood the miracle of the Incarnation and the rise of the Church. Interest was once more concentrated upon the inexplicable, and the description remains, as far as the mind of a profane mind. Heathen and Biblical myths regarding the origin of things were combined: Parallels with the Golden Age, the primal transgressions of Cain and Ham with the spiritual lapses to the Silver and Iron Ages, Nimrod's tower-building with the Trojan war; and, again, the Messianic outlook of the prophets with the hymns and eulogies of Vergil; the miracles of Elijah, of saints and martyrs, with those of Orpheus and Herakles. In the eschatological sphere, again, the Second Advent of Christ was brought into connexion with the transformation of the universe, Heaven with Elysium, Hall with Hades, and the stages of the soul's purification with the Empyrean. The history of the intervening period fell into three parts: a relatively short and wholly supernatural period, in which prophecy and miracle prepare the way for the coming of the God-man; an intermediate epoch, in which the God-man Himself appears as the body of the soul of the whole supersensual world, leaving behind Him His permanent incarnation in the Church as a Divine institution for the redemption and salvation of men; and, finally, the longer and for the most part non-miraculous era of secular history, which, although it is largely controlled by Satan and by demons, does not wholly fail to show the intervention of a redeeming God. The mythology of redemption, assimilating the mythical traditions of the ancients, now takes the place of historical reflection. The all-embracing scheme of the four Biblical world-kingdoms was constructed by Jerome, and held its ground till the 18th century. Medieval thought grasped its history, as the world and nations upon this scheme, and combined with it the love of the fabulous and its legends of the saints. The fresh narratives of fact or arid annals occasionally incorporated with them produced no essential modification. It was in reality Humanism and the Renaissance that first reverted to the traditions of ancient historical composition and historical reflection, and thus laid the foundations of modern historiography—so in the school of Brunii, where it was influenced by the style of the ancient rhetoric; in that of Blondus, where it showed proficiency in the rendering and criticism of documents; and in that of Machiavelli and Guicciardini, where it sought to explain events by their psychological and material causes. Wherever the culture of the Renaissance took root, there also modern history was evolved, being written, for the most part, by commission of State. From this, again, sprang the historiography of the Illuminism in the school of Voltaire, in the hands of Hume, Gibbon, Robertson, and Schiller, and was elaborated and appraised its materials with the freedom of an emancipated scholarship, extended its operations to the whole compass of human history and to the various factors of civilization, and, in its criticism of tradition as in its psychological explanations and its search for causes, far surpassed the methods of antiquity and the Renaissance. Then, in the 19th cent., there arose philological criticism, the idea of organic evolution, the new analyses of the State and of parties, pre-historic ethnography, the historical study of economics and society, the development of a history of art, of literature, and of religion, taking a place beside the too restricted political history, and finally, the expansion of politics on a world-wide scale in its bearing upon European events. This vast array of facts, ideas, and judgments has greatly amplified and complicated the subject-matter of historiography, has made its procedure more delicate and more difficult, and has enormously enlarged and at the same time disintegrated the web of causality. For man has scored an immense mass of historical work, moving on various lines, yielding magnificent results, and, nevertheless, with every supposed solution of its problems, giving rise to a fresh group. The total result, however, is not a mere mass of unsolved
problems, but is rather the full development of modern historical reflection, which, notwithstanding all mingled as to its conclusions, consists, precisely like the modern conception of Nature, in a purely scientific attitude to facts. The history of mankind merges in the evolutionary history of the earth's surface; it takes its rise in the pre-historic life of prehistoric peoples; it is determined throughout by the general laws of geographical conditions, and by the various phases of social life, and forms an unseparably complex, yet altogether coherent, whole of immeasurable duration both in the past and in the future. It is as a part of this array and system that we must survey and estimate our own existence, and its meaning and origin. On the analogy of the events known to us we seek by conjecture and sympathetic understanding to explain and reconstruct the past. From this point, again, we advance to the criticism of extant traditions and to the correction of generally accepted historical representations. Since we discern the same process of phenomena in operation in the past as in the present, we may guard, the various historical cycles of human life influencing and intersecting one another, we gain at length the idea of an uninterrupted, balanced in its changes, never at rest, and ever moving towards incalculable issues. The causal explanation of all that happens, setting of the individual life in its true relation, the interpretation of events in their most intricate interaction, the placing of mankind in a rounded system of ceaseless change—these constitute the essential function and result of modern historical reflection. The latter, viewed as a whole, forms a new scientific mode of representing man and his development, and, as such, shows at all points an absolute contrast to the Biblicological views of later antiquity.

2. The purely scientific character of historiography.—Modern historical reflection, precisely because of what has been said, certainly involves a multitude of fresh and difficult problems. These relate partly to the significance of such a view of history for our conceptions of ideal truth, and for our theory of the universe in general, and partly to the question regarding the scientific nature of historical study itself. The latter is the more restricted problem, and must be discussed first. It is, at the same time, the only problem that is directly concerned with historical reflection as such. Here it is necessary to emphasize one particular principle. In so far as historical thought purports to be scientific, its specifically theoretical or scientific element must be clearly marked off and defined. To declare the purely scientific attitude to historical fact, there are numerous other attitudes which must be rigorously distinguished from it, but are seldom distinguished in a proper degree. There is, for instance, the aesthetic attitude to history, which centres in its seeming wealth of incidents, and the suggestive action, and romantic charm of the individual; or which is concerned with an artistically rhythmic construction of the course of events. There is more curiosity, and that liking for the remark- able, the amazing, and the unconformable which is ever ready to be excited and kindled to sympathy by graphic description. Then there are some whose aim it is to estimate the ethical value of human action, and to arrive at an insight into that which reveals itself everywhere as moral force. Others, again, see in history a manual of politics and a means of educating national and political opinion—an education which, they hold, can never be acquired by merely abstract doctrines, but results only from the concrete observation of the whole historical process. Some seek in history support for the sociological and economical principles which, they believe, can be attained only by abstracting from various particular developments, and which must form the basis of our own conception and organization of society. Finally, history often serves as a school of scepticism and caution, on the ground that very divergent representations of historical facts may be given, that a variety of historical results is not uniform, and that, accordingly, history yields but little real information, and more than anything else brings home to man the limitations of his knowledge.

Now, these various attitudes to the facts of history are all quite competent in their own place and in their own way, and the idea of excluding or avoiding them altogether is not to be entertained. Nevertheless, they all lie outside the purely cognitive and theoretical sphere, and within that of judgment and appraisement. So far as historical study is concerned with distinctively theoretical and scientific interests, these other interests, as being here of secondary importance, must be scrupulously guarded against and excluded. We may grant that, if descriptive historical works were composed upon such rigid lines, they would lose the interest of historical science, and that the impression they make depends precisely on the effective combination of purely historical knowledge with the motives and incentives that may be drawn from it. Delineations of this type, however, are necessarily composite, and must be recognized and studied as such. They combine the interest of purely historical knowledge, with interests of the second degree, i.e., those relating to the significance of such knowledge for human feeling and human action. Such works are, accordingly, not purely scientific at all, and historical knowledge is to be obtained from them only by a process of elimination.

What is it, then, that constitutes the essential element of pure historical knowledge? The answer to this question is furnished by the following discussion, and it becomes increasingly clear in the history-writing of the present day. History as pure theoretical science is different from history as an element of belles lettres, politics, economics, and the like. In history, as in other things, purely theoretical knowledge is knowledge based upon general conceptions, and that signifies primarily knowledge derived from causal conceptions. The sole task of historical thought in its specifically theoretical aspect is to explain every movement, process, state, and nexus of things by reference to the web of its causal relations. That is, in a word, the whole function of purely scientific investigation. What is so explained may then quite well become the subject-matter of interests lying outside the sphere of theoretic science, and the resultant treatment may unite the two constituents as closely as desired. But it will always be possible and necessary to isolate either element, and this will be the more or less easy as the specifically scientific side has been the more or less conscientiously dealt with.

Only in one single point is this simple process of discrimination attended with any real difficulty. One may ask whether, in view of the peculiar nature of psychical causation, or motivation (which will be more fully derived from history soon), it is necessary to determine and appreciate it must not be drawn from personal experience and personal judgment. Such insight, it will be said, is always bound up with subjective estimates of what ought to be. Thus, e.g., only those who feel that certain ethical, political, and artistic excellences ought to exist will seek and be enterprising in the settings of action, while those who do not so regard them.
will seldom be able to recognize them as motives, and the less so as historical causes do not lie on the surface or force themselves into notice, but are a matter of fact, always brought to light by the method of investigation. Such a view is certainly not wrong. Yet it does not subvert our fundamental principle, since the causes so discovered are in the sphere of historical study, taken account of as facts only, and not as grounds for the corrections and criticisms of the historian, whose subjective attitude to the facts must, accordingly, be once more discounted. Besides, every supposed and, on grounds of analogy, probable cause must be shown to be actually operative; the particular knowledge of the power of motives is thus, as a means of discovery, doubly bound up with personal judgments, and the knowledge of what should be often serves as a heuristic principle for the understanding of forces actually at work. But the 'ought-to-be' must in turn always be separated from what really is. Historical study is concerned only with the latter, and the personal judgments have lent keenness to the power of perception must give way before the evidence of the real facts. Historical investigation is, in practice, very subjective, conditioned by the fullness, depth, and range of the personal experience of the investigators themselves, and is thus always marked by irreducible differences in their view. Being thus points, the purely scientific aim of historical reflection is not thereby surrendered.

3. The nature of historical causality.—This brings us at length to what is really our main problem, viz. that relating to the nature of historical causation. Here we find ourselves in the sphere of the logic or epistemology of history. Of the various provinces of knowledge this was the last to be won for modern logic, and it is as yet the most imperfectly elucidated. The Aristotelian philosophers, the medieval Church, and the purely scientific aim of historical reflection is not thereby surrendered.

Historical study is concerned only with the latter, and the personal judgments have lent keenness to the power of perception must give way before the evidence of the real facts. Historical investigation is, in practice, very subjective, conditioned by the fullness, depth, and range of the personal experience of the investigators themselves, and is thus always marked by irreducible differences in their view. Being thus points, the purely scientific aim of historical reflection is not thereby surrendered.

The latter conception was first set forth by natural science, and by philosophy as modified thereby; but it was, in fact, framed originally to suit Nature only. Down to the times of Herder and Hegel, acontecements were merely noted, and the account of history at all, and abandoned to historians, litterateurs, or theologians; or else brought historical occurrences under a causal conception, which was simply that of natural science philosophically generalized. Descartes surrendered history to the theologians and to revelation; Hobbes and Spinoza treated it in a naturalistic fashion. The naturalistic view prevailed also in the case of Hume and Kant, notwithstanding the great diversity in their respective views of causality. This is the case even to the present day among the successors of Hume—the adherents of the Positivism of Comte—and we need here recall only the names of Taine and Tawney. In the Kantian school, in its development towards Hegel's Panlogism, the knowledge and etiology of Natural were, on the other hand, subject to extreme violence by historical thought, inasmuch as the latter became simply the application of the law of dialectical movement to the cosmic process and the course of human affairs. But if this was a violation of nature, in so far, it was a revolt against the historical thought itself, which by such procedure gained only a finer sense of order and continuity, but no less recognition of its own fundamental conceptions. It was only with the return to the Kantian theory of knowledge, and the emancipation of psychology, that the task of framing a logic of historical science, in contradistinction to the logic of natural science, came to be clearly recognizable. Such a band, and Rickert were the pioneers of this new and powerful method of investigation.

The primary fact of a priori recognition of the difference between the causality of natural science and that of historical science. The causality of natural science implies the absolutely necessary principle that events are bound together by a changeless, all-pervading, and, in all particular cases, identical law of reciprocity. The scientist demonstrates the laws thus ascertained by artificially constructed examples or experiments, and by means of these submits natural processes to exact calculation. The method finds its highest expression in the establishment of a perfect equivalence between the amount of energy that disappears in the first form of an occurrence and that which re-appears in the second, i.e. the law of mere transformation and quantitative conservation of energy. To this end, by abstracting from all qualitative distinctions, the method of natural science reduces events to manifestations of energy, and attends only to the aspects of energy and transformation in the quantity of energy present. Now, historical causation is something entirely different, being essentially and directly a matter of psychological motivation. In the historical sphere nearly everything passes through the medium of consciousness, and in the last resort all turns upon the complex interaction of unconscious efforts, into which even the unconscious elements tend to resolve themselves. Thus the peculiar irrational quality and initiative of the individual consciousness makes themselves felt in the ultimate result, alike in the individual life and in the life of groups. Here, therefore, it is not permissible to reduce events to non-qualitative forces, or to explain effects by causal equivalence. Then we must also bear in mind the infinite complexity of the motives that arise on all sides and act upon one another—a complexity which gives a special and peculiar character to every particular case, and so defies all calculation and experimental proof. Further, all occurrences, whether in the individual life or in the life of groups, are so affected by the entire psychological condition of the individual or the group that another quite insalvable element is introduced into the process, a new force, new element of essentially fresh content, due to a convergence of historical causes (cf. art. CONTINGENCY, vol. iv. p. 89). Accordingly, psychological motivation differs in all respects from natural causation.

It might thus appear that the peculiar character of historical etiology could be interpreted and methodized by means of psychology, as is proposed by Dilthey and Wundt. But on various grounds this is impossible. For one thing, historical study does not work with psychological motivation alone, but very frequently has to do with social condition as well. Polar limitations, glacial periods, earthquakes, famines, destructive winters, uninhabitable regions, and the like, often play a great part in history, and certainly not always in purely psychological events. The destruction of Napoleon's army by the Russian winter was due only in part to the psychological effects of the cold; and even in cases where geographical or physiological conditions eventually produce psychological effects, we have something very different from purely psychological motivation. Further, psychology cannot supply any kind of real pre-
calculation of historical events and developments. If that were possible, it would imply that the facts of history could be explained, and then traced back to the soul, as something that had issued from it. This is the case especially with the so-called folk-psychology, which is simply a rendering of history in terms of psychological laws, but does not explain the former by the latter. Here, indeed, the facts are always anterior to the psychology, and it would be more accurate to say that the history helps to explain the psychology than to assert the converse. The peculiar nature of the causality of motives points, no doubt, to the distinctive nature of historical knowledge, but it cannot properly provide a basis for it. Nor can such a basis be found in the subject-matter; it is to be derived from the method alone. The method, however, is determined, not by the subject-matter, but by the epistemological end in view; for knowledge is never a mere reproduction of experience, but always an abstract selection of particular elements of experience for a definite intellectual end. Thus, e.g., the method of natural science is determined by the interest of selecting that aspect of experience in which it manifests itself as absolutely determined by universal laws, and, accordingly, the method in question abstracts from all that is qualitative and individual. The method of historical science, on the other hand, is determined by the object of selecting from the flux of phenomena which is qualitatively and uniquely (1) individual, which introduces a larger, a smaller scale, and of making this intelligible in its concrete and specific relations. It therefore abstracts from the universal laws which may possibly regulate even its subject-matter, but which fail to explain the peculiar and concrete elements of it, and it operates not with the conception of causal equivalence, but with that of individual causes, which, precisely because of the infinite variety of them, is the distinctive character of historical science. The method of natural science abstracts from the infinite variety of causes and establishes the universal law, whereas historical development abstracts from the infinite variety of causes and establishes the particular law. The method of natural science seeks to determine the causes, whereas the method of historical science seeks to explain the effects. In the former case, the subject-matter is known, whereas in the latter case, it is sought. Therefore, when the method of natural science seeks to explain the particular, it proceeds from the general to the particular; whereas the method of historical science seeks to explain the general, it proceeds from the particular to the general. The method of natural science is a deductive, whereas the method of historical science is an inductive method.

Now the method of history, with its logical determination by a distinct intellectual end, answers to the peculiar characteristics of the historical material, just as the method of natural science answers to those of its material. The processes of the physical world demand in greater degree the first-mentioned type of isolating interest (universal law); those of the psychical world, the second (individual causality). It is not the methods themselves, but their respective intellectual ends, that spring from the nature of the subject matter; and, accordingly, the distinctive characteristics of the method correspond in each case to the ends determining it. The physical world invites us to understand it by the deduction of general laws; the psychical world by a sympathetic reconstruction of the causal connections in which the actual facts of history have taken shape. Here, then, the true nature of historical knowledge comes to light. Historical knowledge, as such, is not scientific as it may require — a national history, a state of civilization, a biography, an intellectual development, etc. — and seeks, by means of the individual causality proper to history, to make it as intelligible as it were part of our own experience. Even the history of mankind, were it within our grasp, would be a freely selected and individually concrete subject-matter. In such a history could be understood only as a particular concatenation, and in no sense as an instance of the operation of universal laws. Such purely objective causal explanation, based upon the widest possible experience and the most methodical application of experience, constitutes the distinctive character of history as a peculiar development.

Precisely because of this, however, historical thought shows itself to be (2) conceptual thought, though the concepts which it must frame are different from those of the natural sciences. The universal applies to all history, and makes history intelligible in the special form of individual causality. Subjects the entire material to a uniform conceptual mode of treatment. Moreover, the several isolated subjects of inquiry, which are to be exhaustively explained in this way are conceptual unities, for which, it is true, we have as yet no logical term, but which may be designated "historical aggregates" (historische Totalität). Such, e.g., a human life, a nation, a condition of affairs, the spirit of an age, a legal constitution, an economical condition, a technology, etc. These aggregates are selected freely and one after another by the investigator, but may be re-combined, till at length the highest concept of historical totality, i.e. humanity itself, is reached. It is, indeed, true that this highest concept can be described only by the successive descriptions of its separate components and factors. The conception of mankind as a whole, just because mankind cannot be brought within a single, simultaneous, and all-embracing view, can never be more than an incomplete work of the imagination. Now, inasmuch as these totalities are processes, and internally coherent congeries of phenomena, there emerges a third fundamental principle of historical reflection — (3) the principle of development. This conception must certainly be taken in its purely historico-empirical sense, and must not be confused with the development in natural science or with that found in metaphysics. The scientific conception of development signifies the explanation of becoming by the addition of infinitesimal mechanical changes; the metaphysical conception denotes the interpretation of reality as the expression of an absolute intelligence which realizes itself therein. In contradistinction to these, the teleological conception of historical development denotes the progress that issues from the essential element of certain psychical efforts, the working out of the consequences that are latent in the earliest beginnings, the dynamic element in psychical forces which are not exhausted in a single manifestation, but work out towards a result — forces in which exists a tendency to a development akin to logical evolution. Thus there is development in religious, ethical, and philosophical ideas; likewise in the character of individuals and people, in the forms of government and economic conditions. Wherever this tendency asserts itself, it constitutes a principle of development that organizes and tends, onward from within — a principle that absorbs and elaborates the various causes, and supplies them with a focus of attraction or repulsion.

Nevertheless, the value of the concept of historical development must not be over-estimated, as it often is at the present day. For, in the first place, it does not mean an infinite progress, but in every particular case implies only a single concrete impulse controlling a given aggregate. It manifests itself in the fact of exhaustion as well as in that of advance. All progressive developments work also towards regression, so as to make room for fresh movements. The concept in question has, therefore, nothing to do with the conception of an unlimited and never-ending development; it could be understood only as a particular concatenation, and in no sense as an instance of the operation of universal laws. Such purely objective causal explanation, based upon the widest possible experience and the most methodical application of experience, constitutes the distinctive character of history as a peculiar development.
about may occasionally give rise to new and fruitful di-
visions of history, which are generally due to the discovery of a
new tendency to unify the elements of a
given situation, however produced, and thus also
to mould them into new stimuli to development.
The second problem of this kind is the
supremely important influences of climate,
atmosphere, fertility, geographical position, and
time and place, which operate upon physiological
occurrences and conditions—deaths, inter-
breeding, mixture of races, food-supplies, and the
like. To the domain of chance must likewise be
reckoned, so far at least as we at present know,
distribution of individual qualities, as, e.g.,
talent and genius, which sometimes occur but
rarely, sometimes in amazing profusion. It is
true that such accidents are rightly so designated
only when judged with reference to the conception of
historical aggregations and the developmental
processes which give rise to them, to a
very great extent at least, be brought under
the conception of natural law. The idea of con-
tingency is, in fact, one in regard to which the
historical and scientific modes of thought are dis-
credited with special clearness.

In the sense specified, accordingly, the causal
explanations of historical aggregations constitutes
the purely theoretical functions of historical in-
estigation. It is certainly obvious that such
causal explanation has a rather restricted range.
It is dependent upon the existence of a tradition,
upon a critical examination of that tradition, and
upon the imaginative and synthetic powers of the
investigator. It can never re-constitute its object
in their entirety, but it can decompose it;
which can be accomplished only by analyzing,
and by moving from subject to subject. This
explains why the work of history must ever be taken
up afresh. The accession of new material, the fresh
sifting of facts by criticism, new ideas and views
in the linking of causes to historical aggregations
—all of these call for ever new beginnings, and
lead to a revision of previous delineations. The
writing of history must ever be an experiential
endeavor which we never complete; it will never be able to
compass the All in its extension and in its intensity.
It will never be able fully to analyze the indi-
vidual peculiarities of souls or groups of souls, or
to explain that power of initiative and self-deter-
mination which we call freedom. It will never be
able to find the ultimate derivation of a historical
world of personalities, or even of the movements
at work within that world, in anything else. There
will always be limits to its realization of its intel-
lectual energy, if it is taken in a comprehensive
rational determination. But the writing of history is
not on that account futile or valueless. For it
endeavours to build itself so far as a
causal comprehension of himself is possible or
necessary. It is, in fact, only on the basis of such
causal self-comprehension that our own historical
work can be clearly and circumspectly extended.
The ages of naive traditionalism and naive ra-
nalism required no such understanding of them-
self. But, as they grew up, they were faced with
new problems. It is by no means exhaustive, and
by no means exhaustive, to an understanding of
the naive traditionalism and rationalism of a large
masses of mankind.

4. The relation of historiography to the philo-
sophy of history.—Our concern with history, how-
ever, is by no means exhaustive, and
the formation of aggregations. For, on the
one hand, there arises the problem regarding the
relationship of the historical process in the world to
the fundamental forces of the universe, and, on the
other, the problem regarding the significance of
that process for the living and operative will of
each particular age—the world of events, and that of
the events of history, and yet manifests at
every instant a creative power of its own. To
the former problem belong the questions concerning
the foundation of the psychical world in the Uni-
versal Spirit, the connexion between the physical
and the psychical world, the Divines direction
and sustaining of the cosmos, and the distinction
between the purely natural life of the soul
and the spiritual and civilised life that strives to
transcend it. The second problem comprises the
questions relating to the activity for the active and constructive will, to the inward
meaning and significance of that substance of life
which takes concrete form in the process of history,
the ideal values to be won from that process and
to be recognized in it; and, finally, its ultimate
meaning and aim. These questions all lie outside
the sphere of historical historiography, and belong
in reality to the philosophy of history which ex-
plains and estimates metaphysically. Empirical
and philosophical history must be clearly distin-
guished in principle, though in the actual deline-
ation of events they are usually found in some
degree of combination.

But the philosophy of history itself, as has just
been indicated, includes different kinds of
problems. The questions of the first group noted
above relate to purely metaphysical matters; and,
whether they are dealt with as lying within the
sphere of a complete system of metaphysics, or
agnostically set aside as unanswerable, it is compar-
atively easy to keep them apart from history
proper. The metaphysical background will be
discerned only in delineations on a large and com-
prehensive scale, and even there it will assert
itself rather in the intellectual attitude as a whole
and in occasional aphorisms than in elaborately
constructed theories. This is, in all events, what
we find in so purely empirical a historian as Ranke.
Modern historiography, as contrasted with the
medieval and theological types, has certainly in
principle wrenched itself free from the meta-
physical element, whatever the personal views of
the historian regarding the latter may be. This,
however, is no more than a theoretical emancipa-
tion. In view of the practical importance of the
metaphysical presuppositions, their separate con-
sideration and discussion are not matters of the highest
import to philosophy, and the historian must take
care to keep such vital questions open, and not to
foreclose them by casual remarks and ostensible
triumphs.

The other group of questions in the history of
philosophy are not so easily kept distinct from
historical composition. It is true that purely
historical delineations, like the delineations of
natural science, may conceivably be given in
purely empirical categories, as, e.g., Tookeville,
Fustel de Coulanges, and Eduard Meyer endeavou-
re to do. This, however, cannot possibly be the
regular procedure, because the reader aspires not
only to a knowledge of causes, but to a point of
view from which he may pass judgment on the
facts of history, and because the questions that
thus arise cannot be answered by themselves alone,
or apart from a mental picture of the entire
world of history. Nevertheless, with a view to clear-
ness in the questions involved, the distinction must,
in principle at least, be strongly insisted upon. This
The task of historiography is not to be demonstrated by means of the latter. The empirical conception of historical development is not of the regressive, developments, but not the advance of mankind as a whole towards a final and universal continuity. Hegel made the mistake of reducing each of these conceptions of development to the other, and also of being both together upon the metaphysico-logical movement of the Absolute. In reality, the conception of ethical development is individualia, in general, faith in the Kantian sense—a postulate based upon the actual occurrence of the aggregates of ethical life, and our personal experience of them. Consequently, it is necessary to make an open question whether his kind of development attains its end in the present life, or in a further progress of souls in a life beyond. Certainly experience does not support the form alternative. Similarly, the system of values can be realized only approximately, and as the possibilities of an approximation are, for the individual, so varied, his share in the final system must also remain an open question.

In connexion with this conception of development, mention must be made, finally, of still another important element to which attention is directed in the later pan, viz. (8) the problem of individualisation. The system of values is no rationally demonstrable abstract system, such as would confront all the phenomena of historical history as an absolute and everywhere identical standard. If we designate the system of values as the 'Idea,' then the course of history is not a something, but rather a cause sometimes less effective progress towards the realization of the ideal, which is everywhere the same. The truth is, rather, that all spiritual manifestations in individualia or character, in approximation to the metaphysic of spirit—which cannot be more fully dealt with here. But in that case every historical phenomenon, viewed from the standpoint of the ethical philosophy of history, bears a double character: it is, on the one hand, a concrete manifestation of the idea, having a relative right of its own, and, on the other hand, an approximation to the absolute system of values. In spite of all obstacles and defects, there obtains everywhere an individual and concrete progress towards the ideal. The thesis in which the individual and universal value is individualisation—an antithesis which cannot be theoretically reconciled at all. Hence every historical phenomenon is to be estimated by reference only to that degree of approximation to the idea which is set before it and is possible to it. In this way every epoch has a relative justification, though it must, at the same time, be judged in the light of an absolute end. This shows the necessary relativity of the philosophy of history, and yet makes it possible that the relative shall appear to be included in the movement towards the absolute. The absolute is the relative, yet not fully and finally in it, but always pressing towards fresh forms of self-expression, and so effecting the mutual criticism of its own individualisation. It is the last word of the philosophy of history. This implies, however, that in the writing of history and the description of historical phenomena—in spite of all appraisements by reference to final and absolute values—there still remains the concrete individual character of the objects dealt with, and there...
Our knowledge of the Hittites up to the 14th cent. B.C. is very fragmentary. An Egyptian stele of the XIIth dynasty 1 may possibly represent the Hittites settled in Southern Syria, and Thothmes III. records 2 that he received tribute from Kheta. However, the magnificent find of some 2500 cuneiform tablets, unearthed by R. Kuss, near Dura, to the north of the Caspian Sea, enables us, with the help of the Amarna tablets, to form a fairly clear idea of the succession of events in the 14th and 13th centuries B.C.

The central figure of this period is Subba-Iljuma, ruler of the Hittite capital in Cappadocia known as the 'City of Battu,' the modern Bogha Keui. At the beginning it seems to have been little more than a city-king; but, by uniting the neighbouring States in friendly alliance, and by a series of campaigns in North Syria and northern Mesopotamia, he succeeded in establishing a Hittite Empire, including Syria north of Kadesh on the Orontes, the Mitannian kingdom, and the central portions of Asia Minor. Subba-Iljuma was followed successively by two sons, Arrunas and Murali, both of whom lacked the energetic spirit of their father, to the extent that both Assyria and Egypt made successful campaigns into the Hittite territory. Murali's son and successor, Mutalnlu, immediately upon his accession, set about rebuilding the Hittian power. His influence may be judged from the array of nations that gathered to his standard: troops from Arinna and Pisidias, Dardanians and Myrians, Lydians and Catanomians, together with contingents from all North Syria, bands together and marched to meet him. The challenge was led by Ramses II. Battle was joined at Kadesh on the Orontes. Neither side seems to have been signal victor. Shortly after, Mutalnlu was assassinated, and his brother Hattusil fell heir to the throne. This ruler, about the year 1271 B.C., made an offensive and defensive alliance with Ramses II., the terms of which were engraved on a silver tablet and sent by the Hittite king to Ramses. The treaty is preserved to us in an Egyptian translation engraved on the wall of the temple at Karnak, and another translation, now very fragmentary, in the Ramesseum, as well as in a cuneiform tablet from Boghas Keui, written in the Hittite language.

The rising power of the Assyrians and of the Muski on the north now not only checked any further desire for conquest which the Hittites may have had, but gradually rose to a level of their own. Only two further rulers of the Hattian dynasty, Dushalis and his son Armanu, are named in the Boghas Keui tablets. It is very likely that not long after this the Hittite Empire was dissolved, and before the end of the 8th cent. B.C. the greater part of its territories had been absorbed by Assyria and Phrygia.

2. Religion.—The chief sources of our knowledge of Hittite religion are the sculptured monuments and seal cylinders, the inscriptions in Assyrian and Egyptian, and the Boghas Keui tablets. Pending the complete decipherment of the Hittite language, 2

1 Steh, C. J., Musée de Louvre. 2 Annals of Thothmes III. 3 1271 B.C. 4 Hannevanger der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, xxxv. (Dec. 1877) 1 ff.

Contributions towards the decipherment of the Hittite pictographs have been made by J. Halkin, A. Schaefer, H. Gebelein, and others, while more or less complete systems have been put forward by O. J. Boi, C. G. Conder, F. Jansen, F. E. Puchner, and A. H. Sayce. The investigations of Sayce and Jansen have received recognition from scholars, and it is now generally considered that Jansen's decipherment of the hieroglyphs of Jansen's work consists in his excellent list of symbols, and his division of inscriptions into word groups. Sayce's system, on the contrary, is slowly gaining adherence. His work began with the investigation of proper names such as Cherchemus, Tyana, Muski, Dushalis, and others, appearing in various forms, purely phonetic or partly ideographic. A considerable list of values has thus been formed. Doubtless, much of these values will require modification; but the system seems to be main

1 Geberlin, Land des Hittites, p. 3, III., lvi. 2 Ungnad, 'Urkunden aus Dilbâ, Bellettris zur Assyriologie, vol. 1. 3 Jastrow, RS xii (1910) 87 ff.
these sources are meagre. While the sculptures deal, in the great majority of cases, with representations of deities and scenes from the cult, they afford us at most some of the names of the gods concerned, and in very few instances can the deity be identified and the name supplied from the Assyrian and Egyptian sources. The case is much the same with the inscriptions on the seal cylinders or terracotta plaques. A fairly large mass of material is preserved in the later Greco-Roman writers; but, like the historical material that survives for the later parts of the Hittite culture, this can be used with confidence only when checked by the sources already mentioned.

PrIMITIVE ANIMISTIC CONCEPTIONS STAND OUT CLEARLY IN THE HISTORICAL FIRMAMENT OF THE RELIGION. Springs, rivers, trees, and mountains were considered sacred. At Alatun Bunar, west by south from Ioniaum, is the familiar monument which stands as the remnant of a building, with sculptured front, dedicated to the spirit of the copious fountain which here flows forth. On the shoulder of Mount Argunus, the highest peak in Asia Minor, is another fountain, whose sacred character was marked in Hittite times by a spring house with an inscription, part of which remains. The tetramystile temple, which is a feature common of the Arguns country, may be seen on the same spot; and that the sanctity of the place was transmitted to later times is evidenced by the discovery, in the same place, of the remains of a church or chapel. High up in the Anti-Taurus range above Comana Aurea, and near the small village of Qosar Quysu, is a limestone monument in a sanctuary. Here the inscription, which owns its position, no doubt, to the sacred character of the mountain. The peak of Argunus likewise was considered sacred, and further evidence is furnished by the present for the various local cults of deities standing on mountain tops. Moreover, the treaty of Hattusil with Ramses II. mentions 'The Lady of mountains and rivers,' the sacred tree appears to be preserved sculpture from Salkje-Genzli, and it is perhaps used as a symbol in the inscriptions.

However, in the period represented in the Hittite monuments, the religious belief of the people had long passed the primitive stage. Animals were still used as emblems, and the people may have continued to believe in the sacredness of springs, mountains, and trees; but a higher plane had been reached, and we may believe that the religion stood on about the same level as that of Babylon in the time of the first dynasty of Babylon. The selective processes of time had exalted a comparatively small number of the primitive Nature-spirits in gods directly concerned with the welfare of the people; and these had taken on anthropomorphic forms, assuming the appearance and dress of the Hittites. The distinguishing garb of the male deity, as seen on the monuments, consists of the short tunic and conical hat; that of the goddess, the long robe and high cylindrical hat. Shoes pointed and turned up at the toes were a feature common to the dress of both. The Hittite artist, as a rule, made no attempt to differentiate the deities through varied portraiture, but relied in well-rounded, notwithstanding the fact that translations of well-rounded, notwithstanding the fact that translations of

...this matter on accessories such as insignia, arms, or totemistic emblems. In many cases the name also is appended, so that to one who knew the native writing the uninitiated might read difficulty...
on a charging bull, may be taken as depicting the
god in action.

The name of the Great Mother is not yet deter-
mimed, though it seems likely that the original
Caphtor was a form of the Hittite name under which she was worshipped later at
Comana. Perhaps the most satisfactory repre-
sentation of her is in the Procession of the God of the Tree at Boghas Keui. Her skirt is here pleated
and provided with a train. Her hair falls in a
long braid, and on her head is the "mural crown." She has no weapons, but bears in her left hand her
peculiar symbol and in her right a staff. The
totemistic emblem on which she stands is the
lionsess or panther. Her son, who follows her in
the procession, is a bearded youth in the typical
masculine dress, bearing on one hand a staff, and
in the other a double axe, while a dagger rests in
its sheath at his belt. The animal on which he
stands is the same as that of his mother. His
Hittite designation has not been determined,
though he was known in the West as Attis. A
similar deity of fertility, perhaps Sandan or a local
form of the son of the Great Mother, is the bearded
god in the Ivris sculpture, carved near a copious
spring, who is represented as rubbing his right
grape and in his left the heads of several stalks of
grain. That he is not a god of the harvest or a
Bacchus is evident from the fact that both grain
and grapes are symbols of growing stalk and stock.
A reminiscence of this or a similar early god still lingers in Damascus in a
tradition, reported by J. E. Hanauer, of a steel
dish representing the deity who guaranteed the
crops, holding in one hand, as a symbol of his
function, a cluster of grapes, and, in the other,
stalks and ears of wheat and barley.

The numerous other deities, male and female, in
the sacred procession, like the majority of divin-
ities pictured by the Hittites, cannot at present be
identified. Prominent among them may be men-
tioned a mountain-god who stands behind Teshub,
The two goddesses of the double-headed eagle, and
a grotesque figure with human head, body formed of
lions, and lower extremities replaced by the
blade of a dirk or dagger.

Among other deities who seem to be native, but
of whom little more than the name is known, may
be mentioned Hipsa, Saluq, Tarqo or Tarhu, and
Tills, most of whom appear only in personal
names.

Through each city had its tutelary deities and the
Empire its pantheon, there was no hesitancy in
recognizing and adopting foreign gods; and as a
result native and foreign deities are often so
associated that, in the present state of our
knowledge concerning such religious systems as the
Phoenician and the Assyrian, it is difficult, and at
times impossible, to assign a god to his rightful
people. Ashur (or Ashtur) appears frequently in
personal names in the so-called Cappadociam tab-
lets, and, notwithstanding the role he played as
chief Assyrian god, his origin is by no means cer-
tain. Ishhara is mentioned in the treaty with
Egypt as a Hittite goddess, and her name appears
on the Indissima bilingual, but she may have been
accepted from a neighboring people. A Hittite Kheshnu is mentioned in the Egyptian
records, but this also is a Phoenician and Aramean
deity.

Perhaps the most remarkable element in this
complex of divinities connected with the Hittites
is represented by four names of Mitanni gods found
on one of the Boghas Keui tablets, a-m
ra-at-ti-il, u-re-u-ma-at-ti-il, in-da-ra, na-te-at-ti-
a-an-na; that is, Mithra, Varuna, Indra, and
perhaps Nasaty, the "Twins." An attempt to
discuss the interesting admixture would be pre-
nature, but it clearly shows some connection
between the Hittite culture and that of the
Aryans of India, possibly the addition to the
Western people of a fresh type of population,
representing a migration during the middle of the
second millennium.

We shall doubtless find, when the tangled mass
of Anatolian religious ideas is understood, that the
Hittite religion contributed in no small degree to
the later classical mythology. Two of the sculpt-
tured blocks dug from the mound of Aralan Tepe
near Malatia contain a scene which reminds us
forcibly of a classical myth. One block contains
the figures of two gods in ornate pointed caps and
the ordinary short tunics. One of these, a bearded
god, bears a dagger, club, and lance. He is pre-
ceded by a bearded figure who seems to be com-
bating with his lance a many-headed serpent coiled
in the water. The scene is not complete, but
several of the serpent's heads with open mouths
and fangs ready to strike are clearly discernible.

This may prove to be the archetype of Heracles's
slaughter of the hydra, assisted by his friend Iolans.
The sanctity of Mount Argeus from Hittites to
Christian times is well attested. Moreover, Argaeus is a title of Zeus Amorados, Argaeus is known from Maximus of Tyre to have been a god as well as a mountain. This god Argaeus, then, must be identified with the Apollo-
like deity represented on the Argeus coins, who,
was doubtless originally the Hittite god of this
mountain. It is interesting to note that in this
instance the myth seems to have come down to the
present day; for we must see in the modern
legend to the effect that Ali Dagh, the cone-shaped
mountain below Argaeus, was formed by a basket-
full of earth which fell here as the result of the
breaking of Ali's basket an adaptation of an ear-
ier legend in which the god Argaeus was the
actor.

It is very possible that the sources of the Amazon
stories will also be found among the Hittites, per-
haps suggested to the story-teller of later times by
a vague tradition of some rite connected with the
cult of the Mother-goddess, or by an actual war-
ruling band of women. The possibility of this source
is suggested by the discovery of an armed lady
sculptured on a post of one of the gates of the
Boghas Keui fortifications.

The figure, which is one of the best examples of
Hittite art, is that of a woman with short skirt,
girdle, coat of fine mail, and the pointed hat
dorned with horns, her dress thus closely resem-
blying that of the male deities. The lady's arms
are the single-bitted axe, which she bears in her
right hand, and the dagger, which rests in a
sheath attached to her belt. While the figure is
of great interest in its suggestion of a possible
connexion with the Amazon legends, too much
stress must not be laid upon this theory. It is
more natural to suppose that the sculpture repre-
sents a Hittite Athena, and that she stands here
as the guardian of gate and city.

3. Death, etc.—The common method of burial
among the Hittites seems to have been interment
in large jars after a partial cremation of the body.
In 1907 a mound was discovered by the Cornell
Expedition in the plain south of Mount Argeus,
at the hamlet of Egri Keui, which was used as a
burial and seemingly also as a cremation place. Here
were found human bones, fragments of large jars,
some of them painted ware, and pieces of charred

1 Garnanger, op. cit., pl. lvi.
2 PPSR, April 1910, p. 85ff.
5 "Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft", xxxv. 45.
6 Olmstead, Charles, and Wrench, op. cit., fig. 49.
7 PSEB xxvii. (1910) 25f.
wood. This and the further discovery of such jar-
burial at the pre-classical Ionian as well as at
Carchemish would indicate that this was the
chief method. That other methods were in vogue
is suggested by the discovery, made by the Corneli
Expedition, of an instance of cist-burial at Sevinj-
lik in Lycusia south of Ighin, the grave in this case
containing a small hearth with rows of bit-
tite in type. Persons of note, however, were
interred in vaults built in a conspicuous spot,
such as the summit or shoulder of a mountain.
Whether the manner of interment was the same
as in mounds further west is not known, as no
tumulus definitely shown to be Hittite has been
noticed.

It is to be expected that a people so favourable
to the cult of the Mother-goddess who yearly
revivified Nature should have a steadfast belief
in a life after death. Strangely enough, none of
the larger monuments sheds any light on the sub-
ject. Several most interesting seal cylinders, however, though showing strong Babylonian and
Egyptian influence, may be taken as pictures of
the Hittite lower world. In these the deity who
drives the dead into the underworld, is repre-
sented with two heads, one of which turns
towards the judge, while with the other he
watches the deceased. Three figures following the
dead suggest the three daughters, Minos, G_RESPA, and
Rhadamantius, associated by the Greeks with
Pinto, and indicate one more line of connexion
between pre-Hittite Greece and Asia Minor.
Other scenes on the cylinders represent the dead
partaking of food, some of which is furnished by
kindly monsters; and in one place we seem to
have a cremation scene.

4. Status of woman.—From the prominence of the
Great Mother cult as well as from the impor-
tance of other female deities in the pantheon, it was
natural to conclude that the status of woman
among the Hittite peoples must have been com-
paratively high. This conclusion is confirmed by
the records. Whether monogamy was the rule is
uncertain, but it is interesting to note that when
Subbi-luliuma supported Mattinaxis as heir to the
throne of the Mitanni land, he conditioned his support on a monogamous marriage of the Mit-
namian prince with a princess of Hatti. The high
position of woman is shown further by the impor-
tance of the queen as chief priestess alongside the
priest-king, whose worship she presided over by her prominence in State
affairs, as evidenced by her seal affixed to treaties and royal edicts. A similar position of impor-
tance was held by the priestess, whose seal also
appears on such documents; and one queen-
hemoth of the Hatti dynasty, Putu-hips, is men-
tioned as co-ruler, and later as regent, during a
short interregnum.

5. Cultus.—In the course of the excavations at
Boğaz Kêî, the foundations of four buildings
which seem to have been temples were laid bare,
three in the upper city and one on a lower terrace.
The last mentioned is the site where a portion of
the collection of cueniform tablets was unearthed.
The foundations of all five temples are massive
and in their plan and construction have features
in common with buildings excavated at Cnosos,
Tiryns, and Mycenae. The lower temple, which
William has considered to have been the sanctuary of Teshub, consists in the main of a large rectangular
court, with entrance from the south, opening northward through a hall of columns or pillars
into the adyton, another rectangular room at the
north side of which stands an immense base,
undoubtedly the pedestal of the god’s statue. Added

to this main plan is a system of long, narrow
chambers, which served as magazines for the stores
and accessories of the temple; and the whole is
surrounded by a wall of stone. Only the founda-
tions of the temple complex remain. These consist
of massive squared blocks of limestone forming a
socle about a metre high, the upper surface of
which is provided with rows of holes, doubtless

designed for the reception of long poles supporting
the clay superstructure. The three buildings in
the upper city have a similar plan, though the construction is not so massive. It is of interest to note in this connexion that the Anu
Adad temple at Asshur in Assyria shows a distinct
departure from the usual Hittite, with revealing features which may prove to be Hittite.

Very little of the cult can be reconstructed from
the monuments. These clearly show that libation
and animal-sacrifice played an important part,
the victims, so far as we can judge from the
sculptures, being sheep and goats. The king or
queen is represented in various instances as stand-
ing before the deity pouring a libation with a high
one-handed pitcher, the stream from which, in
some cases, falls into a two-handled urn set on the
ground, as in the sculptures at Bogaz-Kêî and
Ibelieh. In several scenes of this character an
attendant is pictured in the background, leading
or holding the sacrificial animal. The Fraktur
sculptures show the priest pouring a libation while
the offering is on the altar, presumably burning.

6. Divination.—Among the interesting dis-
coversies made were many small tablets, on each of
which clay representations of sheep’s livers closely resembling the Bab. model coming from the
time of Hammurabi. This shows clearly that
hepatoscopy, introduced from Babylonian prac-
tised among the Hittites, and we may believe that
other forms of divination were adopted at the same
time; indeed, it is not at all unlikely, considering the long occupation of the region by the Hittites, that this people, whose inter-
course with the Egyptian races was well attested,
transmitted hepatoscopy and astrology to the
West.

7. Relation to other civilizations.—Our present
knowledge of the Hittites is too meagre to permit
a discussion of the mutual interchange of cultural
elements between the Hattian and the Assyro-
Babylonian civilizations on the one hand and the
Egyptian on the other. That such inter-
change between Hittite and Assyro-Babylonian
occurred, and in no small measure, might, if no
other evidence existed, be safely conjectured from
the facts that the god most prevalent among them
is the same as that worshipped by the Egyptians. B.C. we find Hittites or Mitannians in control of
Assyria, that from very early times Hittites lived
peacefully in Babylonia and Assyria, and that in
a period possibly as early as 2900 B.C. we find
Assyrian names and names-elements in the CAPPADOCIAN tablets.
We have seen that Bab. divina-
tion, in one of its phases, was practised among the
Hittites, and that they were not averse to rec-
ognizing Assyro-Babylonian gods. Their greatest
debt to the Egyptian civilization, however, is
represented by the cuneiform script, which came
to be used in all their commercial and legal trans-
actions as well as in their international corre-
respondence. With every advance in our knowledge
of the Hittites it becomes more evident that these debts were not left unpaid. It seems clear from a study of the monuments and seal
cylinders that the Hittites exerted a by no means
inconsiderable influence on the architecture, as,
for example, in the well-known bi hihû, and on

1 See W. Andrae, Der Anu-Adad-Tempel zu Asarh, Leipzig,
1911, p. 83 f.
2 Mrnstedt, Charles, and Wrench, op. cit., figs. 63 and 84.
the art, a notable example of which is found in the Maia sculptures 1 so they may akin to the proceedings of gods Boghast Kau; while a strong Hittite influence on the religion must be predicated from the large number of Hittite deities forming a part of the personal names found in the Assyrian business documents. 2 That the Hittites exerted an equally important influence on the peoples of the region cannot be doubted, but how far the constant similarity between the two is due to actual influence and how far to racial identity no one may safely say. These and similar questions which meet one at every stage of the investigations may be raised, but even such general hypotheses will continue to be of doubtful value until we have much more complete collections of deities and allied languages has been accomplished.

**LITERATURE.** — For the native inscriptions; L. Masseschmidt, "Corpus Inscri. Hittiticiorum," in JFO, Berlin, v. (1900) nos. 8-6, vii. (1900) no. 3. viii. (1903) no. 3; A. F. Olmstead, B. B. Charles, and E. B. Wrench, "Trees and Sites in the Hauen East," vol. i. pt. 5. 1st. 12, LCIC. The results of the Boghast Kau excavations are given by H. Windisch in LCB, 1902, 907, 426, and by H. Windisch and O. Puchstein in the Hittites, 1907, 277-278, and 1909, 445-446. The next step in the exploration of this part of the region is the exploration of the site of Hittites.

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**HJUEN TSIANG.**—See YUAN CHEWANG.

**HOS.**—A tribe classed by Risley as Dravidian or non-Aryan, found in the Singhbhum District of the Chota Nagpur Division of Bengal, where, according to the Census of 1901, they number 386,529. The tribal name seems to be contracted form of the word Aorva, 'man,' which is used by the cognate Mundu and Santal tribes as their national designation, and which appears in various forms in the tribal names Orkon, Kol, Kow, Korka, etc. Risley further remarks that the Mundus and Santals are called Aorva by outsiders; and 'in the case of the Aorva stock whose Has, Mundus, and Santals are sprung has obtained popular recognition, is a slightly altered form, as the distinctive name of a branch which inhabits Singhbhum, and which may now be regarded as a separate tribe. For intermarriages between Hos and Santals would not appear to be common, this is, according to my recollection of the ancient Ogam inscriptions of Ireland, though not so much as to be considered in this form. In this neighbourhood, too, I saw a few cases; but regret to say, I do not retain any description of it, as I did not, at that time, fully appreciate the importance of the informant occurring otherwise than in connection with the Christian religion. The assumption, however, that it is the exclusive property of Christianity is clearly stated in a certain well-established fact' (quoting JASS, 1877, p. 196; JASS xiv. (1877) p. ii. p. 179). '*Of these stones some were raised as memorials to the tribe of the tribe' (op. cit. 187).

**Tribal legends.**—The Hos possess a remarkable tradition concerning the creation of the world and the origin of the human race, recorded by Tickell (JASS iv. (1841) 707), and thus summarized by Dalton (Descrip. Ethnol. of Bengal, 1856): 'The creation was the earth which God made the earth with rocks and water, and they cloathed him with grass and trees, and then created animals, first, those that man demanded, and then fish, and last, all that was prepared for the abode of man, a boy and girl were created, and they have ever since remained at the bottom of a great lake.'

1 Perrot-Chipiez, History of Art in Chaldes and Assyria, London, 1884. 11, fig. 152.


various, and finding them to be too innocent to give hopes of progeny, he instructed them in the art of making clay, which existed in the pastos, and thus the world became populated. (cf. Tyler JC, London, 1909, 1st edn. 1841.) When the first parents had produced twelve boys and twelve girls, Ring Benga prepared a feast of buffalo, bullocks, goats, sheep, pigs, fowls, and vegetables, and, making the brothers and sisters pair off, handed them to the newly married pair to be most relished and depart. Then the first and second pair took buffalo and bullock flesh, and the first and second pair of the Tables are small and wait for the Hittites, however, the next step in the exploration of this part of the region is the exploration of the site of Hittites.

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HOBSES.—I. Life.—Thomas Hobbes, known to his friends as 'Malmesburiensis Philosophus,' an original and forceful English writer on political philosophy, was born at Westport, in Wiltshire, on 5th April 1688. His early education was received at the Westport church school, at a school in Malmesbury, and also at one kept by a Mr. Latimer, who is described as a 'good Grecian,' and the first that came into our parts since the Reformation (J. Aubrey, Brief Lives, ed. A. Clark, Oxford, 1686, i. 925). Later, Hobbes entered Magdalen Hall, Oxford, where he became discontented with the traditional learning of the University and turned his attention to the study of men and current affairs. After admission as bachelor on 5th Feb. 1688, he became tutor to the son of William Cavendish, later the second Earl of Devonshire, and began the lifelong intimacy with a family whose social position and political fortunes carried him into that turmoil of public life wherein his opinions were formed. Through the travels included in his residence at Mr. Cavendish's, Hobbes became acquainted with the work of such men as Galileo, Kepler, and Montaigne. This fired his imagination and the study of philosophy; a system of philosophy worked out in the spirit of the new learning, and applied especially to the moral, social, and political problems of human life. He felt his project to be the more urgent because of the political disturbances of his time and the uncertainties of life and fortune incident to the Civil War. Although his original writings and his earliest essays in philosophy, and although his political works probably worked out as a part of his general theory before the Civil War gave it to special impetus, the publication at Amsterdam in 1647 of de Officio, and at London in 1651 of Leviathan, was felt by Hobbes himself to be a matter vitally important for the trend of events. He professed the ambition of a scholar, owned a preference for scientific inquiry secure from the excitations of public life, yet, in spite of self-confessed timidity, sought repeatedly the opportunity to make his writings intelligible, felt by those in power. His contributions to political theory, together with his observations on human nature, are by far the most important parts of his philosophy. His own time and times subsequent have found little of marked significance in his other work. Yet the student of philosophy can find many illustrations of keen insight into logical problems and the theory of science, and the student of literature can find a real treasury of forcible and clear English prose. He died on 4th Dec. 1679, in his ninety-second year, and 'was buried,' as told by James Wheldon, 'in the parish church of Hault Hucknall, close adjoining to the rails of the monument of the grand-grandmother of the present Earl of Devonshire, with the service of the Church of England by the minister of the parish' (Aubrey, i. 360).

Hobbes is described by John Aubrey, his friend and contemporary, as 'six feet high and something better;' with a good eye of hazel colour; with a head of matted form approved by the opening of his eyes; with a face of 'melancholion,' similarly approved; of temper and regular habits; as an harmonious soul and not a woman-hater, although never married; of a sharp wit which was also sure and steady; as one who could not read and 'make a formula' for the public service; 'that if he had read much as other men, he should have been as ignorant as they;' and as a man who 'would have the worst of God's performances' (ib. i. 244, 524).

2. Writings.—The writings of Hobbes show how wide his intellectual interests were. Especially noteworthy is his interest in Greek literature, rhetoric, and mathematics. His translations are vigorous and suggestive. His rhetoric is largely unacknowledged reflection of the age. In his mathematical writings expose his deep interest in the subject and also an incapacity to handle the more difficult problems. He has been described as having squared the circle, and he engaged in controversies which redounded more to the credit of his adversaries than himself. The complete list of his writings is as follows: The History of the Great War written by Thucydides, London, 1629; de Malmesburiensi, Paris, 1639; Inquisition in Cartesii de Prima Philosophia Manuscriptis, Paris, 1641; Tractatus Opticus, do. 1644; Elementa Philosophiae de Cive, Amsterdam, 1647 (two copies were privately printed in Paris, 1643, with the title Elementorum Philosophiae Societatis, Doct. D. Roberti, Paris); Philosophy of Empire: considerations on the government and society, London, 1651; De Homine, do. 1650; De Corpore, do. 1650; Essays on government, London, 1660; Leviathan, London, 1651; Of Liberty and Necessity, 1654; Elements of Natural History and Politicks, 1656, published in English, 1660; The Lessons to the Professors of Mathematics, do. 1659; Questions concerning Liberty, Necessity, and Chance, 1656; Points of the Absolute Geometry, do. 1658; John Wallis, do. 1664; de Homine, do. 1667; Philosophiae Methodologia, Seconda, 1657; Considerations upon the Resolutions of the latter, 1667; or Principles of Geometrical and Mathematical Relations, de la Mettrie, 1667; De Homine, 1667; de Duplicata Cubi, do. 1668; Problematum Physical, 1667; Considerations upon the Resolutions, etc., of Thomas Hobbes, 1668; de Principiis Societatis, 1668; Proportionis Geometriae, do. 1669; Leviathan, 1669; Appendix ad Leviathan, Amsterdam, 1688; De Corpore, 1671; De Duplicata Cubi, London, 1680; Letter to the Right Honourable Richard Howard, 1680; Roundell lantern, or the image of light, London, 1681; Three Papers presented to the Royal Society, 1677; Principles of Geometry, do. 1678; or Philosophy of Space, do. 1678; The Voyage of Ulysses, 1678; Epistolae ad Anthony a Wood, 1677; The Illiad and Odyssey of Homer, 1678; Letter to the Duke of Newcastle, on the Conviviality of the Ancients and Moderns, 1676; De Omnibus Physiologis, 1678; T. Hobbes Malmesburiensis Vitae Curnamani Express, do. 1679, published posthumously; An Historical Narrative concerning Mersey, 1680; Bohemia, as the History of the Cause of the Civil Wars of England, London, 1850 (an edition from a detectable MS was published without the authority of Hobbes in 1679 shortly before his death); T. Hobbes Malmesburiensis Vitae Curnamani Express, 1651; The Whole Art of Rhetoric, 1681; The Art of Rhetoric, 1681; The Art of Sophistry, do. 1682; The Whole Art of Oratory, 1682; A Brief Discourse on the Calling of Leviathan, 1684; Seven Philosophical Problems, 1685; Historia Eboracensis, 1685; A few letters have been published by Moleworth in vol. v. of the Latin Works and vol. vi. of the English Works.

3. Philosophy.—Although Hobbes is best known for his political theory, he himself regarded that theory as a part of a comprehensive and unified philosophy, and as part of his method and principles. His statement in the 'Preface to the Reader' prefixed to his Philosophical Rudiments is a characteristic expression of his point of view: 'I was studying the principles laid down by the ancients, and gathered together their first elements in all kinds; and having digested them into three sections by degrees, I wrote them down, so as in the first I would have treated of body and its general properties; in the second of man and his special faculties and affections; in the third of duties of subjects. Wherefore the first section would have contained the first philosophy, and certain elements of physics; in it we would have considered the reasons of time, place, cause, power, relation, proportion, magnitude, figures, and motion. In the second, we would have been conversant about imagination, memory, illusion, rationation, appetite, will, good and evil, honor and dishonesty, and the like.' What this last section handles, I have now already showed you. Whilst I undertake, order, patience and slowly compose these matters (for I only do reason, I dispute not;) so happened that in the interim, that my country, some few years before the civil wars did war, was boiling hot with questions concerning the rights of dominion and the obedience due from subjects, that I was put into a state of approaching war; and was the cause which, all those other matters deferred, ripened and pressed me from this third part. Therefore it happens that my original design was to be published first in time' (English Works, vol. ii. p. 21).

The Latin titles of his three principal works reflect this general scheme: De Corpore, de Homine, de Civis. These main divisions of philosophy are in their turn subdivided, but his philosophy finds its unity in the conception of bodies and their

...
relations to one another. There are two kinds of bodies, 'one wherein the working of nature is called a natural body, and the other is called a commonwealth and is made by the wills and agreement of men' (46. i. 11). Accordingly, the whole body of human nature, so to say, lies in the elaborate table of the sciences in ch. ix. of the Leviathan, first of all into those sciences which deal with consequences from the accidents of nature natural, and those which deal with consequences from the accidents of political bodies.'

This general and comprehensive scheme of a system of philosophy indicates one of the two chief ideas which are characteristic of Hobbes's thinking. Bodies, that is, things which can be moved, are the elements with which he deals. They are, in the human body, natural, and they move according to laws of motion which are natural to them. There is, consequently, a natural condition or state of bodies which follows from their mutual interaction and attracts any control or manipulation of them. This, in his view, is true not only of inanimate bodies, but also of man himself. There is a natural condition of mind which hearkens to the natural motions. This natural condition may be so controlled and regulated that a commonwealth is constituted. The State becomes the organized control of the natural motions—the dispositions, affections and manners—of men. It is a product of art utilizing Nature.

This is the idea of man which determines his reason is found in his conception of science itself. 'There are,' he writes in ch. ix. of the Leviathan and elsewhere, 'two kinds of knowledge, one of fact, and the other of the consequence of one affirmation from another, and memory, and is absolute knowledge.... The latter is called science and is conditional.'

This 'conditional' character of science does not, however, impair its usefulness. The ability of man to organize his observations in a connected discourse is responsible for all the benefits of civilization.

'The end of knowledge is power; and the use of theorems (theorizing the human body, natural, and properties) is for the construction of problems; and, lastly, the scope of all speculation is the performing of some action or thing to be done. ... Now, the greatest commodities of mankind are the arts; namely, of measuring matter and motion; of making instruments of any kind; of calculating the celestial motions, the aspects of stars, and the time of; of geography, etc. By which sciences, how great benefits men receive is more easily understood than expressed' (English Works, i. 7).

The conditional character of science does, however, involve an important consequence for Hobbes's philosophy of behavior and consequences, with results that follow from accepted premises or initial truths. It is dependent on these premises and truths, and is conditioned by them. So far as we have the chain of possible consequences in mind, there is no source of difference of opinion in science itself which industry, discipline, and method may not remove. The source of controversy is exterior to science itself, in the initial premises from which the consequences are drawn. There are three, the beginning from experience, from that other kind of knowledge which is not science, but fact. If the similar experiences of men were free from variations, from prejudices, and from self-interest, science, so far as it rests on fact, would be free from dispute. But experiences are not uniform. It thus happens that men differ in their opinions, not because of differences in their reasoning, but because of differences in their experiences which reason cannot settle. Such differences can be settled only by mutual agreement, or by what the authority which arbitrarily decides all points at issue. Hobbes does not blink the rigid consequences of this conception of science. While he would commend his own philosophy because of its consonance with every man's experience and its conformity with facts accessible to all, he repeatedly asserts that in questions of fact individual differences may be so great that only authority can settle them.

In these two principal ideas is the idea of a natural order through the control of which all advantages of civilization and all social institutions arise, and (2) the idea of science as a body of consequences drawn from premises which are taken so subject to variation that they must be standardized by authority—the essential things in Hobbes's philosophy are contained. Nature is inadequate for man's use without science and art, and these are inadequate to this service without a constituted authority. The problem of authority would not, however, he a serious one if it did not, that is, involve the whole problem of man's peace and safety. The problem of society becomes the problem of authority. With Hobbes it is the great problem of philosophy and overshadows all his other interests.

Hobbes's contributions to the philosophy of bodies in general do not deserve particular notice. He is influenced throughout by Galileo, and sees everywhere motion and the laws of motion. It is his transference of these ideas to psychology that is first of all significant. Sense, imagination, the association of ideas, the passions, and the will are all conceived and expressed by him in terms of one another, of the other ideas. They are all motions called forth by the reaction and endeavor outside in the organ of sense caused by an event in the object, remaining more or less (16. i. 361). Imagination is 'decaying sense' and illustrates the law that motion, once started, continues until opposed by contrary motion; referred to the past, it is memory. The association of ideas—Hobbes speaks of the 'train of imaginations' or the 'train of thoughts'—arises from the fact that motions which are simultaneous or successive in sense tend to recur as a whole when any one of them recurs. Passions are the 'interior beginnings of voluntary motions,' and will is defined as the 'last appetite in deliberation,' that is, as the last motion in a delayed or suspended series of motions. These ideas Hobbes deliberately opposes to the traditional psychological of his day. They made comparatively little impression at the time, but we can see in them now the first important general statement of the basal position in psychology of a much later day. It is the reacting organism on which Hobbes lays emphasis, an organism which, excited by external stimuli, reacts only after the excitations received have been internally assimilated and organized.

'There is no other act of man's mind, that I can remember, naturally planted in him, so as to need no other thing, to the exercise of it, but to be born a man, and live with the use of his five senses. Those other faculties, of which I have spoken, are of a second kind, and by, and which seem proper to man only, are acquired and increased by study and industry; and of most men learned by instruction, and discipline; and proceed all from the invention of words, and speech. For besides sense, and thoughts, and the train of thoughts, the mind of man has other motion; though by the help of speech, and method, the same faculties may be improved to such a height, as to distinguish men from all other living creatures' (46. iii. 16).

Because life itself is but motion, man can never be without desire or fear, just as he cannot be without sense. Thus, according to Hobbes, 'the continual success in obtaining those things which a man from time to time desires' (46. 51); 'it is not the repose of a mind satisfied.' Nor does this man desire to enjoy once only, but rather to assure forever the way of his future desire; and this he can do only by having the power to do it.
This is one of Hobbes's most important generalizations in view of his theory of the State. He states it metaphysically in these words:

"In the first place, I put for a general inclination of all mankind, a perpetual and restless desire of power after power, that men may be as gods, which was their original end and nature; and the cause of that is not always that a man hopes for a more intensive delight, than he has already attained; but that he is dissatisfied with his condition, and would be content with a moderate life, or power; but because he cannot assure the power and means to live as he would, he loses the satisfaction of the acquisition of more. And from hence it is, that kings, whose power is greatest, turn their endeavours to the securing it as home by law, or abroad by war; and when that is done there succeeds a new desire; in some, of fame from new conquests; in others, of ease and sensual pleasures; in others, of admiration, or being flattered for excellence in some art, or other ability of the mind." (§ 85.)

Associated with this is a second generalization of similar importance:

"Nature hath made men so equal, in the faculties of the body, and mind, that though there be found one man sometimes manifestly stronger in body, or of quicker mind than another; yet when all is reckoned together, the difference between man, and man, is not so considerable, as that one man can thereupon claim to himself any benefit, to which another may not pretend, as well as he. For as to the strength of body, the weaker has strength enough to kill the strongest, either by surprise; or by setting a trap with others, that are in the same danger with himself." (§ 110.)

From this equality of ability men entertain equal hopes of securing the ends they desire.

"To every man desire the same thing, which nevertheless they cannot both enjoy, they become enemies; and the more they desire, the more they will be enemies; which was principally their own conservation, and sometimes their destruction only, endeavours to destroy one another's good." (§ 110.)

Hobbes also states the establishment of the power of the State is by mutual agreement, covenants, and concessions.

Hobbes, however, does not consider these laws to be contrary to our natural passions, as they impose restrictions on our desires. They are obeyed only so long as obedience to them is necessary and profitable, if there is no established power to enforce them.

"Covenants without the sword are but words and of no strength to secure a man at all." (§ 114.) Consequently, mutual concessions and covenants are not sufficient. It is only by force that the sovereign power can be transferred to a single individual or a group of individuals.

This natural condition of mankind is not, as Hobbes expressly declares, the primitive condition in which men once lived. It was never universal. Yet it is man's natural condition if we consider how much people resemble themselves in the absence of a restraining and superior power, and that the function of government is restraint and control, and observe that the police and the systematic guarding of property are evident indications of the suspicion men naturally have of one another.

In other words, man is not naturally what the Greeks called a 'political animal.' Naturally he is an impulsive animal seeking the gratification of his desires, and the security of his life, and finding that this seeking brings him into competition with his fellows. As such his rights are measured and determined solely by his power to secure what he desires. He knows nothing of right and wrong, of justice and injustice, as over against his fellows. There is no law, no injustice, force, fraud, and war are in war the two cardinal vices. Justice, and injustice, are none of the faculties neither of the body, nor mind. If they were, they might be well defined. These are rights that are shown to be in the world, as well as his sense, and passions. They are qualities, that relate to men in society, not in solitude. It is consequent also to the same condition, that there be no property, no dominion, no Empire, and Land, and Trade, and Art, and Race, and Law, and Liberty, and Power, and Honor, and Place, and having an end, that is to say, that each man can get, and for so long, as he can keep it. And thus much for the ill condition, which man by more nature is subject to, than he is capable of being in, though with a possibility to come out of it, consisting partly in the grace and mercy of God, partly in the astringent, consequences of enmity and war, are tendencies which naturally incline men to peace. These tendencies are supplemented by reason, which leads men to agree or attempt to agree with one another and to set up certain rules of conduct which make for peace. These rules suggested by reason Hobbes calls 'laws of nature,' of which the two most fundamental are: (1) 'that every man ought to endeavour peace so far as he has hope of obtaining it, and, when he cannot attain it, that he seek by all possible means to make peace'; and (2) 'that a man be willing, when others are so far as he, so far as for peace and defence of himself he shall think it necessary, to lay down this right to all things, and be contented with so much liberty against other men, as he would allow other men against himself.' (§ 117.) In these fundamental natural laws or dictates of reason Hobbes acknowledges all laws which tend to the establishment of peace through mutual agreement, covenants, concessions, and covenants.

Hobbes, however, that these laws are contrary to our natural passions, as they impose restrictions on our desires. They are obeyed only so long as obedience to them is necessary and profitable, if there is no established power to enforce them.
to enforce it. Hobbes is thus not properly classified as either an egoist or a hedonist. With him morality is wholly a political matter, and politics is wholly the work of reason.

Religion Hobbes defines as 'fear of power invisible, reigned by the mind or imagined from tales publicly allowed' (49, 40). If the tales are not publicly allowed, the fear is superstition. It is thus clear that Hobbes makes religion also a political matter. Yet he recognizes also a 'kingdom of God.' That which is significant in his philosophy here is not his positive content, but the separation of the doctrine of God from all that concerns the doctrine of Nature.

'The Scripture was written to show unto men the kingdom of God and to prepare their minds to become obedient subjects; having the world and the philosophy thereof to the dispositions of men for the exercising of their natural reason' (49, 49).

To enter the kingdom of God it is necessary to believe that Jesus is the Christ and to obey the law of God and the commonwealth. This can be no conflict between allegiance to God and to the State. It is only when the civil sovereign is an infidel that such a conflict may arise, for it is a law of God, found out by reason, that subjects should obey their sovereigns. Yet even here the conflict can arise, Hobbes thinks, only when an infidel sovereign commands a Christian subject to renounce Christ. Then the subject has no resource

HOLINESS.—See Friends of the Temple.

HOLINESS (General and Primitive).—1. Holiness is the great word in religion; it is even more essential than the notion of God. Real religion may exist without a definite conception of divinity, but there is no real religion without a distinction between holy and profane. The attaching of undue importance to the conception of divinity has often led to the exclusion from the sphere of religion of (1) phenomena at the primitive stage, as being magic, although they are characteristically religious; and (2) Buddhism and other higher forms of salvation and piety which do not involve a belief in God. The only sure test is holiness. From the first, holiness constitutes the most essential feature of the divine in a religious sense. The idea of God without the conception of the holy is not religion (F. Schleiermacher, Reden über die Religionen, Berlin, 1798). Not the mere existence of the divinity, but its name, its power, its holiness, is what religion involves. This is nowhere more obvious than in India, where the men of religion, through their art of excelling in holding power, became dangerous rivals of the gods, who, in order to maintain something of their religious authority, were obliged to adopt ascetic holiness themselves (Bv. Bhishm. ii. 5. 4, ix. 1. 6, 1 ff.). The definition of piety (subjective religion) runs thus: 'Religious is the man to whom something is holy.' The holy inspires awe (veçag).

The original idea of holiness is somewhat indeterminate, and applied to individual things and beings. Then the great systems were evolved which are found (1) in barbaric societies, such as the Polynesian, West African, etc.; and (2) in nomistic religions such as the Avestan, and in Judaism, where everything is arranged under the categories of tabu ('holy') and ordinary (profane). The idea of holiness is a part of the philosophy of life. Spiritual religion tries to abolish the outwardness of this distinction and to make it a purely personal one.

Hence it strives to bring the whole of life under the sway of holiness. The prophetic religion in Israel considered the whole people of Israel as holy (Lv. 20. 26). Jews (Is. 56. 5), and by bringing the idea of 'the chosen people' into connection with the idea of holiness. But the ideal of spiritual religion—that every person and every thing should be holy—is an absurdity to primitive men, and to nomistic holiness, because something must be left free for use. In the same way ascetic schemes of salvation presuppose that some people are not holy, religious, in a strict sense. If every one were 'religious,' 'holy,' there would be no families, no future generations, nobody to till the ground, constitute society, and perform the daily labours.

2. Holiness is viewed as a mysterious power or entity connected with certain beings, things, events, or action. Amongst the Africanians everything that exceeds the ordinary capacity of man or the ordinary course of nature is called mana. 1 In some cases, as in this Melanesian mana, the power is expressly reserved for certain beings. Some souls, e.g., have no mana, and, therefore, are soon forgotten and require no worship. In other cases, as with the Iroquoian orcinna, 'this hypothetic magic is held to be the property of all things, all bodies,' etc. (J. N. B. Hewitt, 'Orinna and a Definition of Religion,' in American Anthropologist, new ser., 1902, p. 33 ff.). But in any case only its concentrated appearance in some beings and things is of practical importance. Of the somewhat analogous words

1 From the classical work of B. H. Latrobe, Holiness (Oxford, 1881), this term has been adopted, through L. Macfie, B. H. Maxwell, etc., as the general term for the power working as power, as distinguished from negative holiness involving the conception of danger, interdiction, prohibition, which in current terminology is now designated by the Polynesian word tabu.
which are to be found everywhere in primitive religions, we mention here a few examples:

The Australian tribes (A. W. Howitt, Native Tribes of South-

eastern Australia, London, 1879), the Indian tribes of the ancient

American beaver (e.g., H. Oldenberg, in Anzeiger für indolog.-

und afroasiatische Sprach- und Altertumskunde, III, 1887-88; and K. Schäfer, Godheraus- 

supplement, Stockholm, 1918) the Balta of the Balta; the 

Wurdung, "life-stuff," and the panema, "extraordinary," mys- 

teries of the Malay (O. K. Hill, Malay-Indonesische Studien in dem 

indischen Archipel, The Hague, 1900; W. W. Stanton, Malay 

Magic, London, 1909; G. M. de Groot, Lelaw, Papus, Races of the 

Malay Peninsula, ed. 1909; J. Warnek, Die Religion der 

Balta, Leipzig, 1909): the Balta of the Balta (defined in 

the dictionaries as "indwelling or supernatural power, which 

renders a thing good and effective; the power of a medicine: 

the truth of a word; the efficacy of amulets and incantations, 

the holiness of a thing; etc.;" see A. van Gennep, Tabou 

eclatés à Madagascar, Paris, 1930); the myths of Congo 

languages (longosignifices "medicina, "charm;" R. E. Leman, in 

his forthcoming dictionary); the omens of the Micrones; the 

sac of the Pama (see A. Le Roy, La Religion des primitifs, 

Paris, 1909, and F. H. Tullio, Le Pana, d'après les textes de 

Franz, Mittheil., 1919); the dog of the Eves (D. Wetterwasser, 

Wörterbuch der Deut- 

sprach. Berlin, 1906); the calendar of the Pumacines (E. K. 

Erlach, The Threshold of Religion, London, 1909); the 

sacredness of the Sioux Indians (which was used "indiscriminately as substantives 

and adjectives, and with slight modification as verbs"); which may be translated by "mystery," "power," "sacred," 

"sacrament," "immemorial, although no Eng- 

lish sentence of reasonable length can do justice to the aboriginal 

term wakonda (W. J. Locke, The Sioux 

Indian, Chicago, 1889; O. Holmberg, Native Society, I B.H.M., 

1898, p. 211 f.); the oracles of the in- 

tercourse (denoting a mystical power which is particularly 

great in the aboriginal, in the skillful hunter, in any man or 

animal who reports supernatural events, and which is 

regarded as related directly to singing and to anything used as 

an incantation, or mask, or as well to the ideas of begging, 

praying, orsubmitting"; (R. E. Leman, loc. cit. p. 88 f.); the 

old Norse runa, "look," "success," "prophetic genius," "haste," 

of individuals and of gnomes (W. Grosjean, Le philosophe 

occidental, Copenhagen, 1909; and Oral and Mora, ed. 1915; 

Report of the Commission on the History of the Religion of 

Legends, 1915); the mati, "might," "power," of Welsh folk-lore (men and animals 

can be made "sacred" or "sacred" through evil influences; 

the old Norse said ams-auta, "sacred-stones").

This mysterious holiness is to be found, in the 

first place, in the medicine-man, or priest- 

king, who, according to G. C. Frazer, Lectures 

on the Early History of the Kingship, London, 

1906), and in the sacred formula which is used as a 

spell or a prayer. Further, it belongs to special 

objects which are connected in any way with the 

holy rites and the exercise of religion or magic, e.g., 

the chewninga (tjuringa, Strehlow) of the central 

tribes of Eastern Australia (Spencer-Gillen, 1899, 

1904; C. Strehlow and M. F. von Leenhoff, Die 

Aranda-und Luritja-Stämme in Zentralaustralien, 

pt. ill., Die totem. Kultur, Frankfurt, 1911), the 

buffalo-ceremonies, dance and rattles (the Mexican 

rattle-staff was called chucumasti, "that through 

which one makes strong, powerful" (E. Seiler, in 


Berlin, 1899-90), and other things used in the 

mysteries; the West African mingos, "fetishs" (M. H. 


Donald, At the Back of the Black Man's Mind, 

doakd., 1909); Leman and other missionaries, in Nor- 

denskald, Etnografiska bidragfd av messana mission- 

dören, Stockholm, 1907). It also belongs to relics, 

amulets, divinities, their images, and everything 

connected with them. In a wider sense the mys- 

terious power of holiness is supposed to be 

the cause of everything which is out of the ordinary 

course, and was therefore explained by sac- 

tific purposes—in which case its 

use becomes the worst of abuses, namely, sorcery 

or black art—but constitutes the great treasure of 

the community, identified in its sacred institu- 

tions, in manifold objects, and in its members, who 

derive their life, power, and happiness from the 

general holiness, and at the same time have to 

enlarge and concentrate this common mysterious 

influence through their ritual celebrations and 

manly actions. But the essential connexion be- 

tween the 'sacred' and society does not imply 

that the notion of the 'sacred' is merely a 

kind of objectifying and idealizing of the commu-

nity as a power mysteriously superior to the individual 

(E. Durkheim, Les Formes élémentaires de la vie 

religieuse, Paris, 1912).

The most interesting, with somewhat different 

lines of evolution in proceeding from the most 

primitive stages onwards, and a supposed uni-

formity must not be obscured to obtain the pecu-

liar features of holiness in particular societies at 

the lower stages of civilization. But, as far as we can 

see, the psychological origin of the conception of 

holiness seems to have been the mental reaction 

against what is startling, astonishing, new, terrify-

ing. This reaction may have expressed itself in 

a or an excess, e.g., by individual experiences 

influenced the collective mind, which by degrees 

created forms of language which gave more durable 

expression to the mental reaction in face both of 

what was really new and of certain often recurring 

phenomena which never cease to startle and awaken 

a vivid emotion. A motley series of beings, things, 

events, and actions are named by such words as 

the great one, the frightful, the dangerous, the 

curious, the successful, the divine, etc.; and—what 
is still more significant—those things are surrounded, 

by a natural relation to a supernatural rites and 

interrelations. The first point is that these 

startling things are not to be treated lightly. It 

is evident that the idea of the extraordinary (this 

seems also to be the original meaning of the Semitic 

qdt; q; below, p. 761 b), as distinguished from the 

ordinary, already exhibits a tendency towards the 

conception of the supernatural. Primitive man is 

unable, indeed, to conceive anything beyond or 

higher than Nature; yet the term 'supernatural' 

may perhaps supply the best conception of what 

the holy means to him. 

'Holiness' so conceived is the most valuable 

source of health, strength, food, success, influence; 

at the same time, it involves a constant danger. 

Hence the rites to which this conception gives rise have either a positive or a negative character.

3. The positive rites have as their object the 

acquiring, concentrating, and utilizing of holiness. 

1. Augmentative rites are to the greatest extent 

employed in order (a) to produce or augment the 

supply of food—e.g. Australian initiation and 

ceremonies among the Aborigines, in which the holy power may be concentrated in the last sheaf, a cake, an image, an animal, a tree, or a man. Phallic or sexual religion is also 

momentarily concerned with the well-being of the 

horses and of the field. In order to secure fertility, the 

art of producing rain and sunshine was exercised; 

and fishermen meats a sacred wind (v. ROBINSON, 

the power is accomplished through the power of holiness, 

natural or acquired; at the same time a certain 

technique is elaborated, with impersonal rules and 

laws. (b) The power may also be acquired in other 

ways than those connected with the procuring of 

ordinary food. One may receive it through blood, 

which is either drunk or smeared over the body. 

It may be consecrated by saliva or breath. 

Parts of beasts or men imbued with the mysterious 

thing may be eaten; or men, perhaps one's own 

sons, may be killed in order to serve the mysterious 

influence of life. Sacrifice served as a means of 

endowing with holy power, before it was brought into 

connection with a divinity, in the way of communion 

or by being considered as a gift. The sacrifice exer-

"sacred")

"sacred")
conception may prevail. The sacrifice communicates holiness or power. Therefore the images of the gods are smeared with blood, the precious fluid which is the religion of blood par excellence—that of ancient Mexico—the men pour out their blood from tongue or members in order to strengthen the gods, and the divinities are purified. The usual symbol of the joyful diet of blood from the victim. Blood appears with great frequency in the Mexican sacred rites; it enabled them to increase their deities in every case, with the addition of the cutaneous and the secretion of the...eons. The Zulu says *wuku* (with reflexive *a*), "to abstain from." In the Bantu languages the word *wuku* had a meaning of 'sacred object'; *washi*. A more specific word is the Zulu *thombe* (a shaman), *zulu* (a chief), *gini* (to give), *kwe* (to show respect), *to show special reverence," in observing several rules of ritual. The Zulu has to *thombe* his handkerchief, but not by any means in the native tongue, *thombe* is not, *wuku* is "not to be touched, or to be avoided."

The close connexion of the tabu with the mysterious power is found in the common idea of extraordinariness. Tabu is thus what is new, *es*.

5. Later the tabu is often connected with the soul—a fact which admits of different explanations. The relation to the soul is sometimes secondary or imaginary, *e.g.* the reason urged by the Batakas of Sumatra for not cutting all the hair of the child is connected not with *beau* (soul), but with *beau* (the hair, the human head, the secret society, or the priesthood, the priestess, or the priest). The secret society is itself a tabu, and may be difficult or impossible to draw in every single case. Nevertheless, it is required by the essence of the tabu-holiness. Thus, a sacred being is subjected to a multitude of tabu laws, the priest or the tabu interdict. He must not be disturbed, or the sea, or the lake, the sun must not shine on him, he must not touch the ground, even his own head, nor eat with others, etc. Why? Because the tabu is danger and may be injured or taken away! It is not so much a case of personal danger for the soul as of precautions against disappointing the precious holiness concentrated in the chief. Therefore he is himself dangerous to others who cannot bear contact with him. In death the necessity of distinguishing the two motives—concern for the soul and for holiness—is more evident. (a) A dead body, either of man or of beast, is dangerous. A Kaffir who has killed a python is purified by a water. A Laplander becomes taboo for three days after having killed a bear. At the ritual murder of the bear among the Ainus in Siberia, in Lapland, or of the bull at the Bosphorus in Athens, the killed animal is kept over and the killer undergoes a shaman punishment. This may have something to do with fear of the ghost. But it may also depend upon the holiness of the animal or its kinship with man. The case is clearer with the widower in British New Guinea, who must hide himself like a wild beast and go about armed with a tomahawk against the dangerous soul of his dead wife. (b) Love, not fear, may also lead to special precautions. Pointed objects and knives must not be used after death, lest they may harm the dead. The Chinese even avoid using their eating-sticks during a certain time. Those rules do not belong to the tabu. (c) But it is impossible to explain the tabu to be interdicted and warned against mourning prohibitions in general, by fear or love of the dead person. The killing of a man or a beast shows the possession of a man which makes it necessary for others to avoid him and his weapons and spears, and for him to submit himself occasionally to precautions analogous to those always observed by the sacred person. The body also suggests uncanniness. Hence its im
purity, and the withdrawal of the mourners from ordinary life. In Polynesia they must not carry food to the mouth with their own hands for ten months. The object is to be subjected to this rule, because of the holiness of his head. In this instance concern for the soul is excluded as an explanatory basis and the Kaffir and its purification mentioned above may both depend on their being charged with 'holiness,' wana. Or take the interdict as to preserving sacred hair and nails or remains of meals. The reason is lest some one may take them and harm or kill their original owner by means of sympathetic magic, according to which the whole can be influenced through a part of it. This has nothing to do with tabu or holiness. But the case has another side. If the person to whom the hair and nails or the meal belonged is holy, it is not to touch them, because they are charged with holiness. The holy man in question must also take precautions against losing any of his precious power. Knots are often forbidden because they suggest complication and difficulty. Sympathetic magic uses them in order to cause hindrance and harm. The prohibition can acquire a secondary relation to the holiness. 'Kamerdonos in Zone, e.g., was forbidden to have any knots on his clothes, because they might be a hindrance to the benefit action of holiness.'

6. It is, in fact, the essence of the tabu-interdict that it is not merely the avoiding of a definite danger by avoiding its cause (this may be a soul, sympathetic magic, the interest of society, or anything else); rather it amounts to an unconditioned and unreasoning 'you shall not.' The imperative character of duty, which Kant called the 'category of the divine in man, is characteristic of primitive tabus, in spite of the differences as to the content of the prohibition or commandment. There is something mysterious, dreadful, about the danger of breaking a tabu (Maret, op. cit.). The aborigines cannot always tell the reason why a tabu is forbidden or why a certain object is holy. It is a fact, and a most important one. Of course, the tabu originates to a certain extent in natural observations. The rules can sometimes be traced back to a real practical interest and use. At a later rationalistic stage of religion, Jews, Parsees, and Hindus, with the help of Western scholars, have traced the tabus to the vast improvements and discoveries in hygiene, breeding, and agriculture. Moses, Zarathushtra, and Manu, to whom the tabu systems were erroneously ascribed, have been praised as early discoverers of the conditions of health. This is not completely devoid of truth, but it misses the characteristic of tabu, which is not a religious idea the supernatural rather than the rational. The common custom of isolating the woman in child-bed in a miserable birth-hut, and handing her food on long poles, or of subjecting boys, and sometimes also girls, to barbarous tortures at initiation, is not a matter of hygiene. It is the danger due to holiness that demands such practices.

7. The unreasoning awe of tabu appears in the consequences of breaking it. (a) Death or sickness immediately follows. An Australian died when he heard that he had lain upon his wife's blanket. A Hova youth in Madagascar fell into convulsions when he learnt that the meat he had eaten belonged to an animal holy to his kin. How were the relations of the dead and the dead? It is told that he had been feeding on dog cutlets or human kidneys? The origin of death and sickness is often explained by the breaking of a tabu. The Pangoo in Bengal were immured until some one entered a pool which was tabu. Pandora's box was not to be opened; when it was opened, diseases came out. The effect may be a direct one, just as fire burns or poison kills, without the intervention of death. The intervention of disease constitutes a secondary explanation. With the development of worship, tabu-rules come to be regarded as divine laws and the society sanctions the tabus through punishments inflicted upon the guilty, for holiness is the very source of life and strength to society. Such was the cause of the massacre of Marian and his crew in the Pacific in 1772. They had tried to catch fish in a holy place. In 1890 the men of the ship Boyd were murdered in New Zealand, because the captain had treated the son of a chief, i.e., a tabu person, in an ignominious way. Animals as well as men are killed if they defile holy ground by entering it or in any other way. In 1 S 18, 1 Ch 13th, Josh 6th, death or plague follows directly (in Josh 3rd, the holy object exercises its power otherwise). In Lv 10 God punishes the breaking of a tabu. Even where a divine punishment is referred to, the original meaning sometimes seems to have implied an immediate consequence of touching the holy, as Nero's illness after his sacrilegious bath in holy water, in Jerusalem. In late times, the punishment is inflicted by the community, as the Ewe used to burn alive a man who had killed the holy python. Such punishments become a large portion of sacred law everywhere (cf. K. Krueger, De Romano superi sacris, Kölnberg, 1913). Sometimes, as in Ex 19th, Nu 19, we do not exactly know whether the penalty, death or death of death is referred to the inherent holiness of the thing, to God's vengeance, or to judicial punishment.

(b) There are also milder consequences, punishments, which as in the case of the divine in man, is characteristic of primitive tabus, in spite of the differences as to the content of the prohibition or commandment.
completely alone. The corpse requires to be moved and attended to in some way. One cannot help seeing and meeting strangers. The firstfruit is full of mysterious power, but it constitutes the very sustenance of men. How is the precious power to be appropriated without incurring risk? By taking action and rendering oneself immune in some other way against the danger of holiness. Such precautions form the kernel of a set of primitive rites which, later on, assume another meaning. The most important are: (1) 'poltiness' ceremonies vis-à-vis strangers, which, in no doubt, natural kindness accounts for much, and is closely connected with the tabu fear (E. Westermarck, M7, London, 1906, I, 595 ff.); (2) funeral rites (see Death and Disposal of the Dead); (3) puberty rites and wedding ceremonies, which are intended at once to indemnify against the danger of sexual holiness-tabu and to secure its efficacy in the matter of fecundity; (4) fruit-fruit rites at the birth of children and animals and before the eating of the first crops in the spring (see FIRSTFRUITS). In these ceremonies as well as in sacrifice (H. Hubert and M. Mauss, Mélanges d'Histoire des religions, Paris, 1909; cf. Satapatha Brâhmanâ [SBE xii. etc.]) and other rites mentioned above, we can sometimes discern lewd introductory rites designed for intercourse with the holy in order to avoid its dangers; and averting rites, which are intended to remove the holiness before resuming ordinary life.

By the natural taboo (a) in the strength and coherence it gives to society, for the 'holy' supplies a perpetual centre of gravity, manifested in holy things, beings, places, and actions, for the individual or his family; (b) in the more or less approaches 'the holy,' but he is not completely out of touch with it. To use the tabu system as a complete tabu. Such are shamans, priests, kings, and others. A chief in New Zealand was charged with holiness to such a degree that no one was allowed to touch him, even if he were in mortal danger. If he breathed on a fire, it could not be used for cooking. The vessels from which the Mikado used to eat were, as a rule, afterwards destroyed. If another man ate from them, his mouth would swell. Sometimes an animal is taboo for a whole people, as the pig in Syria, and the cow in India. Sometimes the taboo extends only to a clan or a kindred. Words are taboo, such as names of higher human or divine beings, holy or dangerous animals. Occasionally we find a whole tabu language, which is laid at initiation, and used on special occasions, as in the mysteries, in the chase, in fishing, in reaping, and in war. Objects and places belonging to the sacred rites, to gods, or to holy men or secret societies are taboo. The holy man or animal is divine, and is worshipped in proportion as real worship is instituted and the notion of divinity validated. They may be worshipped even during life, but especially after death, when the general awe of ghosts enhances the conception of their man. Sometimes the holy power of a man is destroyed only after his death, through actions attributed to his soul. Such a tindalo receives worship among the Melanesians (Cordington, 125 E.) or the dead die in the grave. The Vedas in Ceylon are concerned to know whether a dead man's spirit is a pâta, i.e., a powerful or holy one whom reverence and prudent did that with the other (G. E. Religions, Cambridge, 1911). The same idea underlies the system of relics and the worship of saints in higher religions. Their holy, wonder-working power is utilized and revered. Certain days are full of danger. Work, pleasure, and undertakings which are carefully specified

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**Note:** The text appears to be a discussion of taboos and tabu systems, often referred to as 'sacred' or 'holy' areas in various cultures, and how these systems are enforced through rituals and prohibitions. The text touches on the idea of holiness and its implications in societies, as well as the consequences of breaking these taboos. It also references the idea of religious and spiritual power being linked to certain individuals or objects, and how these powers can be either honored or feared. The text mentions various cultural practices and beliefs, such as the use of taboos in societies, the protection of holy objects, and the divine or supernatural aspects associated with certain animals or people.
must be omitted on these days. The institution of sacred or tabu days is known to several primitive peoples in modern times, and was familiar to ancient peoples in different forms, e.g., the Egyptians, the Babylonians, and the Romans (dea nova). Such was probably the origin of the Sabbath (Ex 19:10; Nu 16, June 44:10). On the Great Day of Atonement in the OT, the Messiah gave to the tabernacle a new positive character of rest after work (otherwise R. Kittel, Gesch. des Volkes Israel, i. Leipzig, 1912) 825); but in later Judaism the day recovered something of its gloomy tabu-character (cf. J. Hahn, Sebenehali and Sabbath bei den Babylonieren und im Alten Testament, Leipzig, 1909), H. Webster, Best Days, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1911).

Our abstract and conventional conception of time and space as measure is foreign to primitive man. To him time is, or rather time is, real and concrete. Some days and occasions contrast as extra-ordinary or tabu with the ordinary days. Such holy days, e.g., festivals and dangerous days, mark epochs in the general flux of existence, and give rise to the religious calendar. Thus the primitive apprehension of time originates in the conception of the holy. In a similar way tabu places awake a distinctive emotional notion of space.

(b) After death and on special occasions during life every one is tabu. The sexual life is accompanied by strange estranging feelings and uncanny phenomena. In hunting and warfare even the ordinary man experiences the mysterious power, and must submit himself to restrictions and observances that are not required in his everyday life, but which are often identical with such shaman, priests, and kings are bound to observe always. We often encounter the notion that women dying in child-bed, fishermen drowned, or hunters killed during the performance of their perilous work, and warriors slain in battle (the ear of the Norse Valhall) obtain a better lot after death than other mortals. If two realms of the dead are recognized, these men and women come to the place reserved for 'better people,' i.e., the men who showed courage, wisdom, and noble in life, whereas the common man retains his dull and inferior condition also after death. It is tempting to adopt the explanation of this which attributes a higher moral value to the chief female and male vocations in life. But the reason, no doubt, lies in the holiness, or mana. The mysterious power that confers good fortune and the aids to its works also after death. Some men possess it always, ordinary mortals only in childbirth, war, hunting, and on certain other occasions.

(c) Some tabus affect every one, others only certain people. Mother-in-law and son-in-law are tabu to each other, also men and women in general to a certain extent (A. E. Crawley, The Mystic Rose, London, 1902, p393). A man may not marry a woman of his own clan, or even of any other clan indifferently. In Australia the totem (see TOTEMISM) as a rule is tabu to the members of its clan; in North America this is not so.

(2) Artificial holiness is acquired through ascetic exertions, such as fasting and abstinence from sexual life, mortifications, etc. (see ASCETICISM). The ascetic brâhmaid, 'exerts himself.' Indian literature abounds in accounts of the superhuman powers acquired through her life of asceticism. Making, the Brâhman to the gods and arousing their admiring envy. Such a state of artificial holiness is designated in several religions and languages as 'heat' (Skt. teṣa, Gk. θύρμα, Testament der Ewe-Sprache) the magic power is called dea, 'heat.'

(3) Holiness and impurity are contagious, as we have already seen (e.g., Ex 19:10, Nu 16, June 44:10). His tabu character was strictly defined for each relative of the deceased, and it was stated through how many people the contagion is able to penetrate.

(4) Besides this involuntary communication of holiness, a holy man or a body of men has the power of imposing tabus. This has been largely used by individuals and by societies for selfish purposes, in order to augment their property and influence (H. Webster, Primitive Secret Societies, New York, 1900, p. 65 ff.). In Melanesia, nobody dares to touch fruits on a piece of ground where soles (tabu-marks) have been put. Holiness throughout its history has seldom proved a bar to the acquirement of wealth. The ruling class in Fohnesia, the are, have a special reputation for skill in utilizing their tabu. In Madagascar, European settlers have complained of the administrative use of tabu in order to prevent improvements. But it must be added that the tabu has also often been deliberately applied in cases where the public interest required a prohibition. The Hana i land by its government tabooed the cattle even as late as 1846, because the diminution of the stock had aroused legitimate anxiety. Gluttony during the great festivals in Tonga and Hawaii made it necessary to taboo pigs, coconuts, and other foods for several months. Sometimes language indicates the difference between natural or acquired holiness and imposed holiness. On the Banks Islands the former is called rongo, the latter tapa or tambu. In the New Hebrides the former is called tatau, the latter goguma, etc.

A more important division of holiness is recognized in some primitive languages, which have special names for the good and for the bad varieties of holiness. Thus, in addition to ordinary magical processes, the brandedAUSTRALIAN Aborigines (Aranda) have a bad, noxious 'power, arunguulth, which is used to injure enemies. Tregear speaks of 'unclean tabu.' Amongst the Huron Indians the orontha gradually fell into disuse, giving place to the Tokan, the bad species of mystery or power. Besides the 'evil eye' there is the wholesome influence of the territorial holiness of the earth (ERW IV, 503; cf. S. Seligmann, Der böse Blick, Berlin, 1910). This distinction must not be confused with the differentiation of tabus into holiness and impurity.

11. Holy and unclean.—In primitive religion one cannot tell whether tabu is holy or unclean. It simply means, 'Thou shalt not'—interdiction and danger. Later on, the tabu becomes either holy or unclean. Primitive man does not realize this difference. The original meaning of tabu as including both survives in language. The Latin sacrum (French sacré) means 'holy' as well as 'sacred.' 'Holy' and 'impure' are combined in the Greek ἅγιος, which is then differentiated etymologically: ἅγιος means 'holy,' 'initiated' (in a secondary sense), also 'pure,' 'clean,' 'immaculate,' permitted; ἄγιος means 'accursed,' guilty.' The pig was also tabu to the Hindus, the pig was tabu among the Greeks. In the ancient Greek religion, the swine, were holy, according to Athenaeus (ix. 18 [p. 375 f.]), and must not be eaten. To both Jews and Christians the pig was tabooed by a letter of Plutarch, the Greeks did not know whether the Jews abhorred it or worshipped it. The mysteries alluded to in Is 10:19 ('tabu') seem to imply the holiness of the swine, i.e., its flesh, but its skin, were holy, according to Athenaeus (ix. 18, p. 375 f.), and must not be eaten. To both Jews and Christians the pig was tabu. At present it is only in Persia and Turkey and a few parts of South Russia that the swine are eaten. According to Lucian, de Dea Syria, 54, pigs were not sacrificed or eaten, the swine was de-
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tested by the Syrians, but 'some believed that . . . they are not occurred (evens), but holy (Ievos). They identified this belief with the abhorrence of the Muhammadans for the unclean beast and called the bear 'father Adam.' Then Silva-worshipping Brahmana taught them to identify father Adam with Siva, and worship the cow as well as the bear (J. C. G. W. v. 21). In the OT, despite the strongly monotheistic differentiation of holiness from impurity, there are still some cases where it cannot be decided whether the tabernacle implies holiness or impurity: Lv 10 (cf. Ex 28:31; Lv 19:26; cf. 177). To an outsider, holy things and beings appear rather as something evil and malevolent through the mysterious dread that they inspire. Eastern settlers or travelers often call the whole sacred system of the natives 'devil-devil.' In the Congo the first missionaries translated 'devily' or 'devil's beast maker,' also 'the one that causes death.' Now Nasami is universally used as the term for God. As we have seen, something of the same ambiguity belongs to the primitive conception of holiness. There is no doubt whatever, at this stage, as to whether a being or a thing inspires awe or not, whether it is 'supernatural' or 'holiness,' whether it belongs to the proper sphere of religion and mystery or not; but the distinction between good and bad in a way which sometimes comes very near to obliterating the distinction essential to religion—between holy and profane—is at times almost imperceptible. It is not possible in every case to discover why a tabernacle becomes holy or unclean. Tabernacle connected with death and with sexual life becomes unclean.

Association with a divinity renders the tabernacle, e.g., the animals, which were kept in the temples and temple-precincts in Egypt, Syria, Greece, etc. In Israel the idea of God was such as to include the divinity, i.e., holiness, of animals—a notion highly developed in the religions of Egypt and India. Where the differentiation is complete, the holy and the unclean retain the character of taboo (forbidden), in opposition to the profane (common) and the clean, both of which may be freely used. Origen (Or. Nos. 40. 50, etc., genesis, 'common,' had not a bad meaning at all. The old correlation finds its classical expression in Lv 10:2, Exk 22:14: 'on the one side, holy and unclean, on the other, profane and clean.' The important thing in religion is to know and observe the distinctions: holy, profane, clean.

Three principal factors have a tendency to modify or reverse that order, namely, the evolution of language, morals, and other practical aims and demands of culture, and the conception of divinity. The conception of the same same and 'unclean,' on the one hand, 'clean' and 'holy' on the other hand. The question is whether 'clean' or 'holiness' suggests the divine or the practical and utilitarian purposes prevail, as in the Avesta, 'clean' eclipses 'holy.' Where the idea of the Godhead prevails, as in the OT, 'holy' is keener than 'clean.'

(a) The 'common' becomes despised and had. Language operates in this direction—that which is much 'used' becomes 'use-worn.' Thus 'profane' has a tendency to approach towards 'unclean.' This is seen in the evolution of the word 'profane.' The verb Γυναικεῖον, 'to give out for use,' assumes more and more the sense of 'to profane,' 'to unhallow,' and approaches the meaning of an author so deeply versed in sacred and clerical language as Ezekiel sometimes identifies 'profane' with 'defile' (43:7, cf. v. 22; 20:2, cf. v. 4), although, as a rule, 'to profane' is used in connection with the holy, the Sabbath (29:1, 31:22, 32:3, cf. 44:18, etc.), the Temple (7:12, 23:18), (of the sanctuaries of Tyre), etc., but see 23:22, 32, the sacrifice (29:2, 31:30, etc., but see 44:18); 'defile' is mostly used of idolatry (21:14, 22:10, 30:3, etc.; 29:4, 30:2, 30:9, 30:18, etc.) of the Sabbath, and 30:22 of the Passover 31:22 of the dead (44:18, 39:22, cf. 45:1). Likewise in Ex. and Lev., instead of being opposed to each other, 'profane' and 'unclean' become either occasionally related or as indicating a wider circle of objects and a narrower circle within it (e.g. Lv 8:1, 10:10, 20:21, Ezek 22:7). Something of the same evolution may be traced in ξειλαστικά, which in LXX and the NT acquires the sense of 'unclean' or 'forbidden' (see below, 'Greek' section); in γενεσίας in the secondary meaning of 'vice,' 'mean'; in γενεσίας in the primary meaning of 'vice,' 'mean'; in γενεσίας in the secondary meaning of 'vice,' 'mean'; in γενεσίας in the primary meaning of 'vice,' 'mean; in γενεσίας in the secondary meaning of 'vice,' 'mean; in γενεσίας in the primary meaning of 'vice,' 'mean; in γενεσίας in the primary meaning of 'vice,' 'mean.
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extent, in Roman heathenism, 'holy,' instead of yielding place to 'clean,' became the chief term, whereas 'clean' and 'unclean' were largely used as religious names in the New Testament, and became the chief terms in the New Testament.

(c) Especially in Semitic cult and priestly Godhead, the word 'holy' had an overwhelming power. This is nowhere felt so strongly as in Mosaicism (with its descendents). Notwithstanding the emphasis laid upon holiness in the prophetic passages from Moses onwards, 'holy' was never displaced by 'clean' or identified with it. The moral feeling contributed to widen the gulf between holy and unclean. The supernatural and active power in the Godhead worked still more in this direction. Here the divinity became 'holy' in an emphatic sense. Between the holy and the unclean an intermediate realm was left of indifferent and permitted, unprofane (or 'common') and 'clean things,' with a tendency in 'common' to decline to 'unclean,' and in 'clean' to rise towards 'holy': clean common unclean.

But even in those passages in the OT where this process has advanced furthest, it never identifies 'holy' and 'clean.' 'Holy' is too mysterious, powerful, and divine; God's holiness being His own essence, so that tabernacle religion, to man (cf. Ex 33:10), implies danger; there is nothing so much to be feared as the divine. Here not every danger inherent in the tabernacle has been banished to the unclean. To be near not to be free but the light in the OT religion is, above all, Jehovah (Ex 19, Is 5:7, Jer 3, Ex 20:19-20, and Psalms). Tabu-holiness has been its most important contribution to the history of religion by finding room for the awe-inspiring, supernatural, and yet active character of God characteristic of Mosaicism. A reciprocal action was exercised by the idea of holiness and by the Mosaic-prophetic conception of God.

12. Pure.—In the Avesta, as well as to a great extent in India, the chief concern, as regards tabu, is not the danger of being the clean by the unclean. The tabu 'holy' has lost its inherent supernatural awfulness and power. There is no instance of a man being visited with immediate destruction, without interference of man or society, through coming too close contact with the holy-tabu. The words that come nearest to the idea of personal holiness (Skr. rit), do not suggest any tabu or supernaturalness. 'Pure,' not 'holy,' has become the characterizing word of religion. In such Indian languages as have not borrowed the word and the conception from the Arabs, Christian missionaries are at a loss to express 'holy' in its proper sense. The Skr. word 'rit' (Is 5:1, etc.), transfers the idea from the sphere of Biblical to that of Indian religion. The same term, 'pure,' is used in India for 'saint,' e.g. in the names St. Matthew and St. Paul. Man has more to say, the divine-tabu less. We may compare the Talmudic 'Holy Scriptures defile the hands' with the anxiety of Parsi modele lest the glance of an infidel should defile their holy Scriptures. The holy-clean must be protected rather than the holy-dreaded. The mysterious awfulness of Jehovah has no analogy in the Avesta, where everything was divided between the Good One and the Evil Terrible One. Even in heaven and earth, no. 1 of the mystery of tabu than Avestanism. To both, cattle are tabu-holy, i.e. they must not be killed; they are unclean after death, and thus may not be eaten. In India, even Parsis cut animals as wages for work). Among both peoples the cow is revered.
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India, purification is effected by water, earth, air, smoke, etc. (Inst. of Vepus, xxiii. 88, 91). There also earth has a special cleansing power (Mama, v. 126). Hot water mixed with sulphur and gold-chloride is used to bathe in (Vend. v. 48, 54), and so has the well-known ordeal by melted metal. The tests by water and by fire occupy an important place among the ordeals prescribed by the Sûtras (Sûtra 124, etc.). Ceremonies whereby men are not to be hindered in their work by defilement. To the group of practical exceptions belongs also the rule that impurity does not arise when the whole country is afflicted with a calamity, or in times of great public distress, such as an epidemic or a famine (Inst. of Vepus, xxiii. 37, 54 f.).

In the Avesta the point of view is more consciously conceived and more consciously carried out. A house with priests, castes, woman, children (Vend. iii. ii. 47), the cultivating of corn, trees, irrigation and draining (Vend. iii. 4, 23 f., 39 f.), good appetite (iii. 35, iv. 45), the giving of food (v. 93 and other places), the lifting up of the burrows of Ahura Mazda's animals (iii. 22), the building of bridges (xiv. 18), etc., are co-ordinated as purifying means with, e.g., the holy cow of the country and the dog. Likewise the uncleanness is assimilated to acts injurious to industry and culture.

There is a stock of tabus common to Brahmanism and Avestanism (see, e.g., the Laws of Manu, v., and the Institutes of Vepus, xxii. 6d.) but the difference becomes obvious (a) in that more consistent utilitarian tendency of Avestan purity which, of course, is not carried out, but permits many barbarous tabu-rites, e.g., at child-birth, to remain; (b) in the high appreciation of purity, cleansing, goodness, which is conspicuous in the Dakhshuša (v. xxviii. 5) as the greatest thing next to birth (Vend. v. 21, x. 18); the law of purity is the foremost word (v. 24 f.); the devils tremble before the man that smells of purity after death (xix. 28); and (c) in the dualistic systematizing of clean and unclean. Something of the same process occurs in the OT. The Tabernacle, the temple, the priestly dress, the rest (Ex. 38, 20, Dn 23-24) and the delight (Nah 8:1) of the Sabbath.

13. Exceptions to tabu-rules are due, in most cases, to practical considerations. The claims of real life prevail to a certain extent over the rule of infection by tabu-boly (Hag 2:24) or tabu-unclean (Lv 11:24), but see Hag 4:24. According to Vend. v. 30, a bird that has eaten of a corpse does not defile the tree on which it perches; v. 54, infection of the dead brought by wolf or fox does not spoil the irrigated field; v. 44, a dried-up cistern does not harm; v. 71, a woman may drink pure water although she has brought forth a still-born child. The motive is assigned in Vend. v. 6; otherwise the whole of the splendid world would become polluted, because of innumerable creatures dies. In the case of the cow becoming clean of herself in one year (Vend. vii. 78 f.), we cannot decide whether this is due to her own self-purification or to the provision of a reason for it. To the same category belongs the universal rule that the corpse of a clean animal does not defile (cf. Lv 5:11). According to Indian law, the hand of an artisan, things exposed for sale in a shop, food given to a Brahman (if not by a Sûdra), or food obtained by begging, which a student holds in his hand, the mouth of a woman in the process of kishting (Vend. vi. 10), or a dog when catching a deer, and flesh of animals killed by a dog, etc., are always pure notwithstanding the logic of tabu-infection (Mama, v. 129 f., Inst. of Vepus, xxii. 48 f.).

Carpenters and other workmen are not to be hindered in their work by defilement. To the group of practical exceptions belongs also the rule that impurity does not arise when the whole country is afflicted with a calamity, or in times of great public distress, such as an epidemic or a famine (Inst. of Vepus, xxiii. 31, 54 f.). In these instances the penalty of laws of cleanliness is temporarily abrogated by the hard necessities of life. Quite different are the exceptions noted in the Avesta which are due to the logic of dualism. The corpse of the adorers (holy, pious man) is unclean, because his death means a defeat to life and holliness. On the other hand, the wicked becomes pure after death; his death is an advantage; the infection of a dead body diminishes with the holliness of the man during his life until it disappears in the case of the ungodly (Vend. v. 35 f., xiv. 1 f.). For the real trouble is a dead dog is impure (vi. 1). On the contrary, there is the clerical exception in Brahmanism of the priest Brahman being so holy as to remain clean also after death. The indwelling holy power overpowers impurity in different degrees according to its strength. The impurity lasts ten days for a Brahman; it lasts twelve for a Ksatriya, fifteen for a Vaikya, and a month for a Sûdra (Mama, v. 83). On several occasions the indwelling power is exempt from any defilement. The taint of impurity does not fall on kings, at least while engaged in the discharge of their duties; on devotees performing a vow; or on a man engaged in a sacrificial ceremony (Mama, v. 94; Inst. of Vepus, xxii. 48 f.). When the ceremonies connected with the installation of the monument of a deity or marriage rites have begun, impurity is powerless—it cannot arise (Inst. of Vepus, xxii. 53). The explanation of the fact that no impurity attaches to the king—viz., because he incarnates the eight guardian-deities of the world, who cause and remove purity and impurity of mortals (Mama 24:23)—is evidently of a secondary character; the real reason is found in his own power of holliness or in the claims of practical life.

14. Holiness and morals. In the tabu-interdicts, what we call moral rules and ritual or 'superstitious' commandments are intermingled without any attempt are differentiated. In India the laws belonging to the fetish Mâni contain such prescriptions as not to eat newly slaughtered meat, not to steal, not to lie, not to stand upright when stirring the contents of a pot, not to whistle in the twilight, not to drink palm-wine without having a cap on the head (E. Nordenskiöld, pp. 125, 166). Amongst the rules prescribed for a sudâkshara, a young Brahman who has not yet completed his studentship, are, e.g., not to carry water and fire at the same time, not to drink out of his joined hands, not to touch a raw meat which a calf is tied, always to speak the truth, to conduct himself as an Aryan, to take pleasure in the Veda, never to hurt anything, to restrain his senses, etc. (Gautama, xxii. 515 f., cf. Apastamba, i. 11. 30 (SBE ii. 92 f.). In ch. 125 of the Egyptian Book of the Dead the departed protests to his purity: 'I have not oppressed the feeble one . . . I have not given my bread to any one hungry . . . I am not a murderer . . . not an adulterer . . . The ritual of the Great Purification, O-kuru, in Shinto ceremonial, counts
among `heavenly sins': to destroy the divisions between the rice-fields, to put sticks in the rice-fields, to flay living animals backwards; and among `earthly sins', lynching, incest, and castration; killing the cattle of another, sorcery (H. Weiper, 'Das Schintogetz der grossen Reinigung,' in *Mittel. der deutschen Ges. für Natur- und Volkerkunde* Orientas, 1901, suppl., and *Ancient Japanese Rituals,* in *TASJ* vii. ix. xxvii. 1). Similarly, the Law of Holiness in Lv 19 includes fear of mother and father, prohibition of theft, of deceit, of lying, as well as prohibitions against eating anything with the blood or rounding the corners of the head.

This tabu imperative covers a very wide area in primitive and barbarous culture. In higher civilization a process of reduction takes place. At the same time the idea of obligation is deepened. The separation of ethics from ritualistic rules belongs to a higher moral appreciation of holy and unclean, represented in Greece and Rome by thinkers and poets from Herodotus (frag. 5, in H. Delia, *Fragmente der Forschungskritik* in *Reliqu.,* 1916, i. 75), e.q. Diogenes of Sinope (cleaning water cannot take away a moral fault any more than a grammatical blunder). An Initiated thief has a better lot in Hades than Epaminondas! [Diog. Laert. vi. 2. 42; Cicero, *De Leg.* ii. 10. 24: `animi labes nec diuturnat evanesce nec omnibus ullo melius est petere, etc.']. These protests probably referred to the cathartics of the Mysteries (q.v.) and to Orphism (q.v.). Orphism started as a special, higher holiness! Plato revised and united into an ascetic and pedantic ortho-life, destined to secure a happy life after death. This was the theory of the great Pythagoras also, with whom a higher moral rivalry prevailed. In opposing the later purifying Orphic charlatans, and in taking cleanliness in a purely moral sense (=righteousness) (Plato, *Republic,* 360 f.), Plato expressed the ascetic tendency of the Apollonian, Orphic, and Pythagorean cathartics (the soul must be delivered from the body even in this life through spiritual occupation, `philosophy,' and completely after death (Phadlo, 66 ff.), and the religious character of ethics as a means of salvation and happiness in the life to come (Phadlo, 86 f.; a more positive appreciation of morals prevails in the *Rep.* and other dialogues). The moralization of holiness and cleanliness is urged in the OT by Amos and other prophets, and distinctly stated by Christ (Mt 7:1). The general principle of Lv 19, etc., `Ye shall be holy; for I the Lord your God am holy,' is repeated in 1 P 1, but applied to moral duty in a different sense, and the quotation `holy people' in 1 P 2:9 has no ritual significance. The paradoxical claim laid on the whole people to be holy (see above, § 2) receives a new and higher significance in this way, and can be fulfilled without any limiting or clericalizing of life.

In India, Buddhism opposed an outward and non-moral conception of purity. At the end of the *Dhammapada,* a set of verses explain what it means to be a true Brahman:

*Vasudhara* (a Brahman) by his platted hair, by his family, or by birth: in whom there is truth and righteousness, in whom is bliss, he is a Brahman. What is the use of platted hair, 0 fool! what is the raiment of goatskins? Within thee there is nothing, but the outside thou makest clean! (*Dhammap.,* xxviii. 196 ff.; 355 x. 941, p. x. 941). According to the *Sutta-Nipata,* Kamala explained the sin of eating raw flesh (*dhamagandha*) in this way:

*Destroying living beings, killing, cutting, binding, stealing, sexually unchaste, a thief, a liar, a drunkard, a false and deceitless, worthless reading, intercourse with another's wife, this is dhamagandha, but not the hair.* Neither the flesh of fish, nor eating, nor nakedness, nor treason, . . . purify a mortal who has not com- *mitted his doubt* (*Sutta-Nip.* ii. ii. 3 (341), ii. ii. 11 (340), in *355 x.* ii. ii. 94 f., p. xii. 941).

In Buddhist polemics against Brahmanism the question of purifications always played a part: if water could cleanse from sins, frogs and tortoises, water-snakes and serpents would have had to exist and be happy. The title of the Pali work, the *Visaluddha-magga* of Buddhaghosa, *The Way of Purity,* has nothing to do with ritualistic purifications (H. C. Watters, *Sacc.,* ii. 1913, p. 164 f.). The momentous step in the evolution of holiness and purity consists in this, that holiness becomes a personal quality of the deity and of man, instead of being a substance in things as well as in wills. This evolution is favoured by autonomous moral refine- ment, as in Greece, India, and China, and also by the preponderating conception of the deity as an ethical will, as in Mosaicism. The latter process has had the greater importance for the internal history of religion. As to man, holiness retained its aspect of something supernatural and divine in the NT, notwithstanding its being moralized and per- sonalized. In Jesus, holiness does not depend on man, but is a divine influence. But the making holy of man by God obliges man to strive for per- fection.holiness and purity as an ethical idea, or moral sense, so far as religion implies ethics. It is used of God (Jn 17:11). His name (Lv 1), the city (Mt 4), and temple (1 Co 3) connected with His service; of God (Lk 1); of the angels (1 Co 1) and of the prophets (Lv 1), the men (Mt 27) and women (1 P 3) of old; of John the Baptist (Mk 6); and of Christians (1 Co 1, 1 Co 1, 1 P 2). bound, therefore, to purity in life (Eph 1, 1 Co 6). The language is ritualistic (Ro 12:11) or ascetic, see above, § 7 (c). Jn 10:17; the sense is personal and moral, but it is entirely kept under the sway of religious sacredness.

15. In the Church the `holy' never became a merely ethical word, but chiefly suggests divine, supernatural power. The original meaning of sancta and sanctus in the heathen Roman language re- calls tabo, `well defined,' particularly `sanctified,' as far as sanctus, sanctus meant definitus, destinatus, determinatus (G. Link, *De voces sanctae* usus pagano, Königsberg, 1910, p. 9). It was used of things, places, and men, withdrawn from the common and ordinary (see below, 'Roman' section). In early Christianity all the faithful were called `saints,' because they had been selected and separated by God from the worldly and common humanity— which meant also essentially a moral change and a severe moral obligation. But the word sanctus was used especially (deanized, v.e.) and the quotation `holy people' in 1 P 2:9 has no ritual significance. The paradoxical claim laid on the whole people to be holy (see above, § 2) receives a new and higher significance in this way, and can be fulfilled without any limiting or clericalizing of life.

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Here we encounter, in a higher sphere, the same test as is applied by primitive peoples—to learn whether the departed possesses the power of holiness. It is called by the Greeks, whether his bones when tomahawk, or his soul, when invoked in prayer, are capable of healing sick people, revealing guilt, and accomplishing other wonders. The chief questions held were: did she exist? did she attain to moral perfection? but, in fidelity to the essence and tradition of religion, was there something divine or supernatural about a man? (cf. F. Champier, Quo aut quae suum accidit? Paris, 1910). We may refer to the important role played in the process of canonization of Joan of Arc (introduced in 1869, ended by the decree of Pius IX. on 12th April 1909) by certain healing miracles performed by her on nuns who implored her help, even at the end of last century. The underlying thought is that holiness means revelation of divine power. Only religion might recognize that supernatural manifestation, not in cases of auto-suggestion or the like, but in creative genius, high personal idealism, and ready obedience to the mysteries of divine guidance and to vocation. Joan of Arc could well stand that more severe test. See, further, Hamburger (J.T.G. 1821).

16. Holiness has had its most notable history in Western civilization with its antecedents. There it has become the greatest word in religion, the last word of piety so far, as well as the first. Western observers, who form their conception of religion from Biblical or Islamic examples of piety have an exaggerated perception of the absence of awe in Eastern religions. In the West (using this term in a wide sense, to include Persia; cf. Wessely-Czartoryski, Die Erbauungskunst, Leipzig, 1904, § 61) the unawakened sense of the holy has accompanied religion all through its history and has gained strength on the heights of religious experience. But at the same time mystical feelings, which still survive in modified forms in the lower strata of civilization and in highly cultured and deliberately organized minds, still draw their nourishment from a primitive conception of the holy.

17. The imperative and unconditioned character of the holy, being anterior to any definite idea of divine commandments (cf. T. T. Plessen, Der Ursprung der Religion und Kunst, in Globus, Ixxxi. [1904], 321 ff., 355 ff., 375 ff.), cannot be derived from it. Nor has it originated in pre-Christian theogony, but in conceptions of negative magic (§ 67) or of hygiene. To say that the categorical tabu is an initial mistake of human psychology is an exaggeration, only axiological appreciation. The time-honoured sociological theory recognizes the momentous importance of society to religion. But, as far as lower culture is concerned, the derivation of the holy institutions and beings from a mysterious apprehension of society seems to be artificial. In the higher culture, holiness and mysticism most consciously put their ideals beyond society. According to the history of religion itself, the conception of the tabu results, as we have seen, in the idea of the supernatural.

LITERATURE—This is indicated in the article. See also T. W. Walzer, Geschichte des Hellanen im griech. Welt, Wiesbaden, 1916; E. Fabius, Die heilige Kunst. Rouen, 1910.

NATHAN SÖDERBLOM.

HOLINESS (Greek).—In its ordinary use 'holiness' is a word both of religions and of high ethical significance. But, while it is always a religious word, it has often little or no ethical connotation. Thus, in primitive religion, holiness is often conceived as physical, though doubtless with an implicit sense of something deeper. It is an essentially religious concept, and it is natural to regard as sacred things reckoned divine, or, on the negative side, it is freedom from bad spirits, which are conceived as physical, and against which physical precautions are taken (W. R. Smith, Rel. Sem., London, 1894, p. 161; J. E. Harrison, Hymns to the Sun, Cambridge, 1908, pp. 39, 186, etc.). Sometimes, again, 'holiness' indicates what is merely 'formal, as the relation in which a particular place stands to a divine being or to a region of the human freedom to enter within it (W. R. Smith, 118, 180). It would be easy to illustrate these non-ethical conceptions, as well as the tabu customs founded upon them (cf. Soderblom's art. HOLINESS above), from the history of Greek, especially primitive Greek, religion. But in the present article we shall deal only with the higher conception of holiness, meaning thereby, on the one hand, the moral perfection of God, and, on the other, human goodness viewed in relation to God. How and how far did the idea of holiness, as thus defined, enter into Greek religious thought?

1. Greek national religion.—From at least as early as the Homeric age two contrasting types of worship prevailed in Greece. The one was devoted to the sunny deities of Olympus, the other to the gloomy chthonian, or under-world, powers (cf. W. M. Ramsay, in H.D.L. v. 148). The latter is usually regarded as the earlier of the two, and, though it never became a part of the national religion, was preserved in local cults throughout the historic period (cf. Harrison, p. 11, and passim; L. R. Farnell, O.G.S., Oxford, 1898-1900). In spite of serious defects, it contained much of ethical value, which, as we shall see, is an important element in Greek religious thought. Meantime our concern is with the religion which centred in the Olympian gods and goddesses. Canonicalized by Homer and Herodot, these became the object of national or pan-Hellenic, as distinct from merely local, worship.

For our present purpose we may consider this national religion, first in its popular, and then in its literary, aspect.

1. Popular religion.—The Greek religion was one of easy trust in the gods, of simple and serene piety. It was satisfied to acknowledge the blessings of the gods by the payment of traditional observances. Such a religion was prone to become 'the art of giving something in order to get more in return, a species of haggling in the celebral market' (F. B. Jevons, Introd. to Hist. of Rel., London, 1886, p. 224), and this is in fact the account given by Socrates in the Symposium (Plato, Euth. 14) of the current conviction of negative magic (§ 67). Plato may have rated the popular religion too low (cf. F. B. Jevons, Introd. to The Makers of Hellas, by E.E.G., London, 1903, p. 128) and we must often have expressed real gratitude. But it is certainly true that the idea of moral purity as a matter vitally affecting man's relations to the gods was foreign to the spirit of Greek religion. That spirit was essentially one with the spirit of Greek art, which derived its inspiration not from the supernatural, but from the visible, world. Hence the Greek gods were but magnified men, superior, as G. L. Dickinson points out, in external gifts such as strength, beauty, and immortality, but not in spiritual or even moral attributes. This being so, the average Greek did not trouble about his spiritual relation to the gods. 'To the Puritan, the inward relation of the soul to God is everything; to, the average Greek, one may say, as it was nothing' (Dickinson, The Greek View of Life, London, 1896, p. 18). Greek ethics no less than Greek religion was dominated by the artistic spirit. And hence human goodness meant to the Greek not indeed a relation to the gods, but an inward harmony. 'The good man was the man who was beautiful—beautiful in person (p. 184).

2. Literary ideas.—Here we shall consider
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and the moral aspect in which the gods are presented to us in Greek literature. In Homer and Hesiod, from whom popular religion drew its chief inspiration, the gods were said to find any idea of divine holiness. It is true that Homer often presents the gods, especially Zeus, in a noble and even sublime moral aspect. Yet their conduct, as reflected in the myths, is often an outrage upon morality and the reason that moral perfection was not felt or seen to be an essential part of the divine nature. 'Never,' says Nægelsbach, speaking of Homer, 'is an epitome applied to the good nature, indicating a consciousness similar to that with which the Bible speaks of the holiness of the true God' (Homer. Theology, Nüremberg, 1891, p. 81). Not only is polytheism 

gradually purged of its grosser elements, not only is there an approach to monotheism in the more

ascetic aspirations of Zeus over the other gods (J. Adam, Relig. Teachers of Greece, Edinburgh, 1868, p. 58; J. P. Mahaffy, Social Life in Greece, London, 1875, p. 94), but Zeus himself is regarded in a more spiritual aspect. This is particularly true of Aeschylus and Sophocles. In Aeschylus 'we find an ideal of divine righteousness precisely parallel to that of Hebrew prophecy' (L. Campbell, Relig. in Gr. Lit., London, 1866, p. 390). Sophocles, on the other hand, comes nearer the Christian standpoint in the more gracious aspect under which he views the divine justice. 'Zeus is no longer solely the awful dispenser of doom, but "he hath Mercy for the partner of his throne"' (A. M. Adam, in Early Ideals of Righteousness, Edinburgh, 1910; Soph. Ed. Col., 1896; cf. Philo). The idea of divine purity, however, was especially associated with Apollo (L. B. Farquhar, in HDB v. 145). And the purity of the divine nature is measured by the purity which Apollo demanded of his worshippers. At first it was freedom from homicidal guilt, and such as could be attained by ritual; later it was viewed as inward, and as extending to all the relations of life (ib. 145, 147; E. C. G., Makers of Hellas, p. 355 ff.; cf. esp. the story of Glaucus, in Herod., vi. 96).

2. Mystical conceptions of holiness.—From the ideas of holiness proper to the national religion we pass to others, different in kind, and likewise more profound, introduced by the new spirit of philosophic inquiry. These influences were widely diffused by various teachers, and by the end of the 5th cent. had revolutionised the religious thought of Greece. It is of the epoch of those epochs in the history of our race which mark a wide-spread access of spiritual vitality (p. 127). Greek philosophy was undermining traditional belief in the national thought. Where truth had been sought for by mythical rite, including a sacrament (such as was regarded as an act of union with the divine. Such a sacrament as we need describe, however, was the character of the Orphic movement, which powerfully affected Greek religious life from the 6th cent. onwards. Although it probably owed much to foreign influence—indeed, its chief mystery, the Orphic doctrine of the 4th cent., was a development of a religion which appeared to a religious instinct already potent in the old Athenian religion, previously mentioned, namely, to its profound sense of evil seen in the loss of the perception of the supreme happiness, and in the rites of purification (ib. 24–29, 162). It should be added that philosophy and mysticism were to a large extent the outcome of a single movement. Orphism had its speculative side, while philosophers like Pythagoras and, at a later time, Plato were steeped in mysticism. There can be no doubt that speculation and mysticism had much to do with the growing spirituality of the national religion (cf. HDB v. 147), but they were both foreign to its spirit. We have now to examine conceptions of holiness which were essentially mystical, though they were to some extent reflected in Greek philosophy.

In doing this we are duty-bound, and chiefly concerned with the human aspect of holiness. It is true that Greek philosophy sometimes lays stress on the goodness of God. Thus we find in Plato (Resp. ii. 379 A) that the fundamental features of the teaching of Pythagoras and of Plato. Probably Pythagoras owed it to the influence of the mysteries, as it is closely related to the essential kinship of the human and divine natures, which is a cardinal doctrine of Orphism. 'The Pythagorean ethical doctrine... has a thoroughly religious character: to follow God and to become like Him is its highest principle' (Zeller, Pref. to Socrates Phil., London, 1881, i. 719 ff.). It is, however, the sacrament which, though it is hinted at by Socrates, occupies a prominent position in the teaching of Plato, whose 'conception of the ethical and... is... assimilation to God' (Zeller, op. cit. 158; for Plato, cf. Theol. 176 B, Laws, 718 C, Tim. 29–30). We cannot here attempt to trace fully the influence of this idea in Greek literature, but we may say that it is reflected in the cardinal doctrine of the Stoics, that man should live according to Nature—which, in their view, was only another name of God.

Holiness as communion with God.—But, again, the relation to God implied in holiness is often thought of as communion. This aspect of holiness is reflected in the Orphic doctrine of the Orphic god which the Orphic regarded as the goal and crown of the spiritual life. The god in question was Dionysus Zagreus, who was born again after his disembarrassment by the Titans. There is here a signification that Dionysus, though admitted to the Olympic pantheon in his character as a wine-god—a name foreign to Orphism—was later regarded as Orphic, as he does in this his Orphic aspect, to the class of
chonian powers. Like the worshipper in that old Orphic age, Orphic prophecies delusions from evil, but his conception of evil was more ethical. And, while to the former purify meant freedom from divine anger, to the latter it meant union with the divine in this high Orphic sense is ἁγιότης. The words ἀγίος and ἁγιάζω also refer to holiness, the holiness that comes of consecration—in the former case, to the powers of the lower world, in the latter, to those of Olympus. But in both the consecration is thought of chiefly in its negative aspect, as prohibition or taboo; it is the direction to unseen powers, in which the idea of the blessing readily passes into that of the curse. On the other hand, ἁγίος and ἁγιάζω are words of positive content. Their prevailing sense is that of freedom, which to the Orphic meant freedom from the moral or negative part (Harrison, 57 ff., 805 f.). Consecration (ἁγιάζω), perfect purity issuing in divinity, is . . . the keynote of Orphic faith, the goal of Orphic ritual (cf. 419).

We have been dealing with what may be called the mystical aspect of holiness. But in this sense especially holiness may be said to involve the element of love, which is itself an aspect of goodness. It is just here, however, that we see the limitations of the Greek idea of holiness. Even the Orphics, though steeped in the mysticism of love, did not perceive that holiness and love are really inseparable ideas. Accordingly, in actual religion he turned to Dionysos, in mystical dogma to Eros, in doctrine to the Graphic the Creator of all things; especially he is thought of as the source of life, and of life's ecstasy (cf. Harrison, ch. xii.). But he was, as Orphic doctrine shows, he is a poetical as much as a religious conception. Yet the Orphics did unconnectedly associate holiness with love, since they showed that the pathway to be taken lay through a mystical union with the divine.

Orphic views had a deep influence on Greek literature. Of this, so far as concerns our subject, two illustrations may be given:

(a) Euripides—Euripides is certainly not to be described as an exponent of Orphism. On the other hand, the Bacchae, whatever may be its central motive, is full of Orphic mysticism.

No other ancient poet shows so rapturous a feeling of the kinship between man and nature. The very title is "Thrilled with ecstasy" in sympathy with the frenzied votaries of the god (Mac. 82 f.). This god of the abyss, eating throughout the whole of nature, both inorganic and organic, making the universe into a living, breathing whole, and we are stirred with a new sense of union with the mystery that surrounds us" (J. Adam, 817).

And if the Orphic longing for spiritual freedom, seen in lines like the following:

1 Happy be, on the weary sea
Who hath died to commerce and the heaven.
Happy who hath risen free,
Above his striving!

(Ex. 91 f., Murray's tr.)

Finally, holiness is personified in the chorus beginning: "Our adored deity (Bacch. 871). It will be seen that she is addressed by her Orphic name, and J. E. Harrison refers to her as 'Hecia, the real Heavenly Justice, she who brings Right and Sanction and Freedom and Purity all in one' (op. cit. p. 507). Nor is her aspect less lofty in Murray's exquisite free rendering of the opening lines of the choruses:

1 Then immediately on high:
Then Recording Purity,
Then that stoopeth, Golden Wing,
Earthward, manward, plying,
And veil with all its mighty shawls,

That an idea of holiness as high as it is mystical is reflected in the Bacchae may be safely gathered from these citations. At the same time, it is important to remember that what we have before us is not a monothetic, still less a Christian, conception of divine Holiness. The ground note of religious feeling in the Bacchae, here as elsewhere, is pantheistic. Holiness is, indeed, personified by the poet, and, so regarded, is one among many divine beings. But in its religious and ethical significance it is simply an aspect, profoundly realized, of the divine running through the whole of Nature.

(b) Plato.—But the Orphic view of holiness is most fully reflected in Plato, although to some extent modified, chiefly by being rationalized. We have seen that Plato described the ethical and as assimilation to God. But he also taught that perfection consists in communion with participation in the divine, of which, in the Platonic view of the divine, the soul is an essential part (p. 438), 'the theory of likeness is only a kind of explanatory gloss' (cf. Plato, Parm. 182 D). It is in the Phaedo, that the theory of participation in the divine nature (cosmic, etc.) is most fully developed. In the Symposium, on the other hand, Plato describes human perfection under the imagery of love. It is the soul's marriage with her ideal, or it is the beatific vision of the unities of the real world of an eternal world. It must, indeed, be observed that in Plato the soul does not enter into direct relation with the Supreme Being, 'the Good' (cf. Resp. vi. 508 E, 509 B, with Tew. 28 C), but only with the Ideas, to which, however, he also attributes a real transcendental existence (Resp. v. 478 A ff.; Resp. 57 D ff.; and Aristotle's account of Plato in Met. A 6, 987b 29 987b 10). Again, the relation is predominantly intellectual. Even the love described in the Symposium is primarily an intellectual one.

But, on the other hand, the Ideas are in very truth the Platonic equivalent of Gods' (J. Adam, 431); while to Plato true knowledge of the good grasps the real and abiding. And wisdom is Plato's highest good, is an act, primarily, indeed, of the intellect, yet affecting also every part of the soul. Lastly, Plato marks an advance in Orphism, in that he is one and the same divine being whose perfection the soul shares, and after which its love aspires.

In Orphism and in Platonic speculation we reach the highest Greek conception of holiness. It does not lie within the scope of this article to discuss its obvious limitations. It must suffice to say that the loftier Christian conception depends upon a nobler and more satisfying conception of God, as a supreme Father, who enters into direct personal relations with His children, and who the goodness is at once perfect holiness and perfect love.

LITURGIA.—This is sufficiently indicated in the article.

HOLINESS (NT and Christian)—I. NEW TESTAMENT DOCTRINE.—The NT continues and completes the most spiritual teaching of the OT prophets and psalmists with respect to holiness (cf. Semitic 'sart'). The background to Christian doctrine, however, is still pietist and legalistic, and many instances of the ceremonial conception of holiness appear in the NT writings. Inanimate things or places, such as Jerusalem, the Temple, the inner sanctuary, the Scriptures, the Mount of Transfiguration, are spoken of as 'holy' by virtue of its special association with God. Indeed, the whole NT terminology on the subject is directly borrowed from ceremonial sources, in respect of altar, sprinkling, oblations, putting away sin, and the like. But this ritual phraseology is now given an inward spiritual signification, its form being "having been sanctified only 'unto a time of reformation' (He 7:12). Christians themselves must now be "veritable temples, priests, vessels, and altar gifts, sanctified for the offering of purely spiritual sacrifices" (Ro 12:1; 1 Co 6:1; 1 P 5:2; 2 Ti 2:24). Thus the emphasis in the conception of holiness becomes increasingly ethical, having advanced from the outward to the inward, from the
negative to the positive, from the merely ceremonial act to the moral and spiritual motive.

An interesting illustration of the passing of the word "holiness" from the ceremony in 1 Co 7:1, where the unbelieving husband is spoken of as being "sanctified", to its "sepulchral" use in 1 Th 4:5, where Paul urges the church to prove that the holiness of a Christian transmits itself forthwith to those who are associated with him ("in Christ"). It occurs in this sense in 2 Cor 11:2, Tit 1:14, 2 Pet 3:11, and 1 Pet 2:2. For study of the Greek terms used in the NT to designate holiness and kindred ideas, see HEB, s.v. "holiness" and "sanctification"; for the extension of the conception of holiness to things and places, see ARTS. CONSECRATION and HOLINESS (General and Primitive); and for a discussion of ritual purification as a part of the Christian practice, see C. P. Farnell, The Evolution of Religion, London, 1906, pp. 128-132.

Partly, perhaps, because of these ritual associations, Jesus makes very little use of the technical vocabulary of holiness. He prefers the prophetic form of expression, 'Be ye perfect, as your Father in heaven is perfect' (Mt 5:48; cf. Dt 18:13), to the more formal formula, 'Be ye holy, for I am holy' (Lv 11:44).

Jesus avoided almost entirely the usual OT designation of God as the 'Holy One' of Israel, except in the phrase 'Holy Spirit'. The reason appears to be that Jesus regarded the LXX translation of many of His words, and the same thought to be real holiness—negative and temporary. True "holiness" is applied to spiritual things, and is to be positive, not negative. It is to consist in imitating the Holy One, not in washing, nor in abstaining from meats, but in being, as He is, "perfect in will and deed, benevolent and beneficent to all" (S. J. M. Abbott, The Son of Man, Camb., 1910, p. 868; see also H. Montefiore, The Synoptic Gospel, London, 1909, p. 537-538).

It is, then, in moral likeness to God that man's perfection in holiness consists. The NT has no hesitation in applying the same term to both God and man, and in bidding us 'be holy as he is holy'. God is holy, because, as the absolute moral Reality of the world, separable from all evil and infinite in every excellence, He is pledged by His own nature to secure a perfect and loving righteousness everywhere, even at the cost of redemption. Man is holy when he is brought by grace into that relationship to God by which the Divine righteousness may be honoured and conserved. The progressive ethicizing of this idea constitutes the Biblical revelation, and Christ's advance on the OT teaching in this respect consists in His own unique conception and manifestation of God. "God is the Holy Father", being who freely loves and saves His guilty children, not only without any sacrifice of His Divine sanctity, but even by His own sacrifice of Himself. This combination of holiness and love in God constitutes His Excelling glory. The holiness hinders us and forbids an unethical presumption on His kindness. The Fatherhood attains so completely by forbidding a despairing dread of His commandments. And the acknowledging of this essential glory of the Father, by a reverent hallowing of His name in life and service, must ever be bound up with the coming of His kingdom and the doing of His will on earth as it is done in heaven.

This characteristic NT association of the holiness of God with the Divine Fatherhood recurs in an important passage, Heb. 10:29, where God is spoken of, in the language of the home, as a Father chastening His children 'that they may be partakers of His holiness'. Here, too, we have a breaking away from the more negative OT view of the Divine holiness. God disciplines us through suffering, that we may enter into that Holy relationship of Consent and Communal Love (or Love-for-Good) in which true holiness consists. On the meaning of God's holiness and its relation to holiness in man, see F.P.R., s.v. 'Hallelujah! God is AT'; "Sundays-Headlam on Ro 1:7", and Hort on 1:11-12.

Man's holiness thus consists in a perfect moral soundness, the consecration of all his powers and opportunities to the worship of God, and the realization of his gracious purposes in history. Of such a perfect holiness Jesus Christ Himself is the unique example. For this very purpose the Holy Father consecrated Him and sent Him into the world, so that He was holy from the beginning (He 10:10); and in the same purpose Jesus steadfastly consecrated Himself to the end (Jn 17:18). Through an eternal Spirit He offered Himself without blemish to God (He 9:14). The result was something more than mere sinlessness. It was the full presentation, in the perfection of obedience to God Himself, of the holiness of the Father's own holiness, through the pouring of the Spirit without measure upon Him, and His own perfect purification of human guilt (He 10:14) Christ both fulfilled and abolished the whole sacrificial system (He 10:19-20), and became unto men 'sanctification' (He 10:10), the objective ground or warrant of the believer's new standing of holiness before God. Through the one offering of His body on the cross He 'perfected for ever them that are being sanctified' (He 10:14), i.e. He effected in principle the complete sanctification of His people in the eternal future, rendering them independent of every other sacrifice (He 10:14).

Further, the holiness of Christ, which conditions that of the Christian, also guarantees it. 'Both he that sanctifieth and they that are sanctified are all of one' (He 2:19). Being separated unto God in baptism, believers find themselves washed, sanctified, justified in the name of the Lord Jesus (Ro 6:4), and, entering into all the privileges of the old covenant on a new plane, they know themselves to be an elect race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people for God's own possession' (1 P 2:9, Dn 7:18). Such believers are already called 'saints', not because of their attainments, but because of their new standing as regenerated or 'sanctified in Christ Jesus' (1 Co 6:11), who is the encompassing sphere, as it were, in which the whole process is begun, continued, and perfected. Having Him as Holy Spirit, they themselves are holy, earmarked, destined, and set apart from everything profane, as belonging to God's kingdom, although as yet they may be no more than babes in Christ, or even carnal.

It still remains, however, that this preliminary implicit hallowing of the innermost personality shall become explicit in a holy character and manifest itself in every sphere of daily conduct (cf. Hort on 1 P 1:15). The Christian must work out in practice what he already is in principle, since deliverance from the guilt of sin through justification involves deliverance from its power through sanctification. There is thus a growth of holiness represented in it (1 T 2:12). The NT is explicit in emphasizing the ethical nature of true holiness, its contrast to all licence and uncleanness (Ro 6:19; 1 Th 4:4), Christians must consecrate their bodies as well as their souls; and all sins against the body, which is God's temple, are tantamount to sacrilege (Ro 13:13; 1 Co 6:18). Stress is also laid on the importance of our co-operating effectually with the power of God (2 Co 7:1, Jn 4:14, 1 P 1:21, 1 Jn 3:3). Yet the whole process is spoken of as wrought by the Holy Spirit in his joint work with us (Ro 6:17, 1 Co 6:20; Eph 5:26), and is connected with our faith (Ac 10:38; 2 P 1:3).
Indeed, the two agencies are regarded as
complementary and inseparable (Eph 1, 2, Ph 2, 16, Tit 3, 8). The Spirit sanctifies. Nor is NT holiness a merely
negative or self-regarding sinlessness, an ascetic
purity or abstention from known sin. It implies
the presence of activities understood, with God’s
goodness in the realm of daily life. As such,
Christian holiness is necessarily a social grace,
and it ripens many gifts and augments many idio-
syncrasies of character. So impossible is the
perfecting of holiness in isolation that the NT never
contemplates a single "saint," but speaks constantly
of "the saints" or a "holy people." The root of
Christian holiness is faith, and its flower is love;
and the sphere for the cultivation of this holy
love in Christ is His body, the church.
Christian Church (1 Co 12, 28; Eph 1, 25, Col 3, 22).
The final goal of the Christian life is complete
holiness, the deliverance of the soul from the guilt,
penance, and power of sin, as also, through its perfecting in holy love (1 Jn 1, 9; 2, 3). It is the teaching of John that this
follows inevitably from the believer’s dwelling in
Him who is the negation of all sin and its de-
stroyer, and who came not only to impute but also
to impart righteousness, even as He is righteous.
We may the D-"gospel" of the Holy Spirit abide
in the child of God, the kinship to Satan is
necessarily annulled, and the Christian need not,
must not, does not, and cannot sin, since it is im-
possible that he who is begotten of the holy spirit
should sin in the same breast. Whether John is here speaking
of an actual attained experience (G. G. Findlay,
158-64), or of the general implications of an ideal faith (P. T. Forsyth,
Christian Perfection, London, 1910, pp. 1-49), is
a matter of dispute. Strictly speaking, only the
eternal Son was fully perfect. Even in regenerate
Christians, allowance has still to be made for occa-
sional lapsing into transgression through ignorance,
sin, or due to one's weaknesses or failings. Such sin,
however, does not reign, as it does in the unre-
generate. It is not unto death, and can plead the
Advocate with the Father. The Christian perfect-
tion taught in the NT is the filling of righteousness
but blamelessness and loyalty, the staying of the heart
in the obedience and love of God through faith,
however the feet may be betrayed by the heedless
ness of sin into hidden snare.
It is (a) relative to our createdly and earthly limits;
(b) derived from God’s grace in Christ, not based
on any merits of our own; or, (c) incapable of indefinite improvement; (d) attainable or
attainable, not guaranteed to perpetuity, but (e)
conditional on faith, our striving against sin, and
steadfast abiding in the love of God. It will also
be characterized by humility, contrition, and self-
disarmament. Such earthly or relative perfec-
tion, which consists in faith, is necessarily different
from that full and final perfecting which crowns
our faith, and which awaits the consummation of
Christ’s atoning work (Ro 6, 5; 2 Co 3, 18, Ph 1, 9).

We may now attempt to gather into a few
propositions the teaching of the NT on this subject,
without losing sight of the warning reminder of
Lord Morley, that holiness is the "deepest of all
the words that defy definition" (Voltaire, London,
1878, p. 175).—(1) Holiness is the sovereignly moral
or self-regarding sinlessness, an ascetic
costume of our own. Or, as John, as the end of the
element in it, which, to secure the ends of right-
eousness, evokes a reaction of wrath or self-defence
against sin, would impair its purity and intensify
it. (2) It is the holy that makes the doctrine, makes
it racial, eternal, sure, changeless, and invincible
(P. T. Forsyth, The Principle of Authority, London,
1912, p. 211).—(2) Christian holiness results from the
imparting to man of God’s own holiness, as it
is mediated through Christ in a new creation. (3)
In one aspect, it is the fruit of sanctifying grace
in us, the effect of the Holy Spirit working in our
faith, to separate us from sin, perfect us in good-
ness, and enable us to do the will of God. In another
aspect, it is the result of our own moral
effort and aspiration of faith—an effort engaging
the entire personality, body and soul, in the
life of righteousness and love. (6) Such holiness
implies the existence of the Christian community,
as the necessary soil and atmosphere in which it
lives, and (6) it is a continuous and progressive
spiritual discipline. (7) Finally, while the NT
distinguishes holiness as something larger than moral-
ity, it yet knows of no divorce between righteousness and virtue. 'Holiness is virtue rooted in the religious
relation.... The distinction between holiness and virtue is qualitative, not quantitative' (W. R. Inge,

II. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT. The materials
presented in the NT were very variously utilized
in the history of the Church. Now one aspect,
and now another, of the full-orbed Christian
discipline was singled out and emphasized, and the conception of holiness changed with every changing
view of the nature of the will, of the sin of the
abandoned, and of the goal of ideal perfection to be attained.

1. Gnosticism introduced into the Christianity
of the early Church a crude Oriental dualism and a
fantastic Greek systematization, which tended to
substitute a metaphysical or semi-physical
cosmology of redemption, with an allegorizing
of history, for the NT gospel of the Incarnation.
2. Evil was identified with the master evil;
consisted in the exaltation of the soul from unhalled
immersion in the material world of sense
to its true spiritual home in the Divine spheres,
by means of ascetic purifications, mystical rites,
and the illumination of a special gnosis granted to
the pneumatic or truly spiritual Christian, and
superior to the hyletic. The world, the flesh, and
the devil were identified as the agent of evil. This
resulted in a kind of ascetic holiness, more theosophic
and speculative than ethical and spiritual.
2. On the other hand, Montanism, or pro-
plastic holiness, was a protest against the rapid
"secularization" of the Church as it spread through
the Roman Empire in the 2nd century. It sought,
by a more ascetic discipline and the cultivation of
the spirit of ascetic 'prophecy' among the laity, to
distinguish the congregation of the 'holy' not only
from the world outside the Church, but also from
the worldly elements within it, in view of the ex-
pected advent of the Lord in Parthi. Montanism
went beyond the NT conception of holiness in
affirming a new dispensation of the Spirit. 'The
Paraclete has revealed greater things through
Montanus than Christ has revealed through the
Gospel' (pseudo-Tertullian, 50). Yet it was a serious
attempt to realize the ideal of the 'holy Church'
by insisting that a pristine purity of communion
must necessarily accompany established purity of
document. Montanism was the first of many efforts
made within Christianity to restrict the members-
ship of the Church to those actually holy, which
crually elected. Negatively, it forced the Church

1 'No holy person is not good, but not every good person is holy. The distinguishing feature of holiness would seem to reside in something which has been good, but at any rate in addition to it,...... There is a touch of excess in holiness. It is not a matter of rule and policy...... of more or less of nothing and all, Holiness needs focus' (C. G. Montefiore, Truth in Religion, London, 1892, p. 28).
2 The harmony of will, a perfect self-dedication, death to self
3 Migne, P. L. 91.
gradually to take up the position, especially after the Novatian and Donatist controversies of the 3rd and 4th centuries, that its holiness consists not necessarily in the moral purity of all its members, but in the official and inalienable connection of its orders with the Holy Spirit, the true doctrine it teaches, the eminent saints it can produce—i.e., in the possession of grace and holiness in the deposit of faith and in the sacraments. 'The Church ... was legitimised by the possession of the apostolic tradition instead of by the realising of that tradition in heart and life' (A. Harnack, History of Dogma, Eng. tr., London, 1894–99, ii. 83).

This realisation was thus openly given to higher and lower planes of sanctity within the Church, led, first of all, to a duality of practice, still under ordinary social conditions, reflected in a theory of the 'Two Lives' by C. Bign, Divided a negative aspect of the Church of Alexandria, Oxford, 1886, p. 83 ff.; E. Hatch, Influence of Greek Ideas, London, 1890, p. 164 ff., and finally to Monasticism as a fresh type of ascetic holiness. By its monasticism may be regarded as a continuation of the aims of Montanism or Puritanism, without its anti-sociological elements, and welcomed by the Church. Desiring of making the majority even of its own members holy, the Church sought to counteract the prevailing laxity by approving, side by side with ordinary Christianity, and in loose attachment even to the sacraments, the pursuit of holiness by particularly religious persons, released from ordinary social obligations. Thus, whereas Jesus asked 'His followers be perfect,' and the NT 

'Quare mundum est, utrumque debeat homo sine pecato esse. Pecul. dubio dabit. Si debes, potes; si non debes, argo nec debes; si et non debes homo esse sine pecato, debes argo sine pecato; si jam pecatum non sis, tali deseris conscius.'

"... Asceticism was therefore regarded as an ideal 'Gnostic' as one who took his place in the daily round, 'acting the drama of life which God has given him to play' (Strom. vii. 11), monasticism confined the religious to a professional class, who should make the cultivation of holiness a distinct calling by fleeing from the world. Based thus on a religious egoism and an essentially dualistic view of the world, both of them alien to Christ's spirit, monasticism cultivated a unique sanctity, not to inner renunciation or detachment from the world, with an exemplary practice of the ordinary Christian virtues, but to an external abnegation of all property and marriage, and to the practice of artificially selected virtues such as poverty, chastity, and contemplative silence in monasticism, too, the holy man tended to identify himself with the sufferings and death of Christ rather than with the quickening Spirit. Holiness was to be attained and peace won by refinements of mortification, a severe penitence, and the rigours of self-disciplinary effort, rather than by the free gift of God's sanctifying Spirit operating on the soul through faith.

1The Ascetic theory has always rested in the context between the human and the Divine; too often forgetting that the Divine Spirit is not merely the upriser and witness, but the Almighty Agent also in the destruction of sin (W. B. Pope, Compendium of Christian Theology, London, 1889, ii. 36).

There was, no doubt, gain as well as loss in the ideal of monasticism. It kept the light of religion burning in dark ages, and rebuked all dilute forms of holiness by the example of a herculean and thoroughgoing renunciation. But its defect was that it made little or no provision for the ordinary man to become a Christian—i.e., the average man, and left to itself the world which it should have leavened. The degree of individualism marking monasticism varied in different countries and at different epochs; often becoming, especially in the

West, social and co-operative within the narrow circle of the monastery, as well as devoted to works of general utility. But still its holiness remained at heart a 'straightforward asceticism,' in marked contrast to the ideals of the NT.

4. A new conception emerged in Pelagianism, which may perhaps be described as a kind of natural holism, Christianity with a clear and consistent revelation, man is capable of perfect conformity to the will of God, which prescribes nothing impossible. In so far as man is not capable of conforming to the Divine ideal, he cannot be charged with sin for failing to do so. This is no sin prior to the actual choice of evil by the free will.

'Quare mundum est, utrumque debeat homo sine pecato esse. Pecul. dubio dabit. Si debes, potes; si non debes, argo nec debes; si et non debes homo esse sine pecato, debes argo sine pecato; si jam pecatum non sis, tali deseris conscius.'

The essentially rationalistic system of belief in the inherent capacity of man to achieve all the righteousness required of him appears in history in various forms as Montanism and modern Naturalism. But it belittles the Divine demand, lays stress on sympathetic goodness rather than on the holiness that is mediated through faith, rejects both atonement and grace, and conflicts with the normal Christian consciousness of sin and grace.

5. This truth was brought out by Augustine, who made the keystone of his entire system the utter dependence of the believer, for the beginning, middle, and end of Christian holiness, on the free, indispensable, supernatural, prevenient, and irresistible grace of God. It is of Christian holiness received prominence in Augustine: (a) its personal, emotional aspect, as a clearing to the Lord God, the living individual relationship of faith, humility, and love, which appropriates the Divine Spirit and leads at last to life's blissful goal of perfect knowledge, vision, righteousness, fruition, and eternal rest; and (b) its social aspect, as a grace mediated to us only by means of and within the Christian Church, which is the cœnas dei, the Kingdom of God on earth, and the sole sphere of sanctification. Augustinianism has attached equal importance to the inward experience of grace and to its outward ecclesiastical attestation; but the essential faculty of the infused love of God, as conditioning our holiness, rather than on the soul's new religious standing through forgiveness and regenerate faith, gave a direction to the Church's doctrine on this subject which was not to receive a corrective until the Reformation.

6. From Augustine sprang the medieval conception of 'sacramental holiness,' which was developed in systematic detail by the scholastics, and reached its final form in the Catholicism of the Council of Trent. The characteristic features of this type are the objective provision for man's holiness in the supernatural grace of the sacraments, and the place assigned to merit in the process of sanctification. The principle of holiness and righteousness is Jesus Christ. We become members of His body, and share in the fruits of His Incarnation and Passion; when we receive Christ's graces of His Holy Spirit. This present grace is a supernatural power or quality infused into the soul by means of the Divinely appointed sacraments or through prayer. It imparts an impulse towards righteousness and God, obliter-
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...sary condition of beholding and being united to God, through purgation, illumination, the remuneration of all creatures, and the elevation of the soul above the distractions of the world of time and sense. In its extreme forms, mysticism tends to dispense with everything external and intermediary, and to wander into vague regions that are non-Christian and pantheistic, and even pantheistic, thus making a fatal sacrifice of the Divine holiness. Christian mysticism frequently tends to depart from NT holiness by seeking to approach God otherwise than through the Incarnate Word, the means of grace, and the sole relationship of faith, as well as in the whole manner of laying emphasis on finitude rather than sinfulness, immanence rather than transcendence, communion rather than forgiveness, feeling and imagination rather than will and conscience, the bliss of personal absorption in the life of God rather than a life of filial obedience to His will. Yet mysticism has ever served piety by insisting on inward experience and spiritual passion in religion; and in a St. Bernard it exhibited intense personal love of the suffering and lowly Jesus, the Bridegroom of the soul, as an all-important element in our Christian holiness.

8. In the Mendicant Orders we find a still further reaction against the clerical ideal of sanctity, in the emphasis laid upon holy poverty. St. Francis and the friars had broken the bonds of the church from monasteries, churches, and the technicalities of hierarchical religion to the homes and haunts of ordinary men and the service of one's neighbour, by the preaching of penitence, charity, love, and a joyous imitation of the poverty of Jesus.¹

9. The chief corrective, however, to the sacramental conception of holiness was to come not from mysticism within the medieval Church, but from Protestantism outside it. The Reformers contended for a fiduciary holiness, based on the religious experiences of faith beyond what is strictly required of them ("bonum supersoncendae") [Summae, ii. i. qu. 108, art. 23] as to accumulate a treasury of merit or works of supererogation, which are available for less mature Christians in the form of indulgences (p.v.), by a kind of transferred holiness, yet always on the basis of the mystic union of believers in the One Head.² The absence of any assurance of salvation in this system constrains the believer to supplement his faith by making diligent use of the Church's means of grace by praying himself eagerly to full satisfaction of acts of virtue, in order to acquire, by many repeated efforts after obedience, that holiness which is necessary for future blessedness (see J. H. Newman, Parochial and Plain Sermons, London, 1844, l. i-16).

7. Side by side with this sacramental type of holiness, and partly in protest against its spirit, there was fostered within the Church the pietistic, or immediate subjective holiness. Mysticism has assumed many forms in the history of the Church, but its characteristic ethical feature is the desire for inward purity as a necessity. Nov 2.

¹ Thomas Aquinas, Summae, ii. qu. 29, 55, 87; Council of Trent, vi. 2.
² Summae, i. qu. 110-114; Trent, vi. 7.
³ Augustin, De Gratia, ii. 22.
⁴ Summae, ii. i. qu. 114, art. 8; Trent, vi. 2999.
⁵ Summae, vi. i. qu. 108, art. 4. See, further, art. OECUMENIC AND PASCHAL.
⁶ Official Catholicism, however, does not require with- draw the condition for complete holiness.
⁷ For the canonisation of a servant of God it is sufficient that there be proof that he has practised those virtues which occasion demanded, in an eminent and heroic degree, according to the decree De canonisatione, etc., ex. de Servorum Dei Beatificia, et Beatiorum Canonici, Pader, 1714, ill. 11.
⁸ Summae, ii. i. qu. 105, art. 8; Trent, vi. 8; The Catholic Magazine, xii (1817) 250.
⁹ Summae, ii. i. qu. 113, art. 2; Trent, vi. 9; 1812-12.

¹ For the Friends of God, Waldenses, and other holiness sects of the Middle Ages, see separate articles.

² Augustin and Catholicism attached great weight to sin, but behind sin stood concupiscence, virtually a physical conception; and behind righteousness the hyper-spiritualisation of holiness, etc. Hence Catholicism culminates in ascetic morality and mysticism. For Luther there stood behind the ethical sense sin in the religious sense, i.e. unbelief, and behind the being righteous the fundamental religious virtue, i.e. faith. Luther insisted that which Augustine, owing to his Neo-Platonism, was not fortunate enough to reach, notwithstanding numerous approaches to it; he made Christianity again a religion (P. L. Loth, Lettres à Calvet, viii, 1506, p. 797).
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to the Christian than that of faith, which is simply the continual daily appropriation, not of forgiveness, but of God. Himself, in the source, the believer's peace, power, righteousness, and good works. In the teaching of Luther, Christ Himself assumed the central place which in Scholasticism was occupied by infused grace; and the holiness of monasticism, with its ecstatic morality and withdrawal from the world, was rejected to make way for a holiness of faith which could nowhere be better exemplified than in one's ordinary calling as ordained by God.


The teaching of Calvin on this subject was governed by his doctrine of Divine predestination, electing grace, and the sovereign will of God. His aim was to cultivate an intensive holiness which should consist not simply, as Luther so breadthly taught, in that we loved the Divine service of all men which results from the joyful experience of the Divine forgiveness, but rather in reverent obedience to God's commandments and the observance of a spiritual walk or relationship as prescribed by the law of God (Inst. i. ii. 3). True holiness is possible only to such as are elect by the decree of God (Tit. xii. 3), and it follows by a Divine inner necessity of personal right and justice, yet only in the sphere of the Christian Church, because of its possession of the Word and sacraments (Iv. L 4, 16).

Not that all the members of the Church are equally holy,

only that with their whole heart they aspire after holiness and where they be better exemplified than in one's ordinary calling as ordained by God.

Thus the importance attached by Calvin to a strict ecclesiastical discipline as a means to holiness (IV. xlix.).

According to Luther the primary purpose of the Church was to proclaim the Gospel of God's forgiving love in Christ; according to Calvin it was to train the elect in holiness. . . .

The notion of the Church as a community of holy people, pure both in doctrine and conduct, because wholly governed by the Holy Spirit, was a doctrine that increased with the times it so much in accordance with the reformation teaching of God's presence agency for the proclamation of God's forgiving love (V. c. McEuen, in Europe's Modern Theology and Related Subjects, New York, 191, p. 211.)

These characteristics profoundly influenced modern Europe and gave birth to the authors' harsh denunciation of Calvinistic Presbyterians and English Puritans, with their occasional excesses of harsh casuistry, Sabbatarian gloom, and iconoclastic zeal, but it was the wise of spiritual grandeur and imaginative power. These types aimed at recovering the full ethical content of holiness, as well as the due emphasis on the holiness of God, and, by a new asceticism, they were all the more mighty in outwardly dominating the world because they had inwardly and spiritually renounced it (see E. Trouche, Protestantism and Progress, Eng., 76-80, 130-141).

The ferment caused by the Reformation gave rise to several attempts, mostly non-ecclesiastical, to establish more experimental holiness, the various forms of which may be studied in the Anabaptists, Seekers, Quakers, and other sects, in Pascal and the Port-Royalists, and in Molinos, Fénelon, Madame Guyon, and the Quietists. In Germany in the 18th cent. the movement took the form of Pietism, a reaction against the stiff scholastic dogmatism of the Lutheran Church and current rationalism. Spener, Francke, and Gottfried Arnold were the leaders of a school which sought to transfer the emphasis in religion from belief in an orthodox creed, and reliance upon institutions and means of grace, to the cultivation of spiritual and personal apprehension of saving truth and the exemplification of it in holy conduct. The experiences of conversion and regeneration was centered on as an indispensable prelimin for the knowledge of God or the fruitful study of theology. 'Awakened' Christians were encouraged to meet together for free prayer, and an attitude of aloofness or antagonism was taken up towards worldly amusements and secular culture. The movement gave rise to both philanthropic and fanatical developments, and in passing over into Moravianism it revealed strong separatist as well as missionary tendencies.

Theor and subsequent experiences, rather than any abstract theorizing on the subject, led Wesley to become the life-long champion of doctrines which were afterwards embodied in the So-called Christian Perfection, as believed and taught by the Rev. Mr. John Wesley, from the year 1728 to the year 1771 (Worke, London, 1909, p. 214.) John Wesley believed and preached that the Divine Spirit was as mighty in administering redemption as the Divine Son in accomplishing it (A New History of Methodism, ed. W. J. Townsend, etc., London, 1909, i. 214.). In opposition to the Catholic doctrine of meritorious perfection, the mystical conception of perfection through isolated communion with and absorption in deity, and the general view of perfection as something to be attained only in a future life, Wesley maintained the doctrine of a present evangelical or Christian perfection in the entire sanctification of perfect love. Such perfection is not to be confused with absolute or angelic or Adamic righteousness, and is consistent with a thousand days' absence from earth, with sin, with infirmity, and creaturely limitations, being relative to the helps and opportunities of every moment. . . .

It is the perfection of which man is capable while dwelling in a corruptible body; it is loving the Lord his God with all his heart and with all his soul and with all his mind. 'The sin from which it is free is 'the voluntary transgression of any known law,' and it implies constant self-renunciation and even fasting, the careful observance of Divine ordinances, a humble, steadfast reliance on God's forgiving grace in the present, a firm intention to regard God's glory in all things, and an increasing exercise of the love which itself fulfills the whole law and is the end of the commandments. . . .

The perfection which I have taught these forty years cannot be a deception, unless it were a deception to take it as pertaining to God with all our heart, and our neighbour as ourselves. I pin down all its opposers to this definition of it. No evasion. No shifting the question! Where is the deception of this? (Journal, 17th Aug. 1768.)

This doctrine of full sanctification was the grand depositum which God has lodged with the people called Methodists; and for the sake of propagating

Wesley's doctrine of perfection may be studied further in the Journal, 24th July 1728, 19th April 1731, 27th Aug. 1756, 28th June 1759; Sermons, no. xii., ivr., ecr.; and the Letters dated 5th Apr. 1736, 7th May 1738, 17th June 1756, 28th June 1759, 19th Oct. 1771. See also Minutes of Conversations, June 1744 and Aug. 1745; and The Hymn Book, section 1...

For Believers Seeking Full Redemption.
and other similar associations for the deepening of the spiritual life.

Modern Holiness Movements have advocated the privilege and possibility of our attaining, here and now, to the peace, power, and beauty of full sanctification, through the surrender in faith.

Eckhardt sees before men 'a life of faith and victory, of peace and rest as the rightful heritage of the child of God, into which he may step not by the laborious ascent of some "Scala Sancta," not by long prayers and laborious effort, but by a deliberate and decisive act of faith' (Harford, op. cit. 81). 'In the blood and death of Jesus there is to be had not only forgiveness but also a direct and immediate breaking of the power of sin, cleansing from sin, and continual victory over sin, in the surrender of faith' (Th. Jellinghaus, Das Volksgepyndheits-Eid durch Christum, Basel, 1903, pp. 89, 440).

In more popular statement, a 'higher life' or 'second blessing' of 'full salvation' may be experienced through a single act of perfect consecration to God, who in response completely neutralizes or eradicates the sinful nature so as to grant a present deliverance from the power of sin, on the sole condition of 'abiding' in an attitude of dependent life-union with the Holy Spirit to the degree to which this last condition, which involves exercise of the personal will of the believer, is explicitly dealt with accounts for the different types of Holiness teaching. How far some forms of it can go may be judged by the affirmation of pastor Paul, 'I have for a long time now seen nothing of my old nature in my life' (Report, 1904, p. 298). Such a claim to perfect holiness, however, is to be interpreted in a religious rather than in a moral sense, for the Christian in the daily walk (a) as to maintained communion with God; and (b) as to victory over all known sin' (C. F. Harford, The Keswick Convention, London, 1907, p. 26). In the same year a larger conference, under the leadership of Smith and Boardman, met at Oxford 'for the promotion of Scriptural holiness'; and in 1875, by invitation of Countess Reuthe, the 'Convention for the Promotion of Practical Holiness' was held at Keswick. Among the chief leaders of the convention have been included Theodore Monod, Andrew Murray, A. T. Pierson, F. B. Meyer, and H. C. G. Moule. 'The Keswick Convention has set up no new school of theology, it has instituted no new sect, it has not even formed a society, but exists for the sole purpose of helping men to be holy' (Harford, op. cit. 4).

In 1875, Smith was in Berlin and inaugurated what came to be known as the modern German Evangelizationsevangelismus. His work was earnestly taken up by Schürmann, Chrstophe, Paul, and others, and the Deutsche Evangelisierungsverband (1884), the Gnadener Pfingsten-konferenzen (1888), the Blankenburger Alliantie-konferenzen (1902), and similar associations. In some cases these broke away from the Established Church, but for the most part their aim was to cultivate a deeper holiness by means of special organizations in touch with it. The best theological exponents of this school were Jellinghaus and Lepsius, whose views, however, have been regarded as unduly moderate by the more advanced sections. This Swiss Emigrateur is its chief representative. In America, apart from more special organizations like A. B. Simpson's 'Christian Alliance', the Northfield Convention, established in 1859 in Massachusetts, has proved most influential. Out of it has sprung the Student Christian Movement.

Boardman's Higher Christian Life, written before 1880, ran through many editions on both sides of the Atlantic, and quietly prepared many minds for the movement when it began to take mass form in 1870 in Union Holiness Conventions under his leadership. It is still perhaps the most valuable introduction to the study of the modern Holiness Movement. See his Life (London, 1880).
HOLINESS (Roman)—A definition of 'holiness' in relation to the Roman Church, its moral, and its ecclesiastical aspect, is not easy to frame. Perhaps 'purity under divine sanction' may be taken as a rough explanation for the present purpose. In the earliest religion of the Roman State, the pagan cults, which were moral and exacting, and their relation to conduct is obscure, but the idea that character was in some way dependent on a power unseen and superhuman was not entirely wanting. The conception that moral perfection is pleasing to heaven is embodied in some of the oldest forms of cult—that, for instance, the Vestal Virgins served. On not a few critical occasions the anger of the gods, bursting upon the community, was traced to their displeasure against an erring Vestal. As time went on, moral abstractions, treated as divinities, were publicly revered—chastity, for instance (Pudicitia); and these forms go back to an age when in religious matters Rome had as yet been very deeply affected by Greek influence. Reversal for such abstract powers was always more characteristic of Italy and the West than of Greece, and the East. We must ask, if possible, answer the difficult question. What effect upon the individual life had the belief that morality is under the protection of Heaven? If we regard only the utterances of the Greek orators who painted the manners of a small clique in the capital as though they were representative of the whole world, or the equally indiscriminate denunciations of Paganism by early Christian writers, we may be tempted to answer 'None.' But a great amount of evidence exists which tells a different tale.

Thus, the vast mass of private memorials unearthed in the Western world by excavation bears testimony to a family life far different from that which is almost exclusively presented in the literature of the Empire. The fact that Vesta was the presiding deity of the family circle, as well as of the State conceived as a larger family, is a sign of a general belief that the ultimate division of morality is found in a supernal world, and that moral cleanliness among those of this world is a concept which issues from the other. This idea, finds general expression in language, particularly in the use of the words castus, purus, sanctus, pius. Of course, these terms sometimes have a hard and somewhat lowly significance. They may be employed in a limited sense, not in reference to character taken as a whole, but to abstinence from some particular class of immoral acts. It is not easy to trace the moral life of a people or an empire. But it is not too bold to say that the history of these words in the Latin language shows a steady elevation of the ideal of morality.

The conviction that, in spite of the many horrible misrepresentations which a long line of pagan poets and philosophers denounced, the gods favoured personal purity is exhibited in much Roman ritual besides that connected with Vesta. Priests and priestesses were often subject to severe restrictions. Boys and girls, being innocent, were employed in personal service, we read of Sacerdotum Sexuorum Secularium of Horace. This famous hymn may be said to have done homage to the efforts of Augustus, who strove to cure the sickness of the world by the union of moral and religious reform. His policy made an epoch in the social history of the Western Empire. The great Greek tide which had swept the educated classes into asceticism began to turn, and a belief in the divine govern-
ment of the world was renewed and penetrated society. An increased yearning after moral purity manifested itself in many ways. New forms of religion and new applications of philo

sophy then, a tendency after, religion and philosophy were not always on the side of morality. There were Stoic and Cynic antonimiae as there have been Christian. And the new divinities Isis and Mithra, and others, who were so ardently accepted, could degrade their worshippers. But, on the whole, these new cults were popular, at least in part, because they satisfied to some extent the desire to find a way of escape from the corruption of unregenerate human nature—a way not opened by the older civic faiths. The seeds of Christianity could hardly have thriven as they did in the field of the Roman world if it had been still, morally, the world of the ancient Cato.

Not unnatural then can purity as a cult more prevalent among women than among men. On the principle of 'corruptio optimi posses,' satirists specially loved to depict the vices of women. But an attentive reader, say, of Mayor's notes on Juvenal, will see something of the other side of the shield. And a perusal of the very numerous grave-stones of women will leave an impression that there was, even at the worst time of the Empire, a wide range of sound family life, resting on the purity of the matron and mother. The connotations of the untainted lives of mothers of households are, in a multitude of cases, far from being hypocritical or merely conventional. The best preserved letters of Cicero, for instance, on his wife Turia, in the Augustan age, express her for chastity and religiousness without superstition. It was just this hope of cleanliness, combined with worship cleansed from superstition, that drew women, and in a less degree men, not only to Christianity, but to the cosmopolitan pagan divinities. A common type of inscription praises a wife for her sanctity and modesty. In spite of loose views of the marriage tie, we hear much of marriages which endured through long lifetimes, and the title vitae, 'wife of one husband,' was prized. This turning away from the superstitious exaggerations of the ancient cults, combined with a recoil from impurity, is well seen in that strange apology for Christianity rather than for Christianity of the Octavius of Minucius Felix, written in the latter half of the 2nd cent. A.D.

Until the rise of the Neo-Platonic philosophy, which was a great force until the last imperial centuries, the tendency of the later philosophers, both in the East and in the West, was to eschew theory and enforce morality. This was characteristic of all the schools alike, by whatever name they were called. It is impossible to mistake the trend in educated circles in the West during the first three centuries of the Empire towards an elevation of morality, whose moving force was a higher view of the relation of the individual to God. There is an ever strengthening vein of puritanism in the later philosophy, which reached its fullest development in the Neo-Platonic scheme. This vein is especially traceable in Stoicism. The dry logic of earlier Stoicism was softened, so that the moral lessons of the school might reach a large circle of Roman disciples. Every attempt was made to bridge over the gulf between the philosopher and the vulgar. The philosophers themselves, who wandered about the world preaching to the multitude, though accused, like other teachers, of criminality, found a hearing from the crowd just because of their success after a better life. There was a gradual approximation to the Christian idea of sin, and the necessity was realized of a divine deliverance from the burden of the flesh, with its impulses to immorality. Virtue was explained as attainable only by the will of God, and by imitation of the divine; duty, as the outcome of the divine law. 'No man is good without God,' said Seneca. The philosophers were more and more presented as the carrier of sick souls. The wide difference between doctrine and practice among the followers of this teaching was the theme of satirists, but there is no doubt whether they were more open to this kind of reproach than the adherents of other religious and moral systems in the past and in the present.

Lecture.—Information in works on Roman religion and Philosophy and Social Life. Especially may be mentioned: G. Winckler, Religion und Kultur der Römer (in Müller's Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft), Munich, 1912; L. Friedländer, Darstellungen aus der Schicksalssagen, Leipzig, 1881; E. Zeller, Philosophie der Griechen 1, 9. 1896, i1. J. S. Kirk.

HOLINESS (Semitic).—The conception of holiness when traced to its historic origins among Semitic peoples is stripped of all the ethical qualities with which our Christian modern consciousness has invested it. The ethical elements which have become absorbed into its content entered a much later stage in the evolution of ideas which became attached to the term. This change of connotation will be duly noted in its proper place.

I. HOLINESS AT THE EARLIER STAGE.—1. The original meaning of the Semitic word for 'holy,' 'holiness,' ʿe- ʿe- ʿe- ʿe ('purity,' and of the corresponding adjective ṣadda, in the sense of 'pure,' 'bright') to which the syllables are equivalent, especially when the Arabic ʿadda and its derivatives might seem to lend some support to this view. But it would be a mistake to build up the infrequent use in Assyrian of derived forms, and in Arabic of what may be a derived meaning. Our only safe course is to generalize from the use of ʿ- ʿ- ʿ- ʿ both as a verb and as substantive in the earliest documentary sources, and of other words, such as ʿ- ʿ- ʿ- ʿ, found in all the Semitic languages possessing a similar meaning. We are thereby led to the conclusion that the term ṣ- ʿ- ʿ expresses the separation or reservation of a thing or a person for Divine use or a Divine cult, and the state of an object or person so reserved and brought into close relation with Deity as inaccessible or hardly accessible, and invested with a quasi-Divine character and power.

We are here touching upon the common ground of primitive custom where Semitic and non-Semitic traditions blend. The saying, 'the holy thing is in the hand of the holy,' is familiar to us. It is a saying which is met with approval by E. Renan (Hist. d'Israël, Paris, 1887-94, i, 29), 'Primus in orbe deos fecit timor,' here finds its application. The element of fear, which invests the relations of primitive man (see the 'General' art. above) with the occult personal or quasi-personal agencies with which he appeared to be surrounded, is expressed in the Heb. phrase for religion, ʿāḇā ʿāḇā. This feeling of awe was extended to all objects which stood in more immediate contact with the gods whom the Semite worshiped. 1

Roberston Smith is dominated by his conception of sacrifice as expressing communion between God and the worshipper. Therefore, when he says (ibid., sect. 72) 'It is not with a vague fear of unknown powers, but with a loving reverence for known gods who are held to their worshipers by strong bonds of kinship, that religion in the only true sense of the word begins,' he is expressing only a partial truth. E. Cursiter, who traveled among the inhabitants of the Lebanon and Palestine, is probably right in asserting that the worship of the modern primitive Semite is simply the process of the development of the answer of his Arab guide Bandan to the question what made the Arab religions almost as well be given by the primitive
HOLINESS (Semitic)

Analogies to the primitive conceptions of holy things may be found in Hebrew religion. The mountain Sinai, Jacob's abode, was holy and could not be touched without peril to life (Ex 19:12, 15-25). Similarly Uzzah's temerity in touching the ark of God (2 Sam. 6:6) led to his death. It is an instructive example of the survival of such magical conceptions regarding holy objects in the ceremony of trial by ordeal of a woman suspected of adultery (Nu 5:9-19).

The passage is difficult because it shows, if Baedeker's analysis is correct, that the text has been worked over at different times. The priest shall take holy water in an earthen vessel and of the dust which is on the floor of the tabernacle shall the priest take and put into the water. After further ritual, unloosening the woman's hair, the officiating priest takes in his hand the 'bath of water' that brings a curse and makes the woman swear a solemn oath (v. 21-25). After reciting the words at its close, 'And this water that brings a curse shall enter thy belly and cause thy womb to swell and thy thigh to fall,' to which the woman answers, 'So be it, I have sinned, I have done a cursed thing.' The curse is written in a book and immediately dissolves the writing completely in the bath of curse-bringing water, and, after waving a meal offering before Jehovah and burning it, he causes the suspected woman to drink the 'holy' bathful of water.

Robertson Smith holds that the water is here called 'holy' because it is derived from some sacred spring. Em-Mishtat at Kadesh, as well as Em-Meribah, he would explain as sacred springs whose waters were used in decisions based on the ordeals of this kind. On the other hand, Baudisius, with at least equal probability, explains the 'holiness' of the water as due to the fact that it was kept in a vessel belonging to the sanctuary (Ex 29:38). The people have cited instructive as showing that kodesh includes a positive as well as a negative element, viz., the positive element of Divine power which may break forth with destructive effect. Baudisius's statement, that 'holy' does not properly designate a quality but a person, is, in a merely adequate (Studien zur sem. Religiongesch. ii. 45). Moreover, this writer's view, that the materialization of holiness in Ezekiel is late (60. 141), is certainly correct.

Further illustrative examples will make this clearer. In Is 60 we have primitive conceptions of holiness. In the presence of a person as a mysterious potency which can pass from one individual to another with whom he comes in contact. The latter is therefore warned: 'Stand apart, for I make thee holy.' This expression occurs in a passage crowded with obscure references to the cult of Palestine into which the resident Hebrew population in the middle of the 5th cent. had become. Every misfortune comes from God. Nothing comes except from Him. We fear God and the Veil. We take our vows in order to guard against injury. God receives our vow like a personal matter. When one says, 'I will not do it,' the misfortune may overtake us (Drew, Kol. im Volk der Slam, Leipzig, 1908, pp. 356, 64 f.).

1 Some doubt exists as to the validity of the reading of our text דָּבֶר יָדוֹ, for the LXX have ὑπολαμάσαι Ἰωάννην. This has induced Dillmann, Nowack, and others to substitute for the somewhat unusual דָּבֶר the words דָּבֶר יָדוֹ or דָּבֶר מַאֲסֵ יָדוֹ. On the other hand, Robertson Smith (Rel. Sem. 2. 131) contends for the validity of the reading 'holy water' as an 'isolated survival of an obsolete expression in post-Exilic Judaism derived from the old language of Hebrew ritual. In this case 'pure water' and 'living water' would be the later interpretative glosses which have to be substituted in the text so employed by the Greek translator.

2 See 0CC. 'Numbers,' ad. On unloosening the hair, Wahlenbach, 1907.

3 Gray (JCC. 'Numbers,' ad. ) cites the custom practiced in Egypt of writing passages from the Qur'an on the inner surface of a bowl and using the water that had dissolved the writing for medicinal purposes.

4 Here reading, of course, the Piel instead of the impossible Qal of the Heb. text; so Dillmann and other recent scholars. Another interpretation that has above been suggested to the present writer by Hadding, viz., that the initiated person is anxious not to lose his sacred potency by contact with contamination. See also in N Nas. 21. (Sahih) all aware (eswiaim) that a potency (Dowma) had passed out of Him when touched by the diseased woman.

5 One who had passed through a ceremony of consecration warns another to keep at a distance, because contact with his holiness might infect that other with holiness, and thereby surround him with a circle of tabus or restrictions which would divide him from the ordinary duties of life. This becomes evident from a comparison with Ez 44:2. There special instructions are given to the Zadokite priesthood that, when they pass from the inner to the outer court of the sanctuary, they are to put off their official vestments wherewith they have ministered before Jehovah in the inner court (cf. v. 22) and place them in special holy chambers, lest by contact the people whom they meet be made holy. Other ordinary garments must be substituted by the priest in an outer court in order to prevent this contamination of holiness. The same principle of contagious holiness applies to the utensils employed in sacred rites. Since special holiness was ascribed to the sin-offering, it could be eaten only in a holy place, i.e. the court of the tent of meeting (Lv 6:19). Contact with the flesh of this most holy sacrifice creates holiness, and every garment on which the blood is sprinkled must be washed in a holy place. In other words, a circle of tabus of a stringent character is set up. Hence the earthenware vessel which brings a curse is broken, as is the vessel which is boiled must be broken, and, if the vessel be bronze, it must be carefully scoured and rinsed. Holiness is treated in every respect as something material (v. 25) also occurs in Lv 11:23-25, 12:13. These last passages deal with cases in which something unclean has come into contact with an earthenware vessel, or mouse, or other unclean animal (Lv 11:27) fall into an earthenware vessel, or if that vessel be touched by a person who is unclean by reason of a discharge, it shall be broken. Here we see that there is a close analogy between uncleanness and holiness. The effect on the vessel is the same; it has to be broken whether it has contained sacrificial flesh or that of an unclean animal. This close point of contact has been investigated by writers on Semitic religion, e.g. Robertson Smith and Lagrange. The common factor in both impure and holy objects is that a certain element of danger, owing to the action of a superhuman agency, invades the object in both cases (Rel. Sem. 1. 155, 447-445) and serves to debar it from human use and contact. For contact in both cases involves contamination, and in certain cases uncleanness. Thus in Heb. 3:14 the familiar root meaning 'approach' is used in Arabic in the sense 'to be impure.' At the same time, the distinction between holy and unclean is a real one, though both are blended in various forms of tabu in savage custom (see the 'General' art.).

PrIMITIVE LIFE deals with concrete conceptions. Thus in primitive Semitic religion, holiness might be regarded as the nimbus or outflow of Deity which attached itself to everything that mediates in worship, whether persons or things, between the god and his worshipper. So closely is holiness attached to the Divine personality that Jehovah swears by it (Am 4:9) just as He does by His life (Nu 14:10, Dt 33:26, Jer 40:14; cf. Is 1:14, 58:6, 2:29, etc.), or just as the Divine name is associated with Himself and men aware of it by Lv 19:18, 1 S 20:9, Zec 5:8; cf. Jer 44:19, etc.) Thus we find 'holy gods' in the inscription of Eshmunazar (line 9).

The ideas of withdrawal, restriction, and reservation expressed in Heb. by תְּדוּעָה, תְּדוּעַי (cf. אֱלֹהָמִי), applied to objects connected with worship, are in Arabic exhibited by other terms. Chief among these in Arabic.
word ḫaṣām, of which the root frequently appears in Canaanite Hebrew, Aramaic, and occasionally in Assyrian. In this case etymology enables us more easily than in that of ḫaṣām ḫaṣām (s) to arrive at an acceptable analogy. Originally the idea is of "to exclude," "debar," or "render inaccessible." What is sacred and also legally prohibited is called ḫaṣām, and any object or woman who may not be approached is designated as such. Thus ḫaṣām, a substantive, is specially used by a Muslim of the sacred enclosure of the Ka'ba at Mecca. With the Hebrew-Canaanite ḫāṣām, or ḫāšām, which was specially connected with war, we shall deal later. The noun-form ḫaṣām also meets us in Aramaic Nabatean inscriptions.1 In these, ḫarām means something like a "sacred" thing. Thus in an inscription on a tomb in el-Hejez the deity Dēharā (properly "owner of Sharrā"), Hantith, and Kalsoah are invoked to bring a curse on any one who shall desecrate the tomb in any way or alter the inscription, for the sepulchre and its inscription are an inviolable object (ẖaṣām). The same word is used to express the inviolable possession (ẖaṣām) of Dēharā, the god of our lord.2 Here ḫaṣām approximates the use of the same word in Arabic.

Another Arabic term of closely similar meaning is ḥam, designating something forbidden or reserved, or more properly, guarded or protected from intrusion.3 Thus we read of the ḥamād of Wajj attached to the sanctuary of Al-Lat at Taif, which was a holy place defined by the Polynesian tabu. "If a woodcutter intruded on the ḥamād of Wajj, . . . he forfeited his hatchet and his clothes; if a man unlawfully grazed his cattle on the ḥamād of Jarrash, the cattle were forfeit." (Rel. Sem. 149). We find also that dress which was employed in ordinary life is distinct from dress worn in sacred functions. Accordingly, those who were not members of the priestly race were excluded from the sacred enclosure, such as a mosque, was entered (cf. Ex 34, 5). Clothes were either washed (in case of poor worshippers) or changed (Gen 31, Ex 19). Even cattle which had strayed from outside into the ḥamād could not be reclaimed.

The opposed term to ḥaṣām in Heb. is ḥal, properly that which is free or set loose for ordinary human use, in other words, not subject to the restrictions involved in holiness. In Lev 10 the distinction is sharply drawn, and priests are enjoined to keep it "holy" as they would that between clean and unclean (cf. Ezek 22, 25, 40, 44). This stringency of distinction became specially emphasized in the days of the Exile (Isa 60, 11), and still more in the days of Ezra, when laxity of usage required stern correction combined with strict rule. Without this the result would not improbably have been the final extinction of Israel (Travers Herford, Pharisaiism, London, 1915, p. 10).

But this was only to accentuate a tradition that had its roots in the past. Theory and prescription, however, have to give way to practical necessities, and in the pre-Exilic period of Israel's life such cases must have frequently arisen for stray or stolen cattle that passed within some ḥamād, or sacred enclosure, was pretty strictly enforced in primitive usage, as the story told by Wallenstein (Seleuc., 63, text from the Canaanite tablet of Ibl al-Kalib respecting Saif, the priest of the deity al-Fal, who had stolen a milch-camel and detained it under the deity's protection, clearly shows. But this right was modified by the Hebrews. Justice could override a murderer, even though he took refuge in a sacred enclosure. Such asylum was only the case of accidental manslaughter (Ex 21, 18), and even in this case the asylum came to be limited to only a few selected spots (Deut 4, 41-42, 19-20, Jos 20, 4, Nu 35, 5). Probably, as Robertson Smith suggests, the community of interest which subsisted between the people and its deity tended to mitigate rules which might otherwise have pressed with excessive severity on his worshippers. Thus the money stored in the sacred precincts of the temple of Ba'al-belith was even employed by Abimelech to hire a company of desperates (1 Sam 12). In the textual passage 18 21-7 (see Driver and Budde, ad loc.), we read that in the lack of ordinary unconsecrated bread (17) the holy bread that stood on the table before the Divine presence (Yhwh in v. 4, 13, 355) in v. 7) was distributed among David's starving followers by the priest. The fact that the distinction between ḥaṣām and ḥal is preserved, and that the priest endeavours to exact conditions of purity, points to the conclusion that we have a departure from ancient and normal custom (cf. Mk 2).

The distinction between ḥaṣām and ḥal above indicated is obviously different from that between Divine property and human property, for it is the distinction between the sacred enclosure which there are severe restrictions, and objects which are free for ordinary human use. This idea of sacredness, involving restriction of use and danger accruing from its violation, was far more primitive than the conception and usage of property, though it may be admitted that the latter came afterwards to supervene.

It is not possible within the compass of this article to deal with all the ramifications into which the ancient conception of holiness extended among the Semites. It must also be noted that their various departments concisely under the following heads.

2. Holy things.—(a) Places which are invested with holiness are those in which the supernatural power and presence are supposed to be manifested. These elements of power and presence are often expressed in Semitic by the word name (see below under (b)). Hence a sanctuary was in Hebrew par excellence to be a spot (por excellencie Jerusalem) in which God had 'put his name' (Ex 20, Deut 12, 15). Such a place would be. In Canaanite, called ḥaṣām and be invested with the qualities of holiness and its restrictions. In the primitive life of the Arabian desert, from which it is generally held that the Semitic peoples emerged, the main physical characteristics associated with holy spots would be fertility, the spring arising from the soil and creating a verdant oasis of shining trees in the bare desert. These spots, or certain of their various 

1 Respecting ḥaṣām in Aramaic inscriptions, both as verb and as substantive, see Lidzbarski, Nord.-aegypt., Berlin, 1886, p. 191; Cooksey, North Semitic Inscriptions, Oxford, 1905, nos. 79 (lines 5-3, 53, 52, 34, 84, 34); cf. Lagrange, 151.

2 See A. A. Cook, North Semitic Inscriptions, Oxford, 1905, nos. 79 (lines 5-3, 53, 52, 34, 84, 34); cf. Lagrange, 151.

3 Lidd., Heb. ḫaṣām (root of ḫaṣām, 'wall'), meaning 'protected,' 'guarded,' Perhaps the fundamental meaning is 'to be hot with anger' (in defense of rights); cf. ḫal, ḫal (Lidd.).

4 Book ḫal, Aramean, i.e., the latter, being applied to the discharge (lit. the emptying of a vase), is the same which is regularly used of emergence from a state of taboo (the ḫaṣām . . . ) into ordinariness (Isa. 56, 29, 30).
sanctity as manifesting a Divine power and presence. Thus the sacred stone Eben-ezer was erected by Samuel at the place where Jehovah manifested His power in the battle of the Philistines. (I S 7:9.) In the spot where God appeared in a dream to Jacob, the stone marked the spot, and oil was poured upon it. (Gen 28:18-19), and the sanctuary was named Bethel.

Heaven properly the abode of Jehovah, through He dwells with Israel in certain spots, especially on mountains. Hence the ‘holy mountain’ of Zion (Is 11, Ps 105:24, etc), and even came to be used as a substitute for the Divine name.

(b) As just indicated, any sacred spot separated off and surrounded by restrictions as to access and ordinary use (Ex 33) would be marked by a stone, which served for an altar, on which the blood of the offered animal was sprinkled or sprinkled, and at the same time also as a symbol for the Divine presence. There can be no doubt that the stones of the deities was thought somehow to reside in the stones. Hence the primitive adoration to heaven was by hewing the stone or in any way violating it by the application of a tool (Ex 20:2). Moreover, the smearing of the blood, which in the primitive form of worship was shed over the upright stone (Heb. mas-sah, Arab. nisb), or over the heap of stones or cairn (such as the gen-nah of Gn 21:33), contains in itself a very clear indication that the sacred stone was really the deity of the place.

(c) The sacred spring was a frequent accompaniment of the sacred place. In fact, as Wellhausen remarks (Resta 8, 104), wherever human beings were settled down by a sanctuary there must of necessity be water. Moreover, the fertile spot marked by the stone symbol would naturally possess a flowing spring arising from the mysterious water-depth (Deut 33).

(d) Out of the sacred spring, the sacred symbol of the stone or pole standing near the altar, regarded as the symbol of the deity Asherah, goddess of fertility and prosperity. The existence of this goddess was formerly doubted by Wellhausen, Robertson Smith, and others, who maintained that Asherah designated only the sacred pole. But Assyriology has cleared up the existence of this goddess in the proper name Ashaš-nirâ, Ashaš-nirâ, and Abaš-Akhatu, and Abaš-Akhatu.

(f) Holiness was naturally sacrified to the approach of worship, such as altar-bowls, cups, and other vessels of the sanctuary (Nu 4:21, 1 K 14:7-9). It was also applied to materials with consecration of persons was affected or with which it was accompanied, e.g., oil, incense, etc., and, in general, the garments worn by the priest (Ex 28:4-8), as well as to the offerings presented by the people, which were hallowed (Ex 29:36, Lev 23:20-21), any act of ritual Originally in preparation.

In ancient Egyptians, on the other hand, the sycamore was regarded as sacred (see Manpero, Historie, Paris, 1893-96, I, 171, and Greenmanzsche, in ZDMG, 1903, II, 47).

In Arabic we find the word ṣabib, ear- or nose-ring, regarded as an amulet with sacred devotions or names.
fanation, which had to be borne by the officiating priest. An inevitable condition of the holiness of persons and things was that they must be pure or clean. We shall afterwards observe purity and holiness taken up into the ethical realm (Ps 24:4). Here again it is that, though not identical, they come into close connexion. Just as a woman unclean through child-birth could not enter the house of the Lord (Lev 12:4), so uncleanness in things was incompatible with their presence or employment in worship. According to the conceptions of the ancient Orient, demons and uncleanness, decay, disease, and dirt go together.1 Over the preservation of the purity of holy things the sons of Levi had to watch (Dn 29:9). The sins of Israel were considered to affect the holy place and render it unclean. Consequently, on the great day of Atonement, exploratory blood was sprinkled on the altar horns to cleanse the tent of meeting and the altar. The operation itself was indicative of a slaughtered bullock needed for ‘atonement’ (properly ‘covering’; Rsv, see Driver, ad loc.) the altar. Cf. Lv 16:19 (on ref. to a proper Name in Exod 40:12). 

A high degree of sanctity belonged to holy vessels, so that any who touched one became affected by its magic circle of toha. Or, in the language of the original, ‘become holy’ (Heb 2:19). According to Nu 4:14, death might result from contact with them. In this connexion we may note also that a special and necessary condition in the manufacture of sweet incense was that it should be pure (Baudot, H. J. Z. 277-279).

The sanctity of certain animals, such as the camel, ox, cow, horse, pig, mouse, etc., is an obvious subject discussed by Robertson Smith in Rel. Sem.3, 271 ff. Probably not the same element, but varied arguments, operated in various cases in determining the sanctity of an animal and the sacrificial character of its flesh. It is just here that we come to one of those interesting meeting-points between the ideas of uncleanness and of holiness and taboo. The unclean animal may not at ordinary times be sacrificed, because it is a specially sacred animal (Rel. Sem.4, 290). It is only on specially solemn occasions—annual public celebrations or special crises—that such a sacrifice can take place. This may partake of the character of a mystic piscular sacrament or ceremonial, for it is the operation of a cause that constitutes an animal sacred was held by Robertson Smith to be the fact that it was originally regarded as the totemic ancestor of a clan. Subsequent writers on this subject are disposed to abandon this view. Other reasons than totem ancestry are assigned by Benzing.4 In the case of the pig it was holy as belonging to the operation of the Melchizedekian Antetype (Am 8:3, Hos 21:1 (AV v. 8), Is 11:2; cf. 2 K 4:28), the New-Moon and the Sabbath. The appearance of the new moon signalled the commencement of the month (cf. Sir 24:4). Conjoined with the New-Moon, mention is made of the Sabbath. A remarkable list, discovered by Pinches (JPSA, 1904, p. 51f.), places the significance of the Hebrew Sabbath in a somewhat new light. In Babylonian, Eopatu is the name given to the 15th day of the moon, or beginning of the 3rd quarter, i.e. full moon. In the days of the Ptolemies, as we learn from an inscription at Narmath (5), the days on which the sacrifices were offered in Phoenicia were new-moon and full-moon. So also among the Hebrews the festivals of Maqoth and Sukkoth began on 15th Nisan and Tihrih respectively. From these facts Metzold has drawn a sweeping inference. He holds that in primitive Israel, down to the close of the Babylonian Kingdom, Sabbath meant only the full-moon celebration. He regards Kenazel as the original of the same name in New Testament as a seventh day celebration (Ezk 65:1; cf. 25:13; 18:18; 28:29). But, if this be the case, it is difficult to see on what ground Kenazel is justified in reproaching Israel for the non-receivance of a recent innovation without the binding force of old usage. On the other hand, it is not without interest to observe how the ancient Hebrew author conveys to us the inevitable conclusion that the seventh day of the seventh week was an institution of the infant Egyptian. In Israel the sanctity of the number seven was evidently fundamental. We have it in the Biblical form seven, ‘seven’; and in derivatives R129, ‘seventh’; and in the Egyptian, Be‘er-sheba. Moreover, the seventh day of rest was parallel to the seventh year of release in early legislation (Deut 25:9), and also for the field, which was to remain fallow (Ex 21:35; cf. 24:2).

(i) Various theories have been advanced for the explanation of the phenomena, which are probably due to a like reason. The beasts are sacred and kindred beings, for they are the source of life and subsistence. They are kept only in the Syrian provinces as camels and unclean, which implies that the slaughter was an act of primitive magic, fire and water are summoned to the Jew’s aid in expelling demons (see ‘Magic,’ in HDB III, 290).

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We follow the contemporary view, which agrees with the astral theories, theories we may agree that Schrader, Winckler, Zimmern(!), A. Jeremias, and Benzerger are justified in holding that the sacredness of the number seven is based on the seven planetary deities, including the moon and sun. The order of these planetary deities in ancient Babylonian art is: Zimmern (KAT 622) says that the original order was: Moon (Sin), Sun (Samael), Mercury (Nabu), Venus (Istar-Dilbat), Mars (Ninig), Jupiter (Marduk), Saturn (Kamsu). Probably the seven-branched golden candelabrum in 2604, with its seven lamps, which (v.37) correspond to the seven eyes of Jehovah, is based on the seven planets of the celestial world.

The Hebrew Sabbath signifies, according to its Hebrew etymology, that it was a sacred day, i.e., consecrated to Jehovah, in which ordinary human employments ceased (Ge 26, Ex 20). In the same way the primitive Heb. Sabbath corresponds to the Heb. seventh day, which was more strictly kept with restrictions, like the Jewish post-Exilic Sabbath. The seventh day in Babylonian art was sacred to Bel (Marduk) or to Nebuchadnezzar, and the planet was a traditional one. This character attaches to the 7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th days of the week. We can see how this is listed with reference to the 7th day of the month Tammuz. This 7th day was dedicated to Marduk and Sarpanitu:

[iii: 1] Art. Eusebius, the Church Father, gives a detailed account of the sacredness of the number seven. Wellhausen (Protest, Berlin, 1883, p. 117) and others, who base the week or seven-day portions of the month merely on the moon plus an apparent origin for the widely prevailing and firmly rooted tradition among the Semitic peoples (cf. Rel. Sem., 191 f.), agree that the sacredness of the number seven is based on the seven planetary deities, including the moon and sun. The order of these planetary deities in ancient Babylonian art is: Zimmern (KAT 622) says that the original order was: Moon (Sin), Sun (Samael), Mercury (Nabu), Venus (Istar-Dilbat), Mars (Ninig), Jupiter (Marduk), Saturn (Kamsu). Probably the seven-branched golden candelabrum in 2604, with its seven lamps, which (v.37) correspond to the seven eyes of Jehovah, is based on the seven planets of the celestial world.

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the Stone of Mesha', it is the god of Meoa, Chemoah, who says to Mesha': 'Go take Nebo against Israel' (line 14). Among the Hebrews, Jahweh Yahweh, Jahweh of the celestial star-horses was worshiped before every military expedition, and before Israel in the ark carried into the battlefield (1 S 4:4), and is consulted by the priest-soothsayer who before every military operation of ancient Israel (1 S 14:29-30, 2 S 5:1). The Syrians had the same custom; for we read in the Annals of Ashurnasirpal (col. ii. 30) that in overrunning a hostile Syrian tribe the lord, or soothsayer-priest, who went at the head of their host (atik paum annmundtum), was captured. Like other Semites, the Hebrews inaugurated war by sacrifices. This was said to 'consecrate' war (sip; Ass. Mis 3, Jer 6, cf. Jer 3); hence the burnt-offerings at the opening of a campaign (Jg 6:25, 20); 1 S 14:13, 1 S 11). With this conception of holy war and consecrated warriors (Is 13) we must connect the sexual abstinence which was maintained during military expeditions among Hebrews and Arabs (Zoh. Sem. 245; cf. L 20, 2 S 11). With this we must also associate the gruesome custom of the 'ban' (grg), which surrounded all companions and inmates, captured in war, and forbad their appropriation to human uses. This meant the wholesale destruction of the 'devoted' objects expressed by the denominative nav'A, in housing (see e.g. Zoh. Sem. 245, cf. Jer 9:24, 2 S 25:2), in which ym is a close parallel to the Stone of Mesha', lines 14 f. 52. In the latter case Mecha's devotes to Astar-keshom (line 17) pray that the entire population of Nebo, both men and women.1

(b) The sacred name of Deity had a special and awful potency, since in ancient Semitic conceptions it involved the actual presence and personal power of the Deity, which, when the name was uttered, were summoned into active exercise. Thus the tetragrammaton (wv) was too awful for pronunciation by ordinary human lips, according to the usage of post-Exilic Judaism. We know that in the 3rd cent. B.C. it was avoided in the public reading of the Hebrew Torah, a representation in the LXX by atophex, being substituted for it. Even the combinations ṭ and ṭh, though abbreviations of the sacred name, came to be avoided as numerical signs of 15, 16 (c. and m being respectively substituted). On the use of the Divine names and those of the Hebrew patriarchs in exorcisms, and generally in the mysticism of exorcism and 'sorcery,' in HDB i. 815, iv. 604; Conybeare, in Trans. of the Third Internat. Congress for Hist. of Relig., Oxford, 1908, li. 356 ff. The wide prevalence of the potency of sacred names in Bab. incantations needs only to be mentioned here.

3. Holy persons.—(1) Chief among these were the priests. In Ez 20, Lv 8, elaborate details of the rites of initiation are given whereby priests are installed in their office. In these rites we shall merely note (1) the washing of the person with water (Ex 29); cf. washing the garments in Ez 16:14 at Sinai; (2) spashing bullrocks and rams' blood on the altar-horns and round about it (yw, 16:18); the ram's blood being placed on eight ears, etc., and thumb of the Aaronidae (yth); (3) special garments and 'holy crown' (yv); (4) anointing with oil (yv). The fundamental conception underlying these ceremonial cleansing operations (washing and blood-sprinkling) is to remove all contamination which would disqualify the priest for his sacred functions. These functions are defined in Nu 18:19 as the taking of the holy lot. Carrying the holy ephod, the vestments of the holy vessels, and the approach to the altar. In the later Heb. legislation, which has just been quoted, these functions belonged to the sons of Aaron. It is, however, fully recognized that the substance of P's ceremonial legislation is very ancient; and, if we possessed fuller documentary material from ancient Babylonia, we should properly be able to show a larger number of close parallels between the ceremonies of initiation for the Babylonian priest and those of the Levite in P than have yet come to light. Several interesting and important analogies may nevertheless be noted.

(a) The king (q.v.), like the priest, was anointed with oil (yv). Anointing (q.v.) doubtless arose from the ancient magical custom of smearing or pouring unguent on the body to endow the subject with certain qualities. Thus the Arab and E. Africans believe that lion's fat inspires a man with boldness, so that a wild beast flees from him (see GB 1104). From the Tell el-Amarna tablets we learn that the custom of anointing kings prevailed in Western Asia in the 15th cent. B.C. In a letter from Aced-nirari, king of Nubabili in N. Syria, addressed to the king of Egypt, Amenhotep III., it is stated that a previous Egyptian king had poured oil on the head of the writer's grandfather and established him as king (GB 1104). In his Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship (London, 1906), have familiarized us with the supernatural endowments attributed to the early king, who was regarded as a deity or quasi-deity. Israel similarly stood in awe of the 'Lord's anointed,' whose person, like that of a priest, was sacrosanct (1 S 24:18; 2 S 12). The Assyrian king called himself the offspring or favourite of a god (sinatu Assur, naram Sin). Moreover, the king assumed priestly functions. This we know to have been done by David (2 S 6:17) and Solomon (1 K 3:16). This was also the tradition in Assyria. Tiglath-Pileser I. (1100 B.C.) calls himself 'atipus, or priest, of the god Sin-na. Sargon calls himself the šallu, or vice-regent of Bel, and the idakku, or chief priest, of Assur.

(b) Physical defects were disqualifications for a Hebrew priest and also for a Bab. soothsayer (cf. Lv 21:6). Among the Babylonians, pointing at the ūy, lack of teeth (buīn), and a maimed figure (nāyipu abīn) were accounted disqualifications (H. Zimmer, Beiträge, Leipzig, 1898-1901, p. 87).

(c) As the Aaronic priesthood was hereditary, similarly the Bab. bardu, or officer of soothsayer, belonged to a sacred hereditary caste whose functions involved special mystic knowledge and the inspection of the liver. This tradition can easily be traced back as far as the time of Ḥammurabi (c. 2100 B.C.; see Littmann, 321, 67).

(d) In the ritual tablets of the ṭipus, or priest-magician, who dealt in conjurations (ṭipu) whereby diseases were removed, or in expiations whereby sins were stoned, we read (Zimmer, n. 28, col. ii. 19 f.) that the matnānu (who held an office closely allied to that of the ṭipus) (Zimmer, n. 93) is to pass to the gateway, sacrifice a sheep in the palace-portal, and smear the threshold and posts of the gateway right and left with its blood (cf. Ex 12:21). Respecting these incantation-rituales and the multitudes of facts, see Zimmer, Beiträge, and the art. 'Priest,' in EB.114. Israel also in pre-Exile days had the rōth, šāmānu, mārēn, yīdrē šāmān, and bālī ṭāb. Others are obscurely mentioned in D 16:18.

In early times the priest in Israel was essentially soothseer, who declared the Divine will by Urim and Thummim, rod, arrows, or other forms of the sacred lot. Carrying the holy ephod, the sacred vessels, and the answer needed on any expedition. In early Arabia the kāhin (Heb. 73) was the soothseer who employed the divine oracle, as described by Muhammad as an abominable work of
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Satan (Qur. v. 92; cf. Mio 5°, Jer 277). Cf. art. "Soothsayer," in EBD iv. 598. In later times the priestly function in Israel became chiefly ceremonial and sacrificial, while the function of soothsayer (kōdeš, etc.) was separate and specialized. Out of the priest-see of early times, called rōʾēḏ, emerged the prophet (bēḏār), whose official person as "man of God" was also sacred, whose rod possessed magical power (2 K 4:35; 1 K 8:23) as well as his garment (2 K 3:2; cf. Mk 3:16), on whom God's spirit rested, and to whom the word of the Lord came. See art. "Prophet," in EBD 11.

One of the most primitive and significant as well as most moral among holy persons in the Semitic peoples was the ʿādād (sodomite attendant) and the qāṭāʾīḥ, or priestess-prostitute, who infested the Canaanite-Hebrew sanctuaries like the corresponding ʿādādāt and ḫāʾāʾāt of Babylonia. The wide prevalence of this phase of ancient Semitic life is attested by Gn 38:20, 21, 1 K 14:21, 23, 2 K 5:2, Am 5:24, Hos 4:13, Dtr 23:17 (Heb. 23:20), and is especially connected with the ḫāʾāʾīt cult (C. A. Barton, Sems. Origines, London, 1902, p. 83; N. Nilson, Études sur le culte d'Atar, Leipzig, Paris, and St. Petersburg, 1911; see, further, Hierodouloi [Sem. and Egypt.]).

We have represented in Israel the conception of a holy people. Of this the locus classicus is Ex 19:6 (14), in which the privilege is made conditional on obedience to the terms of the Sinai-covenant. Israel is called a Divine possession above all the peoples of the world. But this was in reality the re-assertion of a long recognized fact. Israel was Jahweh's people, just as the Moabites were people of Chemosh (cf. Jg 5:5, Ex 15:10). Israelites as individuals were just as truly sons and daughters of Jahweh. Similarly Palestine, the land occupied by Jahweh's people, was holy also (cf. Ws 12), and is called Jahweh's house (Hos 9:10, 9: and Hbr 3:5). All this was in accord with revelation. The prophetic demand that the adversaries of Jahweh's land be, therefore, unclean. The corollary to this conception of Israel as a holy people is found in the prohibition of marriage with foreign races prescribed by later legislation (Dt 7:3). This became rigorously applied in the days of Ezra, who sternly repressed such connexions, whereby the holy seed became mingled and thus contaminated (Ezra 9:8).

II. THE CONCEPTION OF HOLINESS RAISED TO AN ETHICAL LEVEL.-We have hitherto traced, though only in outline, the far-reaching dominion of God's conception of a holy people over a wide extent of persons, material objects, and modes of human activity. In all of these holiness appears as a positive quality derived from close contact with a Deity or supernatural power which becomes deterrent and restrictive, circumscribing human activities which are free as to ordinary or non-holy objects. Holiness in primitive religion, like much else, is concrete and quasi-physical, and, moreover, is bound up with magical elements of tabu. We have now to investigate how in its more advanced stage it became gradually and partially emancipated from the material and magical characteristics of primitive religion as it became ethicized.

Holiness, as we have seen, is closely associated with the personality of Deity. That which is brought most closely into contact with Him is most holy of all. Thus the hindmost recess of the Temple was sealed, and where only the high priest on the most sacred day of the post-Exilic calendar (the Day of Atonement) could enter, was called the Sanctuaryemployed (Ex 29:36). Accordingly, sanctity, with all its associated elements of restriction and reserve, admitted of degrees until at length we come to the Deity Himself, who in His exalted and inaccessible loneliness and power is called by the thrice repeated and so emphasized "Holy" in Isaiah 6. The same principle that applied to things would a fortiori apply to God Himself. If eating the remainder of the slain beast ( rendered "peace-offerings,') which should be burnt on the third day, was an act of profanation because it was God's holy thing (Lv 19), it was a far more terrible thing to behold God Himself. No man can behold God and live (Ex 33; cf. Jg 13:18, Is 6). The quality in the Deity which avenged with terrible penalties all violations of His presence, dignity, name, or belongings was called "jealousy," and He was accordingly designated a "jealous God" (Eg 33:19; Ex 20:15).

God's position on immeasurable and supreme power was designated by this term ʾṣāl, and He Himself was ʾṣāl, "holy." But in His external self-manifestation He was invested with "glory" (ʾqār). These two characteristics of Divine holiness, the "glory" and holiness" are closely combined; but with this distinction, that, while "holiness" marks out His inaccessible exaltation and power, which are restrictive on human activities, His "glory" exhibits Him in His earthly and visible self-manifestation (Is 6; Bandissi, Stud. zur sem. Religionstgesch. ii., 11, 104-107).

The prophets, who were the great teachers of Israel, did not in any degree diminish, but rather exalted, these conceptions of Jahweh unapproachable and terrible power and His manifested grandeur. The universality of His sovereignty and power is emphasized by Amos, by Isaiah, and above all by Hosea (Hos 14:10; cf. Mc 6:45). But the teaching of the 8th cent. Judean prophets did not end here. The stress which Amos and Isaiah placed on the righteousnesses of Jahweh and His ethical requirements (Am 5:11-15, Is 1:17-20, 2:20-21) shifted the centre of gravity in religion from ceremonial to conduct. Ceremonial tabus and sacrificial forms count for little. In Jeremiah's teaching the external enterprises of Israel have disappeared with the destruction of the State and the Temple. Jahweh has established a new covenant with His people independent of external ordinances and enactments, for it is internal, spiritual, and personal: "I will put my law within them, and in their heart will I write it" (Jer 31:34-35).

The effect of all this was far-reaching, and it gradually brought about an "Umwerfung aller Werte"—a transmutation of all values, which affected the conception of the Divine holiness and all related in its earlier stage. God's character and demands were essentially expressed in righteousness, this permeated also the essence of holiness whether in its early or later stages. A man is to afflict his soul is to set the oppressed free and bestow bread on the hungry (Is 66:12). "Rend your heart, and not your garments" (Jl 2:12). This affected the language, not only of prophecy, but of legislation. Circumcision was to be of the heart (mind), and not of the flesh only (Dt 10:13-20). It entered even into the priestly legislation of the guilt-offering (Lv 6:27), and in the "Code of Holiness" finds its due place (Lv 20-26). This was doubtless a reinforcement of ethical elements which belonged to Israel's old religion, since all religion involves social relations and a social order, and therefore these elements found a place in the older codes of legislation. But prophetic teaching gave them a new and peculiar importance, God's character and demand to displace the externals of ceremonial religion. This is manifest in some of the Psalms, e.g. 50-6; where sacrifices are requiescated as irrational; 61:12, where the true sacrifices are a broken and contrite heart. Perhaps the most notable expression is to be found in Ps 15 (which reflects the spirit of Mic 6:6-8): "Who walketh uprightly, and worketh righteousness, and is faithful in his thoughts (and not merely in
external acts.\* The following verses express this
railment:

We have entered here into a higher realm and
atmosphere, and these new conceptions would be
fostered by the new conditions of post-Exilic
Judaism, when there was a vast Diaspora, and the
Synagogue with its worship took the place of the
national Temple with its sacrificial ceremonial.
Consequently prayer (which alone formed com-
panied sacrifice) now took the place of sacrificial
ceremonial (which was legitimate only in the
central Jerusalem sanctuary).
Moreover, we now find a tendency to shift ‘holy,’
which was ethical, from non-ethical things to
personal objects, to which it can more properly
apply. God in Deuteronomy is ‘Israel’s Holy
one’ par excellence. Purity is closely associated
with holiness, and has moral values. In Hab. 1:13,
‘holy’ is applied to Jahweh in His ethical purity,
which is so great that He cannot behold evil—an
echo of Is. 6:1. From these ethical conceptions of
God’s holiness it is but a step to the conception of
God’s ‘Holy Spirit’ (Is 63:18, Ps 51:19, Wis 8:25).
Those who form God’s remnant, the angels, are
called ‘holy ones,’ since they are the ‘sons of God’
(Job 1:14, cf. Ps 89:6).

Nevertheless, the old and primitive non-ethical
ideas of holiness still held sway and were still
perpetrated in Esekiel’s idea scheme (chs. 40–44)
of Israel’s restored condition, and in the subsequent
Leviticus legislation. We even find them in the Mosaic
(Yad. iii. 2. 41, iv. 5. 6; cf. ‘Eduth y v. 3), where
it is stated that the canonical Holy Scriptures
decide the hands of those, including the teaching of
the schools of both Hillel and Shammai. In other
words, this holiness thereby becomes contagious
(Weber, ‘Judenth.,’ Leipzig, 1897, § 221. 1). Texts
from these passages are still employed by Jews as
magical charms and prophesy-
ful promises of Arabic illustrative materials as well as
those derived from the wider field of
religion. M. J. Lagrange’s ‘Essai sur les religies sémittiques,’
Paris, 1906, esp. chaps. IV–VIII, contains a mass of material
which the researches of Amyot and find their due place.
In addition to these, J. Skinner’s art. ‘Holiness,’ in BD, and
R. Kittel’s ‘Heiligkeit Gottes im AT.’ In PBD, should be
consulted. Among modern writers, Gray, ‘Numbers’ (ICC, Edinburgh, 1908), and A. Rostorf, ‘Heiligkeit
Israel’s’ (Kurzer Handkommentar, Tubingen, 1901) (see
esp. on ch. 11); R. Marx, Geschicht der jüdischen Religion,
Stuttgart, 1908, §§ 5–11; E. Stade, ‘Biblische Theologie des AT.
Tubingen, 1908, I, §§ 65–70. Cf. also the other works cited
in the course of this article.

Owen C. Whitehouse.

HOLY ORDERS.—See MINISTRY.

HOLY PLACES.—See PLACES.

HOLY SPIRIT.—See SPIRIT, HOLY.

HOLY WATER.—See WATER.

HOLY WEEK.—See FESTIVALS AND FASTS (Christian).

HOME.—The word (see OED, s.v.) signifies ‘a
dwelling-place,’ regarded from the moral and
the social point of view as the fixed residence
of a family, providing for its members a place of refuge
from the labour and turmoil of active life, and
cherished as the abode of those to whom a man is
bound by the closest and most intimate ties of
relationship. The idea of the word suggests, accordingly, those of permanence, security,
familiarity. To be ‘at home’ implies that a man
has reached, at least for a time, the end of his
wanderings (cf. Ps 26); that he is beyond the
reach of the perils of wayfaring; that he is no
longer a stranger and foreigner, but a member of
a household, surrounded by those who understand
him and sympathize with him. When, for example,
St. Paul speaks of the Gentiles as oikos tōn θεοῦ
(Eph 2:19), he is contrasting their former outcast
and alienated condition with the privileges of mem-
bership in God’s family or household. Under all
the aspects mentioned above, death is sometimes
spoken of as ‘going home’ (cf. Ec 12:18; ‘long home,’
with Plumptre’s note), and the disembodied state
is described by St. Paul as the being ‘at home with
the Lord’ (2 Co 5).

There were, doubtless, numerous instances of
beautiful domestic life among the Hebrews. The
narratives (J and E) of the 9th and 8th centuries
b.c. throw much incidental light on the family life
of ancient Israel. There was apparently a certain
familiarity (except in the case of the monarch) towards
monogamy; and, though paternal authority was
absolute, and extended to the juss necis, we do not
find instances of harsh or unjust treatment. The
same remark applies to slaves. They were the
private property of their masters, but despotic
rights do not seem to have been as a rule abused.
The duties of hospitality were held in honour, and
guests were welcomed with kindness and liberality.
The Book of Proverbs illustrates the high esteem
in which family life and family duties were held
in ancient Israel. As regards the later Judaism it
has been said that ‘there were no homes like those
in Israel,’ and two similar Talmudical sayings are
probably the fruit of common experience: ‘Marriage
are made in heaven,’ and ‘God dwells in a
pure and loving home’ (see A. Edersheim, Life
and Times of Jesus the Messiah, London, 1883,
bk. ii. ch. 9, and JE, s.v. ‘Family and Family
Life’). To a smaller extent the feeling for ‘home’
may be traced in classical antiquity (see, for in-
stance, Homer, Od. xxvii; Soph. Acharn., 590–590, Phil.
492–496; Ovid, Trist. iii. 4. 53 ff; Virg. Ec.
I.; Tit. Eleg. i. 1; Plin. Ep., etc.; cf. S. Dill,
Roman Society from Nero to M. Aurelius, London,
HOME

1904, p. 188 f.); and, for the witness of Latin inscriptions, see, besides Miss C. G. Bagg, The Church's Race under the Roman Empire, Oxford, 1905, Lect. 4, and also in India (cf. the statement of the Pañchasara, II. 49, that even heaven is not so precious as this body, but he who turns to it is a son of the gods). 8 See, further, Bohtlingk, Ind. Spr. Text. 8, Leipzig, 1870-73, nos. 1013, 1943, 6048, 6839), but it has been said with even greater truth that 'home is specially Teutonic word and thing. . . . The life of home has become the greatest possession, the greatest delight, the great social achievement of our race; it is free from the sordidness and darkness without, an ample compensation for us so much as we want of the social brilliancy and enjoyment of our Latin brethren. Reverence for the household and household life, a high sense of its duties, a keen relish for its pleasures, this has been a strength to German society and much to unite it' (R. W. Church, The Gifts of Civilization, ed. London, 1850, p. 333).

In England the new conceptions of life which Puritanism introduced tended powerfully to raise the standard of family life.

'Home, as we conceive it now, was the creation of the Puritan.' (J. R. Green, Hist. of the English People, London, 1870, i. 39.)

So Emerson, writing in 1847, testifies that 'domesticity is the topmost which enables the (English) nation to support its life and enjoy its prosperity. The motive and end of its trade and empire is to guard the independence and privacy of their homes, to multiply and care for their children, and all the rest.' (Mt 28:19; see also Mt 16:18.)

The special development, then, of the home-forming tendency seems to be characteristic of the Teutonic race; but it is a common human instinct, and, as such, finds its fuller consecration in the course of the gospel. Naturally, the spread of Christianity in the pagan world was responsible for many tragedies of domestic life. Christ's own words fore-shadowed the sin in upon affection and consciences, which would inevitably follow conversion (Mt 10:31-37), and such a passage as 1 Co 7:29 indicates one of the results was bound to arise. In early Christian documents we read of wives embracing Christianity and refusing to live with their husbands (e.g., Just. Apol. ii. 2; cf. Eus. HE iv. 17); in the persecutions, frequent instances are recorded of parents pleading with their children, and children with their parents, if sons disowned by their fathers, and slaves by their masters; of wives divorced, and children disinherited (see Harnack, Expansion of Christianity, Eng. tr., London, 1904, bk ii. ch. 2, for references). But, where the gospel had free course, it issued in the consecration and elevation of family-life—a fact of which the Apologists supply ample evidence.

The fundamental weakness of family life in Roman society was the exaggerated idea of the patria potestas. Domestic duty, it has been well said, was summed up in a single article—that of absolute subjection to the head of the household. It was only by a very gradual process that the wife rose from being the chattel and slave to be the equal of her husband. Filial affection was the rarest of virtues under a system which placed the son at the absolute disposal, and under the despotic control, of his father. In the early centuries of the Empire, various reforms tended to mitigate this state of things. Not only the sons, but the slaves, of the Roman householder found their position improved by a series of legislative reforms (see Lecky, Hist. of Eur. Morals, London, 1869, i. 297 f.). But, as has been pointed out, the moral consecration of family life was the special task of Christianity.

This consecration may be said to begin with our Lord's subjecting the discipline of home life at Nazareth (Lk 2: 41) and with His readiness to hallow family life by His presence and blessing (see Jn 2:11; Lk 10:38). In His letters to the churches of Asia (Eph., Col., Philm.), St. Paul deals with the leading principles of home life in some detail, possibly because 'in the social traditions of "Asia" a certain prominence appears to have attached to the family idea' (H. C. G. Moule, Colossian Studies, London, 1896, p. 154). It is said of Colossians that 'that of husband and wife, that of parent and child, that of master and servant—is exhibited in the light of the Christian ideal. The teaching of 1 P 3:2-5 is illustrated in the home and by the readers of the same race. Perhaps the leading idea of St. Peter is that the gospel confirms and sanctifies the element of order and subordination which lies at the root of stable social life. Both to wives and to servants he preaches the duty of 'subjection.' St. Paul's precepts (Eph., I Cor.) seem also to apply, in the region of family life, the general duty of mutual submission (Eph 5:22); he lays more stress on the principle of active love which subordinates self to the service of others. Both teachers appear to regard the family or home as the appointed sphere of moral discipline and probation for the great majority of mankind, and St. Paul derives its sanctity from the fact that it reflects the mysterious relationships which subsist within the very being of Deity itself (Eph 5:22). It should also be remembered that to the mind of our Lord Himmae the family presents the closest analogy to the new social order which it was His mission to reveal. God is the Father of a family; and the man, and woman, and children, and all their days, are bound to Him (Mt 25:34).' Also the use of σεβόμενον, σεβόμενον in the Epp., and see Harnack, op. cit., bk. iii. ch. 3. In such early documents as Clem. ad Cor. i, Polyc. ad Phil. 4, we find the line of teaching and proofs of its actual influence.

It does not fall within the scope of a short article to deal with all the social and economic tendencies, or the moral and social theories, which threaten the Christian home. It may suffice to point out that the purity and sanctity of Jewish homes was mainly due to the prevailing regard for the chastity of women, and that, where there is any lowering of standard in this particular, the institution of home is threatened. In Rome the growth of moral corruption, avarice, the love of ease, and extravagance, all led directly to the aversion for marriage, the perilous consequences of which Augustus strove to avoid by direct and drastic legislation (see M. M., Das Friedliche der Kleriker, Leipzig, 1870, p. 71 ff.). The rise of monachism and the passion for comitie and solitary life became the occasion of vehement and one-sided disparagement of family duties and the frequent rupture of family ties (see Lecky, op. cit. ii. 129). Nor can it be denied that the institution of family life is threatened in modern times by a spirit of individualistic selfishness which prefers the comparative freedom and ease of a celibate life to the duties and responsibilities involved in marriage. But, apart from all this, we may observe that the possibility of home life, as contemplated by the NT writers, depends to some extent upon conditions which can no longer be taken for granted. The problem of the family is closely connected with the modern problem presented by the aggregation of masses of people in large cities; and it is certain that deep-seated industrial causes are tending to undermine and break up family life. To a large proportion of the working classes in Europe and America, anything like a life in its highest form is virally prohibited by the conditions amid which they pass their lives. A further danger which threatens home life is involved in defective and unsound ideas of what constitutes the good and well-being. It is the obvious duty of the Christian Church to encourage any corrective tendencies, any social endeavours, which make for the integrity and purity of family life. What has been called the battle with the slums is a real contribution to the family problem; and all Christians are bound to take an interest in any scheme for the better
housing of the poor, multiplication of suburban homes, improved sanitation, etc. (on this subject, see F. G. Peabody, Jesus Christ and the Social Questions, 1858, pp. 270, 274). Further, if life is threatened by certain socialist theories, which find in the family an insuperable obstacle to their cherished ideal of a people's life in which personal interests are to be sacrificed to the welfare of the community. Such theories regard marriage and the family as a stronghold of individualism, hindering the citizen from 'complete devotion to the socialist ideal' (Peabody, op. cit. p. 160 ff.). On the other hand, the tendency of anthropological speculation seems to be in the direction of vindicating against socialist attacks the permanent function of the family, regarded as the highest result of the historic process of social evolution. And, again, if it is true that the individual finds his true self-development in subordination to or co-operation with his fellows, if corporate life is a reality, the great instrument for training character, it is obvious that the family has higher social significance than was once perceived. Life is the fundamental form which life in common can assume. It involves precisely that training in social affections, that discipline in self-sacrifice and mutual service, which corresponds most closely to the Christian conception of worthy human life.

The family exhibits in the simplest and most unanswerable type the truths of dependence and trust, of subordinancy and obedience, of obligation and helpfulness by which every form of true society is sustained. In the family we learn to set aside the conception of right and to place in its stead the conception of duty. Thus the family figures in the training of the next generation (1 Ti 5:18). Again, it is noticeable that the gospel does not multiply directions in regard to the Christian's conduct in the larger spheres of human life—the world of business, of politics, of professional life. It confines itself to regulating family life with special minuteness and care; nor does it demand more than the right of individuals as to enforce their duties. Thus, in Eph. and Col., St. Paul gives a summary of the simple but far-reaching rules which should control home life. He addresses his turn husbands, wives, children, and servants—that is, all members of the typical household. Each in his turn is exhorted to bear in mind his or her duties and the rightful claims of the other. And, again, it is the principles that give to home life its sacredness and importance.

The desire for wedded life and controlling the choice of a partner (cf. 1 Co 7:1); inspiring the 'nurture and admonition' of children and leading a sanction to their obedience (Eph 6:4); giving dignity to the necessary tasks of the household and even to the fulfilment of menial duties (Eph 5:22, Col 3:24). All is to be observed and fulfilled 'in the Lord,' in union with His mind and under the leading of His Spirit; all duties are to be discharged 'as to the Lord and not unto men,' in the consciousness of His continual presence and in single-hearted desire to serve Him.

The home is to exhibit in its perfect beauty the working of the law of love. Love is the duty commended to the husband in particular. Men are to love their wives with reverence, tender regard; with them resides the element of authority, but the rightful exercise of authority is not to be allowed to become a 'root of bitterness' or cause of irritation. And love is to be kept true and pure by habitual recollection both of the entire dependence of the wife on her husband, and of the sacred mystery which wedded love symbolizes—the self-sacrificing love of Christ for the Church (Eph 5:25). The mutual love of those who are brothers by birth (φιλαδελφία) is a type and earnest of that larger love of those who are brethren in the family of Christ, the family in the strict sense being an image of the Kingdom of God, or as it has been described, 'a State and a Church in little,' in which the binding and inspiring power of affection may be first realized.

St. Paul and St. Peter alike lay stress on the law of dutifulness. While the gospel recognizes woman's spiritual equality with man, it also guards the rightful responsibility and leadership of the man; on the other hand, nothing is said to favour the assertion of leadership on the part of the husband. On the children is impressed the duty of obedience; nothing is said to them of possible pretexts for resisting parental authority; on the other hand, the parent is warned against the misuse of authority over either children or servants (Eph 6:4). Fathers are exhorted to show diligence and faithfulness; nothing is said to them of 'right' or 'liberties' or of the 'iniquity' of a dependent position. The master, for his part, is urged to keep alive in himself the sense of responsibility towards those who are his equals in the sight of the heavenly King and Judge (Eph 6:9; see Monle, Ephésiens, 1900, chs. xv, xvi, Colossians Studies, ch. xi.).

Another principle implied, though not expressly indicated, in the NT treatment of the Christian home is the law of social service. Home love is in germ the love which is to fulfill its obligations in every relationship of life. It includes

'Love, as God hath loved you,'

And eido me.
phileters, but training men in large-hearted sympathy and wide social affection.

The closer and warmer the home affection, the larger and stronger should become those social instincts which make life tolerable except in a community. And if they stop short at the domestic limits, and refuse to open out to their wider, deeper and more comprehensive, one as much as against the State ("R. S. Holland, in Lombard Street in Lent, London, 1892, p. 184 f.; see also R. S. Macleod, "Introductory Lecture to Social Philoso-

Home life, in a word, fails of its divinely ordained purpose, if it does not educate and fortify the spirit of social service, if it does not awaken compassion, and deepen insight into the social needs of mankind.

In this article we have been concerned with the ideas presented by the NT. But it should not be forgotten that, while the home is an institution which has been evolved by the needs of the race—an institution to which the Christian spirit has added new grace, justice, and stability—modern conditions have brought us to what may be a period of re-construction, when it will be the task of Christian to define anew the essential principles of family ethics. Industrial conditions, new phases of religious thought, the movement for the higher education of women and their free ascription to independent professions and occupations—these and such-like changes have materially affected the normal features of home life. 'Our democracy is making inroads upon the family, and a claim is being advanced which in a certain sense is larger than the family claim' (J. Addams, Democracy and Social Ethics, London, 1902, p. 77).

The position of boys and girls earning an independent income at a comparatively early age, the modern revolt against domestic service, the new ideals of social usefulness which have been inspired by a wider outlook and an improved education—these things have raised personal problems in family life, the solution of which depends upon submission to the progressive guidance of the Christian spirit. It must suffice to indicate the circumstances which, apart from the conditions which directly tend towards the decay of home life, render the fulfillment of home duty a less easy task than it was in the first age of Christianity. On this subject the work by J. Addams quoted above is interesting and suggestive. It remains true that the first of Christian social duties is 'to show piety at home' (1 Th 5), and that home must always continue to be the school of those graces and virtues which men need for effectual service, whether in the State or in the Church.

LITERATURE.—Besides the various books mentioned in the body of the article, see the works of Harries, Dorner, Mar-\n

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HOMER.—The religion and ethics of Homer—whether they belong to an actual evanescence 'Achaean' period in the history of Greece, or are the result of a combination of older and newer elements effected as part of a general process of evolution and harmonization extending over many centuries—have at least a superficial aspect of consistency. This is, no doubt, partly due to the peculiar quality of Homerian art, its unsurpassed lucidity and clearness of outline; to the Homeric spirit with its hatred of vagueness and mysticism. But this temper and art are themselves so characteristically Hellenic that we cannot look to them for any explanation of the great story behind the story. The religion of the Iliad and Odyssey and that of historical Greece. For the beliefs of Homer are as distinctive as they are definite, and are now admitted by every one to be the product of historical causes. What those causes were is becoming every day more and more obviously the real problem at the heart of the 'Homeric question.' Till they have been discovered, we must be content with a statement of the facts generally within our knowledge, although it must be admitted that the whole significance of these is altered according as one does, or does not, regard them as representing an actual stage (to which the Homeric poems themselves are our only witnesses) in the development of Greek religious thought.

It will be understood that 'Homer' is used throughout this article as a synonym for the Iliad and Odyssey, without reference to the question of their authorship. The books of the Iliad are quoted according to the capital letters of the Greek alphabet, the books of the Odyssey by the term.

1. RELIGION.—The gods. These are, of course, anthropomorphic, as all Greek gods were or tended to become. They are, indeed, taller and more beautiful, wiser and more powerful, poor men, and are exempt from old age and death; but otherwise they are scarcely thought of as physically different. They are said to have houses on Olympus, either as actually dwelling upon the Thessalian mountain—and this is certainly the original meaning of the phrase—or, as in the Odyssey, inhabiting a kind of heaven which has nothing of Olympus but the name (r. 42 f.). They form a somewhat subordinate family-group under the government of Zeus, Olympian society being organized upon the same loosely paternal principles as society among Homeric men. They intervene constantly in human affairs, generally in human form, but sometimes in the semblance of birds. They are the sources of good and evil to men; although it is only some special skill or excellence that is regarded as the gift of a particular god, as skill in archery from Apollo or the healing from Asclepius; cf. Iliad 51, 61, 233). They are, theoretically, omnipotent and omniscient; or, at least, Zeus is so. They are subject to human passions and actuated by human motives. All this is quite in accordance with Greek religion in its classical form, although the wealth and vitality of detail in which the anthropomorphic aspect of the gods is realized are peculiarly Homeric. What is most important and characteristic in the religion of Homer is the clear perception of a fundamental distinction between the human and the divine. Whatever may have happened in the remote past, as when Ino was made immortal (r. 324 f.), in Homer's world no man is a god or can become a god. This is the poet's special contribution to Greek thought, historically considered, it is one of the most important ever made; for the conception of the Divine King was one that died hard in the Egyptian world (G. Murray, Zeus of the Greek Epic, 158 f.).

Andrew Lang makes a distinction between what he calls the ethical religion of Homer and his attitude toward mythology (World of Homer, 190). So far as they are religious beings, Homer's gods are very grand and imposing figures, worthy of all respect and reverence. They are usually just, kindly, and placable, although their goodwill is often purchased and their wrath appeased, merely, it seems, by sufficient sacrifice. They are bound by their oaths, which they make by the water of X. (O 32, 496). Their relation to Fate (Moira, Alas) is apparently not consistently stated, no doubt because it has not been clearly thought out. Sometimes the poet uses the language of fatalism (X 5; cf. 2 457 f.); but, speaking generally, Moira coincides with, or is, the will of the gods, more especially the will of Zeus. It is, in fact, in a quite literal way to speak of Zeus the 'God of the Gods' and the 'God of the World'—the division of the tribe which belongs to him. This conception of Moira invests Zeus with a very real moral grandeur when he subdues his own feelings, as when he allows his son Sarpedon to fall by the hand of Patroklos (11 431 ff.), and is moved by the
tragedy of the war (721). It is to Zeus that the poor woman at the milestone prays in the palace in Ithaca, when she calls down his thunder upon her oppressors (v. 115 f.). He is the protector of suppliants, and says to them, (631 f.), and beggars (67). He punishes those who give crooked judgments in the assembly and drive out Dike, the Right Way of things, disregarding the anger of the gods, when they are said to wander disguised over the earth observing the lawlessness and righteoussness of men (485 f.). ‘Evil the gods do not permit, nor those gods love not heartless actions’ (63). The helplessness of man, which is so much in the mind of Homer, makes him dependent upon divine aid; ‘All men feel the need of gods’ (658).

Such are the gods of Homer who think of them religiously. Even so, they are apt to be vengeful and capricious, while from another point of view they are decidedly unsympathetic, being lifted so far above human needs and weaknesses. But they do move us to a half-unwilling respect and awe. One can understand the phenomenon evolved by the great statue of Zeus at Olympia which was inspired by a famous passage in the Iliad; for, as Lang has remarked (op. cit. 117), the Olympians of Homer are the Olympians of Phidias. But, when the poet comes to deal with the gods of mythology, he adopts a very different tone. In his hands they cease to be moral. The charge of Xenophon, that Homer attributes to the gods all that is accounted a shame and a reproach among men—theft and adultery and deceiving of one another (fr. 151), the way a draughtsman in the rhapsody of the 'Lay of Demodokos' in 0, the Deceiving of Zeus in X; cf. the 'Battle of the Gods' in 388 ff.—an episode on the verge of burlesque. Yet perhaps the gods did not approve of their nature and tonic at the time it was made—is somewhat beside the mark. Homer is not preaching religion; he is trying to solve a very difficult artistic problem. He could not avoid the mythology of his subject, but the gods as actors in that mythology he could not respect. A naive faith can cast at what it holds most sacred, but the religion of which we have quoted some instances was anything rather than naive. Homer simply took the gods of mythology as he found them, much lower in the moral scale than the heroes, the parents and women, and treated them, as it were, decoratively (see Murray, op. cit. 280 f.). The truth is that Homer does not sympathize with, scarcely seems to understand, the old folk-religion of Greece which existed so long before and after him. Its leading deities, Dionysos and the Mother and Maid, Demeter and Persephone, he barely mentions; the various Mysteries, which were so important a feature in it, he does not mention at all. Neither do we find in Homer any certain reference to the belief in heroes in the technical sense of the term, ‘the divine race who are called half-gods,’ as Hesiod describes them (Theog. 185), whose innumerable results sufficiently prove how ancient and influential their worship was in Greece; for the lines describing the divine honours paid to Erechtheus in Athens occur in the Catalogue of the ships (B 544 ff.), and even there there are perhaps an Athenian interpolation. Herakles, the typical ‘hero’, is for Homer ‘the man Herakles’ (25).

One of the pleasant aspects of the gods who appear in the Iliad and Odyssey—and these the aspects which counted for most in the popular faith—are completely ignored. Homer will have nothing to do with the gods of the people, and makes light of the ‘sacred stories’ of which Greek literature is so full from Hesiod to Pausanias and Plutarch. Indeed, it is obvious that a religion like that which we find in the Homeric poems—a religion of which we are tempted to complain that it makes too much rather than too little of reason and sanity—involve the criticism and ultimate destruction of the simple faith which could accept the myths as a decent account of the happenings of the gods. That this is not due to the personal predilections of a single poet with an eclectic creed follows from the very nature of the Epos. Homer had to be true to tradition; he had to retell an old tale. The fact that the story involves the prominence of certain gods and beliefs and the exclusion of others is ground for concluding that the former must have been prominent and the latter absent at all periods in the life of the saga. Without Zeus and Apollo, for instance, there could be no Iliad; without Poseidon and Athena, no Odyssey. These, then, were in the saga from the beginning; that is to say, they were gods of the people whose beliefs were enshrined in it. If we apply this criterion to the Homeric poems, it leads to important historical conclusions. For it seems reasonable to hold that the divinities' sole action is most vivid in the organic structure of the poems were the 'Achaean gods, while those whom Homer dislikes or disregards were non-Achaeans. This conclusion is strengthened by a good deal of evidence from the history of Greek religion. We know now the general spirit and character of the old Cretan and Mycenaean religions—the worship of the Bull-god, the prevalent cult of the Earth-goddess, the careful tendance of the dead; and it is certain that, at a date which can only be conjecturally fixed, the ancient faith was overcast by Hellenic influence. Here, as in other cases, the spirit of the Epos is overcast by the worship of certain deities clearly of Northern origin, especially the Father-god Zeus. That this worship was introduced by the tribes who, in the times of the Mycenaean, pushed down from the North into Greece is the obvious and accepted hypothesis. The Homeric poems clearly reflect a period of Northern ('Achaean') predominance, which implies and includes the predominance of the Northern religion over the native 'Aegaean' worship of ghosts and goddesses. That the divinities of the Homeric pantheon are all gods of the invaders is not true; there has demonstrably been some fusion with, and affiliation to, certain divinities of the native peoples. But Homer does preserve more clearly than anything in the whole literature the memory of a religion more distinctly Northern in character than that of pre-Homeric or classical Greece, and with an observable bias in it against the indigenous agricultural and chthonian cults. This is the historical basis of his 'Olympianism', the root from which it has grown, although we must not assume that the flower represents the creed of any actual age or people. It grew out of popular religion, but, as it appears full-blow out in the Iliad and Odyssey, it is not itself popular religion. It is too selective for that, too systematic. 'It was Homer and Hesiod,' says Herodotus, 'who composed a 'theogony' for the Greeks, and who first gave the gods distinctive titles, and defined their forms and functions' (ii. 53). (For a description of the process by which the Olympian ideal was evolved by gradual differentiation from popular notions of divinity, see J. E. Harrison, Themis, ch. v. p. 446 ff.)

Of the Homeric gods, the most prominent in the Iliad are (besides Zeus) Apollo, Athena, Hera, Poseidon, and Aphrodite; in the Odyssey (besides Zeus), Athena, Poseidon, Helios, and Hermes.

(1) Zeus is the supreme god, the 'father of gods and men' (A 544), and, among men, in a special sense of kings, who often have the epithet 'Zeus-born.' He is clearly the deity of a people with patriarchal institutions, and exercises a kind of
patris potestas among the other Olympians. His authority is effective, although not unchallenged, especially by Hera, his wife, the ancient goddess of Argos, whose rebelliousness towards him may possibly reflect some earlier conflict between their worshippers. Whether Zeus was a specifically Athenian god from the first is not at all certain. There is evidence which indicates that he was worshipped at Dodona long before the coming of Achaeans there. But it is certain that he became the chief god of the people whom Homer calls Achaeans, and his characteristics in Homer are nearly all 'Northern.' Nor is his earliest home in the far north-west forgotten, for Achilles prays to him as 'Zeus the Lord, God of Dodona, Pelagian' (II 233). But normally he dwells upon Mount Olympus; he is, indeed, pre-eminently 'the Olympian.' (A 593, 583, 589). This also without doubt has its historical justification, taking us back to a time when his worshippers dwelt in North Thessaly, as tradition always maintained. Originally, then, 'the Olympian' meant 'he who dwells on Olympus' in Thessaly, although, as many mountains in Greece were named Olympus, and at least one famous seat of Zeus-worship was called Olympia, the epithet 'Olymp' gradually extended its connotation. Homer, indeed, speaks of the gods generally as 'the Olympians.' What is decisive is that this recalls by paroxysm on the summit of a mountain (e.g. O 3). He watches the fortunes of the war from Gargara, a peak of Mount Ida in the Troade, where he has a precinct and altar (O 47 f., e.g. X 171, P 276, D 306). This explains why Zeus seems all through the Iliad to favour the Trojans. He is the god of both sides, and the god of Ida is opposed to the god of Olympus, in Homer said himself in the upper air (II 412). This is natural in a divinity who is primarily a Sky-god, lord of the elements, above all of the thunderstorm, from which he derives many epithets (παρπάνεως, ἀνεμοφόρος, etc. of A 593, II 398). He is armed with the thunderbolt and theegis, and is himself a great war-god (οἰκονόμος, A 84). The Homeric Zeus is, in fact, an excellent illustration of the way in which certain primitive traits of a divinity may persist side by side with others which obviously belong to a totally different stage of religious thought. He never loses his original character of a Sky- and Thunder-god, but he is gradually modified into the Zeus of certain great passages already quoted.

(2) The same process has been at work in the case of Apollo; but it has gone much further, and eliminated almost every trace of his original nature. The probability is that he was, to begin with, a Sun-god; but no one could infer that from Homer. He was a war-god in Homer, a war-god, strong upon the side of the Trojans and Lydians. Apollo, as his cults testify and Homer well known (A 37 f.), was the great divinity of the Troade; and his favour towards the Lydians would also be explained if we could accept as proved Wilamowitz's hypothesis of his Lydian origin, and translate his epithet λυκερός (A 101) by Lydian-born. Outside Troy and the Troade, 'rocky Pnyx' is already sacred to him (I 406), and he has a consecrated grove at Iasinos in Thrace (c 930) and in Ithaca (c 278). But it is strange to find that one of the greatest of Greek gods in the estimation of Homer himself has so little connexion in the Epos with Greece proper. He is armed with the bow (A 45 f.—an archaic topos), since his highest epithet is 'the Par-Darter' (τυμπάνως, etc. A 14, 75, 385, 479, etc.). References to other aspects afterwands prominent in the Apolline religion are neither numerous nor important. But the ideal figure of Apollo in Homer, rising at times to sublimity, exercised an incaulable influence upon Greek art, and, through Greek art, upon modern notions of what is implied in Hellenism.

(3) Conjoined with Zeus and Apollo in the recurring formula of appeal to the gods (B 371, A 288, etc.) is Athena (Ἀθηνα). The association is evidently significant, for it reappears in the religion (see Harrison, Themis, 501 f.). Of all the gods, these are the three most highly honoured, Zeus, of course, in the highest degree (cf. O 540). Athena, in his daughter and favourite child, although reference is nowhere made to the legend of her birth from his head—not the kind of story likely to appeal to Homer. She carries the aegis, like his father the Thunder-god (B 447, B 728); and the explanation of this seems to be found in her development, as Pallas, from the palladion, two round shields she placed so as to touch at the rim and form the figure 8), which was regarded as a 'thunder-shield.' Hence she is a great war-goddess—indeed, the chief Achaeian divinity of war, and more than a match for Achilles. Her other name, 'Athena,' connects her with Attica. Whether Homer thought of her as a specially Athenian goddess is not clear from the poems themselves, although the epithet 'Athena' is evidence enough of her historical association with Athena. Another of her epithets, 'Gleukopis,' points in the same direction; for it means no more than 'grey-eyed' or 'bright-eyed,' it must be derived from γλυκός, and the owl, as every one remembers, was the sacred bird of the Athenian goddess. So with the title 'Bodipis' applied to Hera, the ancient Cow-goddess of Argos (A 551). But these traces of primitive religion are not consciously realized, or are deliberately suppressed, in Homer, who himself in the form of a woman 'fair and tall and skilled in gleaming crafts' (c 399)—wise, also, and mighty in war. It is the Athena of Thebeidas.

(4) The same idealizing tendency has been at work upon Poseidon; and it has been remarked that Apollo, Athena, and Poseidon, who are never made to appear mean or ridiculous like most of the other Olympians on occasion, were the chief deities of the Ionian race. Whatever inference may be drawn from that, the Poseidon of Homer is certainly an impressive creation, with something about him of the turbulence and splendour of the sea. For it is as god of the sea that he is consistently presented in both the Iliad and the Odyssey; although the Iliad seems not unaware of his function as the god of horses (B 307, 834). The epithet 'Earth-shaker' (ερετοτρευς, ερετος) does not help us, for it is at least as applicable to his power of making earthquakes as to his shaking the land with his waves; while the title πατρες is of uncertain meaning. For the most part the Homerian partisans of the Achaeans. But he is wroth with them for building a wall that is like to eclipse the glory of that built for Troy by Apollo and himself when they failed for Laomedon (II 448 ff.) and Zeus gives him permission to destroy the Greek fortifications after the war. To this there is doubtless some background of fact, and we become sure of it when the god rescues Ακελας from Achilles, that the descendants of the Trojan hero may reign in Troyland (T 306 ff.). The persecution of the Isacians by Poseidon, with this as a poetical motive in the blinding of Polyphemus, the uncouth son of the god. But it, too, perhaps rests on some ground of actuality, since the injunctions of Tiresias seem to point to the foundation of some known cult of Poseidon among a people ignorant of the sea (A 121 f.).

(5) Argo and Aphrodite are associated in both the Iliad (B 555 ff., 8 416) and the Odyssey (B 969 ff.). They are treated unsympathetically by Homer,
especially Ares. The explanation seems to be that both are ‘Thracian’ divinities, and the Homeric Thracians are enemies of the Achaeans. Ares at least is a Thracian in Homer (S 301, Θ 261) — Aphrodite was originally his wife; although in the fabliau-like Lay of Demodokos she is represented as the wife of Hephaisteus. On the other hand, theapotheosis of Ares by Homer (του Αρεως [A 288]) makes it likely that Aphrodite is called the daughter of Zeus and Dione (S 349, 370). She is named the ‘Cytherean’ (του Αρεως [A 256], [A 183]). She intercedes to save her son Aeneas from the hands of Diomedes (S 311 ff.) — a reminiscence, perhaps, in the tradition of her original nature as a war-goddess. Homer, however, regards her as simply the goddess of Love, peculiarly unfitted, in fact, for the strife of her brothers (του Αρεως [A 256]). She is, however, one aspect of the Homeric god who accords with the popular conception of him, namely that in which he is Psychopompos, Conductor of the Dead to the underworld; for in the cults Hermes has important chthonian functions (ος μη θανει; the passage, however, is late). His magic golden wand (του Αρεως [A 47]) belongs to him in this capacity. The epithet he bears (φιλόνεις, δάκτυλα, τεῦχος, ψυχομετέχως) are all unexplained. It is one of the distinctions between the ‘dead and the Odysseus of the music’ who forms the messenger of Zeus, while in the latter it is Hermes.

(7) Of the Olympians, Hephaisteus is most definitely connected with a special locality—Lemnos (A 583, Θ 285 ff.). As Fire-god he appears sometimes to be almost identified with the element he controls (e.g. Φ 245 ff.). His skill as a craftsman is much celebrated (A 608, Θ 196, etc., Σ 478 ff.) but for the most part he is treated in a vein of gentle, charmed occultism.

(8) Idilto (m 278 ff.) is even more elemental in his being, simply the personified Sun, one of the ancient Nature-gods dwelling in the background of Homeric religion. This background also belong not only Dionysos and Demeter with certain minor divinities such as Aiolos, Kirke, Proteus, Lenokos, but the great company of nymphs, river-gods, and the like, who have in all ages been very real to the imagination of the Greek people (see J. C. Lawson, Modern Greek Buddhism, etc., Cambridge, 1910, p. 150 ff.). The essential nature of Dionysos and Demeter as spirits of the changing seasons prevented their becoming Olympians, for, these do not suffer age or death, whereas the central fact in the ritual of Dionysos and Demeter was a drama of the death and re-birth of the god.

2. The world of the dead.—The Homeric conception of the soul and its destiny differs as much from that which seems to have been at all times current in Greece as his Olympians differ from the gods of the people. Yet it is a logical accompaniment, either as cause or effect, of the Homeric practice of cremation, and it can be paralleled from history. In Homer the dead man is habitually burned, and a mound heaped over his ashes. Only in this case can his soul (μοῦροι) be set free to enter the realm of Hades. The case of the unburned and unburied is excluded by the dead already there (του Θεος 71 ff.). It is impossible for a race which burns its dead, customary at Paphos (του Θεος 363). This recalls her undoubted kinship with the Oriental Love-goddess whom the Greeks called Astarte (φιλαρατους) for Cyprus early received a large Semitic element in its population. She is also named the ‘Cytherean’ (του Θεος 363, του Θεος 183). She intercedes to save her son Aeneas from the hands of Diomedes (S 311 ff.) — a reminiscence, perhaps, in the tradition of her original nature as a war-goddess. Homer, however, regards her as simply the goddess of Love, peculiarly unfitted, in fact, for the strife of her brothers (του Θεος 256). She is, however, one aspect of the Homeric god who accords with the popular conception of him, namely that in which he is Psychopompos, Conductor of the Dead to the underworld; for in the cults Hermes has important chthonian functions (ος μη θανει; the passage, however, is late). His magic golden wand (του Θεος 47) belongs to him in this capacity. The epithet he bears (φιλόνεις, δάκτυλα, τεῦχος, ψυχομετέχως) are all unexplained. It is one of the distinctions between the ‘dead and the Odysseus of the music’ who forms the messenger of Zeus, while in the latter it is Hermes.

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vales from an age of embalming and inhumation (e.g. use of ἀναψηκτὶς [I 413, s 65]). The exact weight to be attached to these indications is not easy to judge. They may qualify a little, but they do not alter the fact that in Homer the dead are always burned, and that their souls exist in separation from their bodies in a world reached at the verge of Oceanus in the extreme West; whereas the normal Greek practice was to inhume the dead, and the normal Greek belief was that the soul after death somehow maintained its connection with the body, and that the realm of Hades was under the earth—as at least one passage in the Iliad intimates (I 410)—to be reached by certain known caverns or clefts in the ground. The contradiction is radical. Ghost-worship, hero-worship—the whole of that chthonian religion which meant so much to the Greeks of history—are steadily ignored in Homer; Hades and Persephone are mere names.

3. Ritual and priests.—The gods are approached by men with prayer and burnt-offering. The two things naturally go together; and, when prayer is made to a god without sacrifice, it usually contains a reminder of sacrifices offered on previous occasions (cf. A 40). That is because the attitude of the worshipper is not unfairly expressed as δοῦναι. For the same reason a prayer usually includes a vow to make an offering to the god, if the request be granted. Doubtless there is in Homer some lingering feeling that the sacrifice is more than a mere business transaction, that the god of one's own tribe will be more disposed to accept it that an alien deity, perhaps even that the relation thus established between worshipped and worshipper has a certain mystical force. But he does not think of sacrifice as a sacrament. The ritual is elaborately described for us, most fully in the third book of the Odyssey, when Nestor sacrifices an ox (A 785, γ 9), a white male lamb to Halios (I 103), and so on. This victim was to be unblemished, and the sacrificer must be ceremonially clean. Sacrifice offered in confirmation of an oath is exceptional in admitting a mimetic or at least symbolical element: 'whichever side breaks the oath first, may their brains be split on the ground like this wine' (I 300); and the flesh of the victim was not eaten (s 110). Since we have to do in Homer with burnt sacrifices all the time, the altar on which the victim is laid is the most important thing. The altar he speaks of are the high hēmōi. The low σκαρών, which served as altar in hero-worship, melts in the Iliad of Homer, and in the Aeneid (A 173, γ 153). Temples are rarely mentioned, and then in passages whose evidential value is questioned (see Cauer, Grundzüge der 8. Lief, Leipzig, 1908, p. 297 f.). There are certainly many reminiscences of a time when temples did not as yet exist, and the altar of the god stood in the open air, in a grove or sacred enclosure (τεμεῖον, or by running water (I 506, I 404, γ 291, etc.). Only one statue is mentioned—that of Athena in her temple at Troy, which must have represented the goddess as seated (cf. I 303), although the earliest images of the gods were standing. As to priests, they are always attached to some special sacred place and the service of some special divinity. There is no priestly caste in Homer as in later Greece. Sometimes we meet with a priest of a very primitive type, like Maron who 'dwelt in the grove of Apollo' (I 390), like Ogyges, who is called an ἄρχοντας, or cursing-man (A 11), like the Seilis of Dodona, who had unwatched feet and slept on the ground (I 238). These last were perhaps prophets rather than priests; and priests, as we must expect in every saga, play a considerable part in both the Iliad and the Odyssey, especially Kalchas in the former and Teiresias in the latter. The κληρονομεύον had the gift of second sight (I 381 f.).

There were also priests to consult. Homer mentions two: that of Zeus at Dodona (E 327), and that of Apollo at Pytho (Delphi [I 80]). We hear a great deal of omens, drawn mainly from signs of the weather and the flight of birds, and also from such things as a chance word (φωνή, ἀκρογύμνος [E 35, γ 117]) or a sneeze (s 541). There is no instance, however, and this can hardly be accidental—of any suggestion of contact with the Behistun inscription or of the behaviour of the sacrifice as the fire consumed it. On the other hand, a dream comes from Zeus (A 65) and we hear of an interpreter of dreams (E 149), which may be false or true (s 662 f.). Of magic, except in the fairyland of Odysseus' wanderings, where incredible things may allowly happen, there is no mention (see, however, E 645, γ 457). Curses were addressed to Hades, Persephone, and the Erinyes (I 454, 669); to make them hear, the mother of Mnesiloe beat with her hands upon the earth.

II. ETHICS.—The morality of Homer has an appearance of even greater uniformity and consistency than his religion. It is, to a large extent, characteristic of a feudal society. The cardinal virtue is, no doubt, Courage. Next to Courage comes Wisdom, the capacity for thought and speech. The praise of Achilles and Ajax among the Achaeans is that they are the first of the Danai in council and in battle (A 258); and again Achilles was taught to be 'a speaker of words and a doer of deeds' (I 433). But it is in Odyssey that both virtues are most justly combined; and that example helps us to remember—what no Greek was likely to forget—that the mere possession of wisdom was not enough without the eloquence necessary to recommend it.

Besides these special qualities, and, as it were, beneath them, we have to take account of a more comprehensive feeling, which, although scarcely conscious enough of itself to be in the full sense ethical, is the basis of nearly all the moral teachings in Homer. The classical Greek writers spoke of it as a feeling for the exact 'limit' or 'measure' to be observed in the quality of a man's actions. But in Homer it is still in what may be called its instinctive stage, and one detects behind it a greater reinforcement of emotion than goes with the Aristotelian doctrine of the Mean. It has both a positive and a negative side. It is first of all a positive, and not a negative, sentiment. It takes the form of a protest against excess. The positive emotion is called by Homer 'Acharis,' which is a Hebrew word which does not mean that one should not avoid the excess. The emotion stirred in us by the lack of Aids in the Odyssey he calls 'Nemesis.' Thus Nemesis comes to be, as it were, the sanction of Aids. But the good man means 'Acharis' not as a sentiment of great application. He need not fear the condemnation of gods or men. Then there enters something like the sentiment of chivalry. Achilles would not despise the dead man, but felt the emotion of his armour (E 417 f.). Chieftains must not be laggards in the fight like a mean man (I 114 f.); noblesse oblige. But Aids and Nemesis together include more than the medieval ideal, although they have not all its heroic quality. They are applicable to pretty nearly all the relations in which human beings can stand to one another, but not in history. Homer often forms the standing moral problem in a society in dissolution or frankly based upon physical force—the relation of the stronger to the weaker. Aids and Nemesis are not presented as a relation of Aids and the object of Nemesis. In practice, the limit is roughly defined by what is usual—cust m
("Diktē"); to what time has brought the moral authorizations, and thus to the Right Way, we may generally substitute "Themis," which is specialized to a slightly more ethical sense. It is the nearest word in the Greek that is translated by Law, but it is often a mere abstract noun, or else, as its roots lie in mere ancient use and wont; the plural themistai means pronouncements of what is customary, and therefore right and just, in particular cases. In this way a body of precedents may arise, capable in time of being systematized into a legal code. But in Homer we have not yet reached that stage. Even if we point to the "law" theme in room at a diversity of private opinion—that judgment is best which obtains the applause of the assembled tribesmen (2 508 f.). Here public opinion counts for something. It is only in an ordered society that public opinion can be brought to bear effectively upon individual conduct. Now, Homeric society is not highly organized; and so in its Aídes and Nomeis have a supreme value and importance, because, in the absence of an effective administration of justice, it is to them alone in the last resort that the helpless can appeal with any hope of success. The entire defenseless in this society consist of the dead, the aged, strangers, and suppliants, every one, in fact, who cannot assert his rights by force and has no one to assert them for him. Such people are áktai; Aídes, due to them, even belong to them, almost like an attribute. If a man was aídes in dealing with them, he was a dangerous man, endowed with some baneful power over his life even in their own death. Homer expresses this by placing them in the center of the gods (Hecuba 556, Λ 733), and often speaks of Zeus as the protector and avenger of the stranger and suppliant. But that is only a more theological view, not a law theme. Room at the helpless are charged with a quality which contains itself some mystic power of punishing its violation. And not only the helpless have this quality, but kings and even, to some extent, old men, the former because of the divinity that hedges them and in primitive communities (not, of course, in Homeric society) guards them by a tabu, the latter because of the sanctity attaching to the male heads of families in a patrilineal tribe. Hence, in Homer, kings and old men are áktai, the latter for 2 532 (Acts 2:23), we may even find nearly the whole of Homeric morality: truthfulness, for instance, and the faithful keeping of a pledge or oath (oikia).

This morality at its best is singularly pure and noble, humane and at times even tender, in spite of the atmosphere of passion and struggle in which the poems are involved. This may easily be illustrated by quotations, from the ringing "T Hateful to me as the gates of Death is the man who hides one thing in his heart and says another of Achilles (2 581) to the words of Odysseus toward the end of the Odyssey: "It is an unholy thing to boast over the slain" (v. 415). But individual quotations scarcely show it as well as the general tone of both epics. Nay, the mere working out of their plots reveals a profound ethical sense. No one can follow the tragedy of Achilles to its conclusion in the last book of the Iliad without an enrichment of moral experience; and, when in the Odyssey the suitors at last meet their doom, we feel that this is more than poetic justice: it is a kind of thodiktē.

The morality of Homer, however, does not everywhere reach this high level. The declensions are rare, but their very rarity makes them instructive. They may be explained in two ways: as justified by the circumstances under which they occur, or as survivals of an earlier stage in the growth of the Iliad and Odyssey, these being regarded on this hypothesis as traditional poems. If, for example, we take the treatment of the beast side with the thrilling humanity of the sentiment that it is an unholy thing to boast over the fallen, and with the implied condemnation of the mutilation of Hector’s body, instead of both kinds of brutality (1 164 f., N 202 f., P 120 f., Σ 177; boasting over the dead—N 374 f., 414 f., 445 f., etc.). These things, it may be said, are done in hot blood; in his normal moments no warrior would be guilty of them. Perhaps it is because there was a certain deliberateness in the actions that Achilles’ treatment of Hector’s body (X 266, X 264) and the sacrifice of twelve Trojan youths on the pyre of Patroclus (v. 176) offend the poet. There is only one case of torture in Homer (X 474 ff.), which would be justifiable, if torture were ever justifiable. But it is certain that Homer dislikes and makes as little as possible of these inhumanities of warfare; and, if we do find them here and there, it is because they were inherent in the tradition; for they are not romantic horrors invented by the poet, but relics of barbarism, the battle-customs of the Achaeans. It has, in fact, been argued that the Homeric poems contain traces of actual exurgation.

But exurgation (it is pointed out) is not always successful: witness the instances given of mutilation and cruelty. At the same time it should not be forgotten that Homer is describing a society disorganized by war and recent conquest—the kind of society in which strangers were asked whether they were merchants or pirates (Od. 3:50, 222 f.; v. 1745; cf. Thuc. I 5). In times like those the morality even of good men is put to a searching test, and the surprises comes to be that the Homeric state is so high. Moreover, it is what is best in the ethics of Homer that is most characteristic; for, as we have seen, its defects are largely traditional or conventional. It is the same with what may be called the domestic morality of the poems. There is a wonderful tenderness in the relations of Hektor to Andromache, of Odysseus to Penelope, of Achilles to Thetis, of Akhilleus to Aítes and Nausikaa. One must, of course, allow a little for deliberate idealization, but the nature of the ideal helps us to understand the atmosphere of the normal Homeric household. Sometimes we catch sight of uglier possibilities. Helen and Paris are scarcely a happy pair. There is the extremely painful and pathetic story of Pándaros related in the ninth book of the Iliad (447 ff.). Klytaimnéstra figures prominently in the background of the Odyssey. Yet here again it is the more favourable picture that gives the truer view. The Odyssey might almost be called a celebration of the domestic virtues.

In essentials, Homeric morality is that of the great period of Athenian history, although there are things in Homer which shocked the moral sense, of philosophers at least, in Ionia and Athena, just as, on the other hand, there were certain
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practices tolerated by public opinion in Classical Greece with which Homer will have nothing to do. It must be admitted that he has no moral philosophy, in the same way and for the same reason that he has no philosophy of religion. One has but to think of Achilles or even Findar to realize how unphilosophic he is. But that was inevitable. Apart from the fact that a poet is not a moralist, a poem like the Iliad must reflect the national point of view—-at any rate the point of view of a dominant class in the nation—and not that of the individual artist. Hence the morality of the Homeric poems is popular morality, raised to a new power in virtue of the new splendour of expression given to it. For this reason they were for centuries regarded, in spite of an occasional protest like that of Plato, as a kind of handbook of ethics; as such they were taught in schools. It is impossible to exaggerate the positive influence of Homeric morals and morals in the ancient world and upon modern ideas concerning paganism. They, in fact, constitute a great deal of what has hitherto been understood by that elusive word.

LITERATURE.—Since the religion and ethics of Homer form an important chapter in the history of Greek religion and morality as well as one of the central problems of the 'Homeric Question,' the discussion has been very large. Of the older works, C. F. Niggelbach, Homerische Theologie, Nuremberg, 1861; E. Buchholz, Die homerischen Ilias, Leipzig, 1877-85 (ii. 'Die homerische Göttlichkeit', etc.); and W. R. Gladstone's From Homer to the Latin Poets on Homer have collected the best. One may now see T. D. Seymour's A Commentary on Homer, New York, 1907, in its relevant cha. and H. Grupe's Homer, Mythik, u. Religionsgeschichte, (in German, 1889; English, Albertina, Munich, 1898). The evidence is discussed in C. L. Farnell, Cults of the Greek States, Oxford, 1904; in J. A. Hartt, Proceedings of the Study of Greek Religion, Chemnitz, 1903; and Thamis, d. Mycenaean, Athens, 1903. In addition, K. Hahn, 1907; in Gilbert Murray, Rites of the Great Epic, Oxford, 1913; and Four Stages of Greek Religion, London, 1913, ch. ii.; and in Andrew Lang, World of the Homeric, London, 1894.

The articles in Boeckh and Pauly-Wissowa may also be consulted. Of the historians of Greece, perhaps Er. Meyer has treated the subject most suggestively in his Gesch. der Alterthümer, ii. Stuttgart, 1903, p. 77 f

J. A. K. THOMSON.

HOMICIDE.—See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.

HOMILETICS.—See PREACHING.

HOMOIOUSIA, HOMOIOUSIA.—See ARIANISM.

HONESTY.—Honesty, or the quality of being honest, is a virtue which belongs to the ethical code of justice. In Homer, it is often approximated in meaning to honour (g.) as the original homon is the character or repute attaching to the holder of an honor, or position of dignity, so honesty may be defined as coming from honour without being the mere possession of an honor come from effect, when the latter is used in its objective sense as the respect in which the individual is held by society. If we trace the usage of the word in English literature, we find that it has various shades of meaning, including chastity, or virtue in the limited sense (cf. the famous passage in Shakespeare, Hamlet, III. i. 107, and also As You Like It, III. iii. 30), generosity, uprightness, truthfulness, and fidelity in one's relationships with others. Inasmuch as the virtue of honesty involves regard both for moral rights and for rights of property, it may equally well be classified under benevolence and under justice; for Aristotle's definition of justice as the practice of entire towards one's neighbour (Eth. Nic. v. 13) is in modern ethics widened out by the concept of benevolence (g.), which is the principle of seeking the good of the individual as such and not merely as a member of the same politis, or community (cf. J. H. Muirhead's classification of the forms of good in Elements of Ethics, London, 1910). Breaches of the law of justice or benevolence, when these take the form of dishonesty, untruthfulness, or covetousness, are

commonly judged bad on the ground of the harm that they inflict on others. The essence of honesty as an ethical virtue consists in conduct based on a conviction that the interest of our neighbours is identical with our own. The Christian conception of 'the Kingdom of heaven' in its social aspect implies conduct in which the well-being of others is not distinguished from one's own well-being. Hence, in comparing the utilitarian formula, 'every one should count for one and no one for more than one,' with Kant's categorical imperative, T. H. Green (Proleg. to Ethics, Oxford, 1886, p. 259.), pronounces the latter superior as the rule on which the merely just or honestly man acts. Whether the summa bonum be defined as self-realization or 'the Kingdom of heaven' in the Christian scheme of life, humanity in the person of every one is always to be treated as an end and never merely as a means. 'Every one has a summa which every one else is bound to render him' (ib. 251).

Cicero (de Officiis, iii. xxi. 83) identifies honestum (the Latin form of ἀρετή) with virtus, after the manner of the Stoic ethics (cf. honestate dirigenda utilizes est, et quidem si ut basi dabo verbor inus, sicut discipulum, ut unum sonum sonaret uritur—a dogma of ancient philosophy which is perpetuated in the maxim 'honesty is the best policy'). The identification of honesty with expediency belongs to an obsolete view of society.

'It is to the duties of justice and Benevolence taken together that we should refer these virtues: the former, in organizing social institutions and particularly to the State; the duty of Honesty, which means respect for the existing order and respect for property so long as they are not capable of immediate improvement by the individual's own action (R. Blackall, Theory of Good and Evil, Oxford, 1807, ii. 279).

The scrupulous regard for the rights and possessions of others which honesty is commonly held to imply is capable of extension in various directions. There is, for example, the duty of being honest in one's contracting (or trading with) nothing which is not what it professes to be. J. S. Mackenzie (Manual of Ethics, London, 1899, p. 262) refers to Ruskin's teaching on modes of artistic expression (see ch. 'The Lamp of Truth,' in the Seven Lamps of Architecture) and also to the knowledge of the 'crafter.' An honest day's work means no shirking, just as an honest piece of cloth means just length or breadth (see quotation from Bishop, Woolley Manuf., 1863, ii. 96, in OED, s.v. 'Honesty'). There is also the duty of being honest with oneself. A man's respect for himself as a moral being is a fundamental element of failure or defect. Many problems of casuistry arise out of the suppressa veri or suggestio falsi adopted, e.g., by a legal advocate engaged in the attempt to save the guilty (see H. Sidgwick, Methods of Ethics, London, 1901, on 'Versatility'); or, again, out of the practice of subscribing to a formula or creed the terms of which can no longer be interpreted in their original sense; or out of the failure of individual members of a trade union to keep the obligation entered into by their leaders. Such cases are, in general, to be determined by the consideration of the effects of our action on the moral world of which we are members (cf. Mackenzie, op. cit., on 'The Commandments,' ex. with quotations in the footnote, p. 206). The honest life, which includes honesty of speech and deed and motive, is not to be regulated by any outward code of duties; for, if in either the state is in effect a moral vacuum, and individuals are free to act as they please (see C. H. Smith, Theorie des Moralischen, German, 1902).

LITERATURE.—See authorities mentioned under art. Honors.

HONEY.—1. Honey was highly esteemed among the ancients, both as a food and as an object of the inherent properties which it was supposed to pos-
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When the honey has been ladled out with mops from the hollow tree in which the bees are usually situated, it is spread with water in wooden troughs, and sometimes left to ferment. In a children's game imitating the taking of honey, the plucking hands are removed one by one from the hives; if girls are playing, their arms are supposed to be bopped at the elbow, as women are allowed to take honey from the lower limbs of the trees where the drippings are. (N. W. Thomas, The History of Africa, London, 1816, pp. 125, 135). Honey is also obtained by digging out the nests of the honey ant (Serpico-Gilian, Journal of the Royal African Society, London, 1912, l. 125), or from flowers by smoking or shaking.

Honey-beer or honey-wine is commonly drunk by most of the tribes of South and East Africa. In Nigeria, honey and milk is a favourite drink (A. J. N. Tremearne, 'Notes on the Kagero and other Nigerian Head-Hunters,' JRAI iii. [1891] 177).

The honey of the wild bee is very popular in the Batanga for purposes of divination in magical rites. It is obtained by digging out the nests, which are usually found in the earth. Although some may eat the honey, the nectar can be found only by members of certain tribes (J. A. J. M. Champion, 'The Atharara,' JRAI xii. 51).

The Anya's of Central Africa, whose only bread is a roll called matiba made of maize-dour, bananas, and honey, use honey from the nests of wild bees, found in hollow trees, but the river people hang cylindrical boxes on the trees in which the bees build. The cylindrical bee-box is a hive for wild bees among most East African peoples. Rights of property in these boxes are recognized. Among the Atharara, who cultivate honey in barrels similar to those in use among the Akamba, ownership is established by brands consisting of elaborate arrangements of dots and strokes. Honey is taken by smoking out the bees, and is eaten or, more frequently, used for making beer (A. M. Champion, 'The Atharara,' JRAI xii. 51).

Both the Akkuyu and the Akamba regard the theft of honey as a serious offence. They hold that honey is a natural product of the land, and enforce strictly the equitable distribution of a dead man's property, of which honey forms an important part. After the death of a father, none of the sons may go into the woods to take honey from the father's hives until the paternal uncle has done so. Any who break the law become unclean, and can take honey only when the paternal uncle has provided a sheep to be sacrificed, after due observance of a ritual, by one of the elders.

It has been suggested that the custom has been devised to prevent appropriation of the honey below the estate the property of the dead, a practice that has been regularly divided up (G. W. Holley, Further Researches into Selima and Kaiman Religious Rites and Customs, JRAI xii. [1911] 42).

The Okuyan Vedas of Ceylon recognized the rights of a family group to collect honey over certain lands from which other families were barred. With them, honey was used not only as a staple of diet, but also as the chief article of barter. The importance attached to it is indicated by the elaborate ceremonial preceding the honey-getting to propitiate the spirit and secure a good crop. It is recorded that in olden days, a honey bee's nest was frequently found in the rock shelter. The nests are usually found in clefts in the cliffs, and the honey is taken by men who swing down by ladders. Boys are systematically taught to collect honey (C. G. and B. Z. Seligmann, The Veddas, Cambridge, 1911, pp. 62, 91, 255 ff., 326 ff.).

Honey is also used as an article of barter among the Baka of South Africa, honey-wine being part of the price for which a stranger may hire him, the collector of the meat is eaten by the fighting men of the tribe, while the elders drink the wine (M. W. G. Beach, The Bush, Cambridge, 1911, p. 47). The Baka youth agree to sell the meat to the elders by sending a pot of honey to the parents of his future bride (J. R. L. Macdonald, 'Tribe met with during the John Expedition of 1907-09,' JAF xxvi. [1906] 223).

The custom of reserving the honey-wine for the elders also obtains among the Atkuyun, except at certain festivals, and the Masaai. At the Masaai circumcision ceremonies, the honey-beer, which forms an important part of the feast, may be drunk only.
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Among the gypsies in Serbia, in the course of the ceremonies which take place several days preceding the wedding, the gypsy bride is adorned with honey, and the bridegroom smears the bride's shoes with yellow ochre, and the next day he takes her to the house of her father, where she then leaves her father's house, and is driven to that of her father-in-law in a cart. On her arrival, she is handed to her by her mother-in-law, who easterners the cats from the stove and smear the honey on the belly of the cats.

In Croatia and Turkey a cup of honey is handed to the bride at the door. The Poles ornament the bride's lips with honey. At Vishak hindus the bride is given honey and butter with which to anoint the door. It is also the custom among the Balkan peoples mentioned above for the bride and bridegroom to eat together, in the evening, a cake baked some days before, which is dipped in honey as it is eaten (R. O. Winstedt, 'Forms and Ceremonies,' Jour. Gypsy Soc., 4 [1898] 262 f.). Among the Balkonges, however, who regard honey as a 'mysterious thing,' a man visiting the relatives of his betrothed must avoid honey, and it must not be eaten in the presence of the bride in the first year of married life; if she perceived that her husband had eaten honey, she would return to her parents 'as honey flows' (Dunod, op. cit. p. 220).

Among the Argives a cake made with honey was sent from the bride to the bridegroom (Athensm. xiv. 445). In Modena the bridegroom walks around the altar through the incense flames while the guests pull them with sweetmeats, and among the peasants honey is smeared on the listers of the cows, the position of a cow in the herd was determined by the cows. Among the Hindus, who use it to wash their household gods.

7. An explanation of the power of honey as a protection against evil spirits may be sought in its use in connection with religious ritual. Reference has been made to the belief in its purity. By this quality it was peculiarly fitted to be food of the gods and of divine origin; the gods carry it to the bees (cf., further, Macdonell, Ved. Myth. p. 49 f. [GIAP. i. a. (1897)]; Hillebrandt, Ved. Myth., Beine, 1913–1915, i. 238–341). It is held to be the food of the gods and of divine origin by the Hindus; and, when they take the honey from the hive, they hold in their hand a plant (Ursinus nigricans) sacred to Vishnu, Vishnu, it will be remembered, was represented as a bee on a lotus leaf, while Krāpa has a blue bee on his forehead. Honey-mixture was employed in greeting a king, Brahman, or other guest of honour (Manu, ill. 119 f.; Hillebrandt, Rū.-Lit. p. 79 [GIAP III. ii. (1897)]), and it is also employed in the Vaiṣṇava sacrifice. A gala of the Brahmans, v. l. i. 8 f. [KALYPSO. xiv. 5, iv. 15–18; cf. on this Hillebrandt, 141–143). It is one of the substances given a new-born child in the Ayurveda rite and at its first feeding with solid food at the age of six months, as well as, according to Kasthika Sūtra, xiii. 1, at the first meal eaten in a new home; and it is also enjoined as part of the sacrificial food at the Aṣṭaḍukṣaḥ in honour of the manes (Hillebrandt, 45, 46, 92, 95; see also Hillebrandt, Ved. Myth. i. 238–344). In Finnish mythology the bee is employed to fly over the moon and sun into the use of the creator and to carry health and honey to the good (de Gubernatis, Zool. Mythology, London, 1872, ii. 218). In Norse mythology honey was the third thing... as it was a dessert in the divine drink (Grimm, Teut. Myth., tr. Stallybrass, London, 1882–96, ii. 691 f.), as was never among the Greeks. In the Edda a divine hall of the gods (Ygg) was

6. Honey was regarded by the ancients as a substance of great purity, not unnaturally, in view of the supernatural origin and powers attributed to bees in primitive belief. Milk and honey in the early Christian Church was held to suggest consecration, while a portion of milk and honey was placed in the mouth of the newly-baptised, in allusion to the name of honey, in Greece given to Canaan (Augusti, Christl. Archiv., Leipzig, 1836, ii. 448; cf. also Drews, PROB. xii. 1805) 704). On the other hand, in some of the instances cited, honey was administered at critical seasons, namely, at initiation, and to children soon after their birth, which might be expected to be specially potent. Honey and sweet things were believed to drive evil spirits away. In the ceremonies following birth among the Hindus of the Panjab, sweetmeats play an important part, and at one stage are passed around the head of the child for the staved purposes of driving away evil spirits (H. A. Rose, 'Hindu Birth Observances in the Panjab,' JRAI xxvii. 221). Marriage is another occasion on which the innocence of malignant powers is specially to be feared, and we may attribute the use of honey in marriage ceremonies to its power over spirits, even though another explanation of the custom be offered by the people themselves—namely that it will secure harmony in married life. Among the Deccan Hindus, when the bridegroom comes to the bride's house, honey and curds are given to him to dip in. In Beotia, the gypsy bride has certain parts of her body anointed with honey. The gypsies and other peoples of the Balkan Peninsula follow the same custom.
while the Vedas invoke the yaksas (the female spirits who form one of the chief elements in their religious beliefs) in the ceremony which precedes the marriage, the honey of the bee-queen is sprinkled on the heads of the guests with the bees, because they live at the top of high rocks, and some of the honey is poured on the rocks for them when the nectar is taken—an ancient custom. The act of drinking the honey is a drawing of honey ('Bellegam, pp. 182, 292, 291).

Honey thus forms a peculiarly appropriate offering to the gods. It was, however, forbidden to the Jews to offer it on the altar (Lev 25). Maimonides says (J. Townley, See the Reasons of the Laws of Moses: from the More Novochsin of Maimonides, London, 1857, pp. 252) that the heathen nations around offered honey to their gods; according to another suggestion, it was prohibited because it fermented and gave off an unpleasant smell when burnt (Aben Ezra), which was incompatible with a 'fire of sweet savour.' Firstfruits and honey, however, were offered for the support of the high priest (Ex 29:11). A papyrus fragment found at Oxyrhynchus, dating from the 2nd cent. A.D., contains a bill for, among other things, '18 cakes, oil, honey, milk, and every spice except frankincense,' supplied to the Strategus of the nome for 'the sacrifice of the most sacred Nile.'

The offering of a honey cake is of frequent occurrence in Greek ritual, especially in connection with the cults of Dionysus, for which honeycakes were regarded as the souls of the dead (Gruppe, Gr. Mythol. and Religionssch., Munich, 1906, p. 590). Honey was also used in rain-charms (ib. 501, 810).

Athenaeus (xiv. 464) mentions cakes offered to Artemis when the moon was waxing and the moon waning. The honey cakes are made of honey in their composition; it may be recalled that a priestess of Artemis and Demeter was known as Helemis. At Lebade, at the shrine of Trophonius, the suppliants went with an offering of a honey cake in each hand for the prophetic sake. A honey cake was put in a hole for the goddess (as when a certain medicinal herb was gathered in Attica. Cakes of honey were also put before the statue of the sun god in the temenos of Zeus Olympus at Athens every year (L. E. Furtwängler, Oecus III. Oxford, 1907) 10 C.). Scepter at Olympia had, like Trophonius and Brocolitheus, the mask's service of the honey cake (see Passavant, vi. xx, 8, 9). The cakes offered to the serpent, thought of the serpent, thought of the god. Scepter is apparently the fertility spirit (J. R. Harrison, Thes. Camb., 1913, p. 503), but the snake is usually associated with the chthonian aspect of Greek belief; and the other chthonian deities involved, though connected with fertility, were prominent in their connection with the underworld.

2. Honey was included in the offerings to the dead. The sweet beer of the Egyptians is mentioned in the Liturgy of Funerary Offerings as well as various kinds of sweetmeats. In view of the fact that the offerer intended the food for the dead (g.e.), it would be unsafe to lay too much stress upon this custom as evidence for a peculiar connexion of honey with the spirits. There are, however, several customs followed in parts of Africa which suggest a course of development in which an offering, of which honey forms a part, becomes a protection. In Abyssinia, honey-beer is drunk before a solemn conference. Among the Suk, before drinking a fresh brew of honeywine, the elder entrusted with the wine-jar fills a cup and pours the wine out on each side of the door, invoking the spirits of the dead to keep them in safety. The elders of the Kilcynn of East Africa, at a burial, pour some honey and cooked fowl into a pot and comments in a valuable discussion in, 'We give you this to drink' (Hobley, J.R.A.I. xii. 410). Further, in the ceremony of the coronation by white corn of the chieftains, the elders, or rather the members of the special class of elders competent to perform the ceremony, pour fat, milk, honey-beer, etc., into a hole in the ground, and in various other ceremonies, in the course of which it appears that this is an offering to the spirit of the departed, but in the underlying ideas of propitiation and protection closely approximate. The identification of the two aspects appears to be complete in the hymn, folk-stories of the Eskim of North America, in which it frequently happens that the living who have penetrated to the land of ghosts are pursued on their return, and save themselves from further pursuits by spreading food across the road. In their town (P. A. Talbot, In the Shadow of the Bush, London, 1912, p. 36).

Literature.—See references given in the article. For beliefs and practices connected with honey, especially in India, see J. M. Campbell, Notes on the Spiritus Beli and Custom, in J.R.A.I. (1908) 250. References for the use of honey in Ancient Palestine will be found in B.B. and in McKnight-Stone's Cyclopedia of Bible Literature, iv. 412. E. N. Fallaize.

HONOUR.—1. Ethics.—Honour is high regard or esteem, whether felt, given, or received. It implies, like honesty (g.e.), a sense of duty or right, and fidelity to one's obligations; like honesty, it is used from Gower onwards (see OED, s. v.) of chastity or purity; and, finally, it takes on a concrete, objective meaning as equivalent to exalted rank or position (or in plur. of marks of regard, distinctions, decorations, and the like). The word has passed into colloquial speech in such phrases as 'on one's honour,' 'honour bright,' etc. (see OED). In the phrase 'code of honour,' the word implies a certain system of principles and obligations connected with the individual's recognition of these (see D.P.A.P., s. v.), and in such phrases as 'the honour of an artist,' 'the honour of a soldier,' or 'the honour of the church' and other institutions, we have a personal or collective connotation implying recognition of self as a member of this or that community or class or profession. Sometimes the phrase amounts to little more than reputation, e.g. 'the honour of a husband,' when impaired by conjugal infidelity or the failure to observe personal obligations.

The 'code of honour' is a species of etiquette observed by particular classes, trades, professions, etc. It thus belongs to the department of 'minor morals' (see MacKinnon, Manual of Ethics, p. 7, who points out the ethical value of 'Mrs. Grundy' and other conventional laws as safeguards against wrong and injustice). Whether honour takes the form of high-mindedness in business or commercial transactions, or of politeness and good-breeding in society, or of loyalty to one's particular class or caste or denomination, it is to be placed among the virtues as a descendant of benevolence, and touched with emotion; see Muirhead, Elem. of Ethics, s. v.). The duties imposed by the code of honour in graver matters—the code of chivalry, of business or good-breeding in lighter matters, according to Sidgwick (Methods of Ethics, p. 81), are often distinguished from moral duties by unreflective persons; e.g., there is the practice of dressing (g.e.)—a custom which is imposed by an unethical society and which an individual may reject on moral or religious grounds. His conduct would be classed by some as dishonourable, by others as a virtuous act. Thus 'honour' not infrequently involves a conflict with ethical right in certain stages of social development. No discrepancy is felt, e.g., in Hellenic civilization, where the idea of agwnyagia, the code of honour, and the moral code are not differentiated as they are in medieval and modern times. See the valuable discussion in, 'We give you this to drink' (Hobley, J.R.A.I. xii. 410). Further, in the ceremony of the coronation by white corn of the chieftains, the elders, or rather the members of the special class of elders competent to perform the ceremony, pour fat, milk, honey-beer, etc., into a hole in the ground, and in various other ceremonies, in the course of which it appears that this is an offering to the spirit of the
complet of the Elizabethan song-writer, Sir Richard Lovelace,

"I could not love thee, dear, so much,  
Loved I not honor more,"  
where it is implied that the passion of love has to be seconded to the higher moral.

In Christian ethics the idea of honour is associated with belief in a moral Judge. So v. Haering (Ethics of the Christian Life, Eng. tr., p. 226 fl.) remarks that "in the idea of 'honor' there is the impietie of the splendor of the Good as exhibited to a judge, whether this judge is the person himself or another; or, finally, God as the reader of all hearts, and the sole Judge of all."

The same writer proceeds to argue that to strive for recognition by a moral judgment is a task which the Christian cannot, or at least, as 'idee self-approval Luther's saying at Worms: 'They have deprived me of fame and honor, but sufficient for me is my Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ.'

The honour of man is always subordinated by NT writers to the honour to be hereafter accorded by a Righteous Judge (cf. Ro 24', 'seek for glory and honour and immortalit'; and 1 Pt 1', 'found unto praise and glory and honor,' where the idea of a future life is prominent). But the honour of the Judge permeates the honour of this world. The Pauline distribution of honour and dishonor amongst vessels 'unto honor' and 'unto dishonor' implies a destiny belonging to time, whatever may be the final issues; it is the destiny of unselfish service, in which the particular ability at the Indian in origin, an individual is consecrated to the uses of the Master of the 'great house.

The only scintilla of honour belonging to the sinner, is, according to v. Haering, the fact of his eternal destiny—a statement which largely defines the assumption underlying Christ's teaching regarding man; for to Him humanity, even in its most degraded form, is endowed with immortality.

2. Psychology.—We may derive some hint as to the psychological value of honour in Pauline's definition of honour, social or political, as 'ideal self-preservation' (System of Ethics, Eng. tr., ch. vi.); or in v. Haering's remark that "shame is the guardian of honour" (op. cit. p. 287), which implies that there is a connection between the moral concept involved in honour and an emotion which, according to Macdougall (Social Psychology, p. 148), is conditioned in the extent of its influence upon social behaviour. The conduct of the man of honour is undeniably regulated by social blame and praise. The very idea of 'honour' involves a reference to our social surroundings, the circle in which we move, or the larger world to which our influence inevitably extends. Psychologically, this is an advance on an earlier stage in the development of self-consciousness when natural impulse is regulated by the system of rewards and punishments imposed upon us by external authority, e.g. in the family or the school. It is a distinct advance when character and conduct are alike shaped by regard for the moral approval and disapproval of our fellows. Finally.

This regard leads on some men to the higher plane of conduct, conditioned by an ideal that may render them capable of acting in the way they believe to be right, regardless of the approval or disapproval of the social environment in which their lives are passed (H. A. Macdougall, op. cit. p. 293).

The nobler sense of honour which we associate with the saint or with natures peculiarly sensitive and refined lies in such individuals far above the coarse consideration of the verdicts of the circle to which they belong. R. Browning's Rabbi ben Ezra, with his conviction,

"All I could never be,  
All, men ignored in me,  
This, I was worth to God,"  
expresses devotion to a spiritual ideal which is unaffected by the praise or blame of men. At the same time, no ideal of conduct can be perfect unless it is a synthesis of the self-regarding and altruistic sentiments. The life of honour which we aim at realizing for all men, while we seek its perfection for ourselves.


R. MARTIN POP.  
HOOKER. I. Life and works.—Richard Hooker, author of Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, was born at Havercote, a suburb of Evesham, probably in March 1553-54. He was the son of Roger Hooker and his wife Joan. Roger and his elder brother John are described as the fifth in descent from James Vowell of Pancote. Hooker married the daughter and heiress of Richard Hooker of Hurst Castle, Southampton. Vowell is, therefore, probably the Welsh surname. Roger's father and grandfather, with the name Hooker, filled the position of Mayor of Exeter in the years 1529 and 1499. His brother John, as a result perhaps of his genealogical researches, adopted the name of Vowell as Vowell alias Hooker, and later in life as Hooker alias Vowell. This uncle's influence upon Richard's career was of such importance, and his work as an antiquarian and philologist, Vowell's influence has so much in common with the more famous achievement of his nephew, that some account should be given of him in any description of Richard's life.

John Hooker's father died when he was about ten years old, and John was educated by Dr. Newcomen, Vicar of Turnham, in Cornwall. He proceeded to Oxford, to Corpus Christi or to Exeter College, where he engaged in legal studies, but took no degree. From Oxford he went to Germany, pursuing his legal studies there, and in 1569 he matriculated at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. In 1569, he married Margaret, the daughter and coheir of Thomas Russell, of Cumnor, and his own condition was such that he was unable to pay the expenses of his training. He was the author of a book on the reading of histories and seeking of antiquities and something to armor. He was made first chamberlain of the city in 1566. He has left large collections regarding the history of Exeter; but his chief literary monument is his edition of Holinshed's Chronicles in 1566-67, and his own contributions to that compilation. He is the author of a graphic account of the rebellion in the West country in 1549, and of recent Irish history. To Ireland he went as the agent of Sir Peter Carew of Mombos's Observatory, a position which gave him the opportunity to learn the extent of his influence upon social behaviour. The conduct of the man of honour is undeniably regulated by social blame and praise. The very idea of 'honour' involves a reference to our social surroundings, the circle in which we move, or the larger world to which our influence inevitably extends. Psychologically, this is an advance on an earlier stage in the development of self-consciousness when natural impulse is regulated by the system of rewards and punishments imposed upon us by external authority, e.g. in the family or the school. It is a distinct advance when character and conduct are alike shaped by regard for the moral approval and disapproval of our fellows. Finally.

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they also give a reason why a special effort should have been made to send Richard to college in 1588—because both his father and his uncle were out of England. John Hooker had made the acquaintance of Richard, when the Government appointed the latter a commissioner in the West, and it was natural that he should seek the Bishop's help in sending his promising nephew to college. We learn from Hooker's exceptionally able oration which was discovered by the schoolmaster of Exeter Grammar School, who declared him a 'little wonder.' But it is Walton rather than the schoolmaster who gives us the description:

"At his being a schoolboy he was an early questioner, quietly inquisitive why this was and that was not to be remembered; why this was granted and that denied! This being mixed with a remarkable modesty and a sweet, serene quietness of nature, Bishop Jewel's patronage obtained for the lad admission to Corpus Christi College, Oxford, probably at first as chorister, and afterwards as clerk; but on account of his father's pension failing, and Richard's maintenance at college was difficult. His name occurs five times between 1570 and 1575 in the list of poor scholars helped by the London merchant, Robert Nowell. In 1583 the 'Mayor and Chamber' of Exeter granted him a pension of 24. This last assistance was, no doubt, obtained by the influence of John Hooker, who was not the 'rich uncle' Walton enounces him to have been.

But the President of the College, W. Cole, out of regard for Jewel and also from a perception of the unusual gifts of his pupil, befriended him steadily. The appointment of the choristers and the clerks was in Cole's hands. It was not till December 1573 that Hooker was admitted one of the twenty disputants in the scholars of the College. To help towards his maintenance, pupils were obtained for him. Jewel's friend Sandys, Bishop of London in 1571, interested himself in this matter. His son Edward was of twenty, and two of twelve, were put under Hooker's charge (the tutor being nineteen), as well as a younger lad, George Cranmer, a great-nephew of Archbishop Cranmer. To the list of those who befriended Hooker in his need we must, no doubt, add his tutor John Reynolds, who came from the village of Finch, close to Exeter.

The account of the history of Corpus Christi College during Hooker's residence, with a careful treatment of the question of his maintenance, has been written by T. Fowler, and it forms a valuable and important addition to the Life by Walton. The latter makes it clear that the chief influences upon the young student were those of the dominant school of evangelical reformers. His patron Jewel remained for Hooker "the worthiest divine that Christendom hath bred for the space of some hundreds of years," while his tutor Reynolds, who became President of the College in 1588 and the leader of the 'doctrinal Puritans' at the end of the century, was Hooker's critic and confidant throughout. Oxbridge and the Eclesiastical Polity. It is, therefore, of special interest to find in Fowler's History the point established that there existed in Corpus Christi College "the leaven of secret Romanism, ... long after the Reformation was definitely settled, certainly through the reign of Elizabeth." This fact may in part explain Hooker's enlightened use of Roman Catholic books and authorities. Among his fellow-collegians were men of ability and scholarship who sympathised with the old religion, but had yet learned of necessity to respect and tolerate the new. Hooker's natural passion for truth and tolerance would make him instinctively appreciate and assimilate this attitude of mind.

There is certainly a short Latin tract, written probably between 1588 and 1590, by a certain Nicholas Morice, one of the Fellows of Corpus Christi College. It is an account of the yearly journey of the President and Fellows to collect the rents in their several reestates, and is written with amusing vivacity and humour. The writer sympathises with the old religion: "A good Pope I love; for an honest Protestant I can die the death; but an aged trimmer, as I live, I abhor." He gives us one of Hooker's, also of Morice's, jokes. A steward has made a foolish speech; "If Morice had been seeking, says Morice, 'he would have averred every part.' If Hooker, he would have smiled, with bent head."

Walton testifies in famous words to Hooker's beauty and grace at the end of his life, when "the poor parish clerk and he did never talk but with their books both on or off at the same time;" but his biography does not take into account Hooker's humour, or Morice's remark recognises. William Nutt, for whom Morice wrote his dialogue, was another fellow of Corpus, obviously of kindred tastes and sympathies. This party in the college was not without its influence on Hooker's development. It ought perhaps also to be remembered that Corpus Christi College was founded in the early part of the century by Bishop Foxe when the 'new learning' of Erasmus and Colet was influencing educational ideas. Foxe appointed a lecturer in Greek, and attempted in theology to replace medieval schoolmen by the Greek and Latin Fathers of the early centuries. Hooker's rationalism may have been fostered by the traditions of his College and his study of Theodoret and Augustine.

Hooker graduated B.A. in 1574, M.A. in 1577, and was made a full Fellow of his College in 1579. His special work was to lecture in Logic; and from this, according to Wood, 'his family style'. His writings, both in their vocabulary and in general form, retain throughout signs of his early preoccupation with logical terms and logical analysis. In 1579 the Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford was ill from some obscure mental disease, and Hooker was appointed his deputy, and delivered the Hebrew lecture while he remained at Oxford. There is no record when he took orders; but it was before 1581, when he preached in London at St. Paul's Cross. It is probable that his reputation at Oxford was the reason of his being invited to preach this sermon, which was in a true sense the beginning of his career. It contained a distinction between God's 'antecedent' and 'consequent' will, which was supposed to contradict the dispensation of Calvin (Inst. iii. 24, § 16), that 'nothing is less accordant with the nature of God than that He should have a double will.' Hooker was, therefore, branded as a man who refused to treat Calvin as inoffensive. He had probably no intention of opposing Calvin, but from the first the spirit of preaching and teaching was free, and acknowledged no master but the truth.

The visit to London resulted also, according to Walton, in Hooker's unfortunate marriage to Joan Churuchman. R. W. Church has been accused of doubting the accuracy of Walton's picture of Hooker's married life. It was not till December 1584 that Hooker was presented to the Rectory of Drayton-Beauchamp in Buckinghamshire, and it seems probable that his decision to give up his Oxford life was some time to when he was ordained, and was not forced upon him by Mrs. Churuchman, as Walton would have us believe. If Hooker had acted with the ludicrous weakness of Walton's story, his friends could hardly have recommended him to Whitley's place at the Master of the Temple. Hooker was not Whitley's first choice. His candidate was a certain Dr. Bond, whom the Queen considered too old for the post. Lord Burghley supported Walter Travers, already the afternoon lecturer at the Temple. Hooker was appointed..."
pointed Master on 17th March 1684–85, perhaps by the support of Archbishop Sandys and Bishop Ayscough; but all the circumstances indicate that he was a man whose ability, learning, and piety were well known, and from whom much might be expected. What immediately followed upon his appointment was a dispute dual between himself and Walter Travers, the afternoon lecturer, which increased in intensity until, in about a year’s time, Travers was inhibited by the Archbishop. Travers at once wrote a ‘Supplication’ to the Privy Council in defence of his conduct. Hooker replied in an ‘Answer,’ which he addressed to Whitsgift. Besides these documents, there are extant certain sermons in Hooker’s Works which contain those opinions of Hooker which Travers specially attacked. These are the sermon ‘Of the Certainty and Perpetuity of Faith in the Elect,’ and the ‘Learned Discourse of Justification.’ They were printed by Jackson in 1612; and, while the first can be identified satisfactorily with a sermon objected to by Travers, the second is not a sermon, but an amalgamation of several sermons which cannot be quite certainly related to those mentioned by Hooker and Mr. Travers. From these documents it is clear that the first cause of difference between the two men was Hooker’s refusal to be a party to Travers’ attempt to introduce surreptitiously into the congregation his own Free-lutheran methods and practices. Travers wished Hooker to submit to some ceremony of ‘allowance’ by the congregation, because he held that Hooker had been ordained ‘by virtue only of a human creature;’ he objected to Hooker praying before his sermon instead of after, to his mentioning bishops in his preaching; and to his kneeling at the reception of the Holy Communion. On these points the two rivals conferred together without coming to any result, so that, as Hooker says, quoting from Travers, it was natural enough that many of my sermons have tasted of some sour leaven or other. Travers’ complaints against Hooker’s preaching deal with three occasions. He brought up again the sermon of 1631 already referred to; he objected to a position of Hooker, ‘that the assurance of that we believe by the Word is not so certain as of that we perceive by sense;’ but, thirdly, the matter which finally roused Travers to deliver ‘three public invidictives’ against the Master’s teaching was a remark about Roman Catholics. The ‘mother-sentence whereof I little thought that so much trouble would have grown’ was

1. ‘I doubt not but God was merciful to save thousands of our fathers living in popish superstitions, insomuch as they sinned ignorantly.’

Travers understood Hooker to say ‘the fathers,’ but his outcry caused Hooker to attempt that summary of the good and bad in the Roman Church which is contained for us in the extant ‘Discourse of Justification.’ He was, no doubt, unaware of the strength of the fanaticism against which he was measuring himself. He was anxious to be fair to his Roman adversaries, and not to give them an occasion to say, as commonly they do, that, when we cannot refute their opinions, we propose such instead of theirs as we can refuse.’

Hooker therefore outraged the prevailing Puritan views on two crucial points: he declined to accept Calvin’s view of election, and he insisted on giving even Rome a fair hearing. His originality on these two points has not been justly appreciated. Even to-day his teaching is not fully accepted by controversialists. We must realize upon what broad grounds his practice was based. Travers complained that Hooker had said to him ‘that his best author was his own reason;’ Hooker replied indignantly: 1

1. Sermon I. in Church and Paget. Ill. 495.
2. Hooker’s ‘Supplication,’ ch. iii. 495.
3. Travers’ ‘Answer,’ ch. iii. 495.

1. ‘I alleged therefore (because Travers had objected to the question of authorities) that which might under no pretence be held as a sound, divine reason; reason whereby those conclusions might be out of St. Paul demonstrated, and not probably discovered of only; reason proper to that act of way whereby the things of God are known: theological reason, which out of principles in Scrip-

1. ‘I take no joy in striving. I have not been muzzled or trained up in it. . . . There can some nothing of contention but the mutual dances in the ashes of them both. . . . Things of small moment never disjoin them whom one God, one Lord, one Faith, one Spirit, one Baptist, bands of great force, have been put into any. . . .

These are the chief points of the dispute with Travers at the Temple. It is to be noted how important they were for the subsequent Church of England. Without the treatise ‘Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity’ they might not have affected much; but, when carefully considered and extended in books of that work, they made the Church of England neither Rome nor Geneva, but a Church distinct from both. Hooker’s treatise did for the Church of England what Calvin’s Institutes had done for the Genevan Church; it gave it a voice and a character. It is tempting to dwell on the many anticipations of the Constitution which are to be found in these early writings of Hooker, and it is necessary to insist upon their importance, both as historical documents and as revelations of Hooker’s mind and disposition. But there is a difference between his point of view in the dispute with Travers and in the composition of the Polity. Hooker distrusted ‘extemporal dexterity;’ he believed time to be the ‘only mother of all debateable and discreet dealing;’ and in this spirit he began to examine the questions that Travers had raised. But he found his position at the Temple incompatible with profound and concentrated study. He wrote to Whitsgift that he was ‘weary of the noise and oppositions of this place;’ his contest with Travers had been

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on since the beginning of Elizabeth’s reign. Cartwright returned from Geneva to England in November 1575, which he did in time to assist in the writing of ‘A Second Admonition to the Parliament;’ the first had appeared earlier in the year. In these appeals to Parliament the writers frankly declare their belief in the English Church as established, and demand a reformation; they insist that the controversy is not for a cap, a tippet, or a surplice, but the great matters concerning a true ministry and regiment of the Church according to the Word. The tracts made a great impression, and Whigfelt, with Archbishop Parker’s approval, was called upon to reply to the Admonitioners. Before the end of 1572 he published ‘An Answer to a certain Libel entituled An Admonition to the Parliament;’ a second edition, augmented, was ready in 1573. Whigfelt had been Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University when Cartwright was deprived of his professorship and his fellowship. T. C. therefore came forward as the champion of the Admonitioners against Whigfelt. By the middle of 1573 he issued ‘A Reply to an Answer made of M. Doctor Whigfelt against the Admonition to the Parliament.’ It was a book so much more considerable than the Admonitions that Whigfelt could not leave it unanswered. In a folio of 800 pages he went over the whole controversy again, reproducing the work in 1574 and calling it ‘The Defence of the Answer to the Admonition against the Reply of T. C.’ The length of Whigfelt’s fairness in printing large portions of the arguments of his opponents. Next year (1575) Cartwright was ready again with ‘The Second Reply of Thomas Cartwright, Doctor ofDivinity, to the Second Book of the Admonitioners,’ the ‘Rest of the Second Reply.’ To the ‘Second Reply’ of Cartwright no answer was made by Whigfelt or by any other representative of the Controversists. The work of 1576 contained a list of the books that he had written all that was necessary on the controversy, and his appointment in 1577 to the see of Worcester left him no time for literary controversy. He was made Archbishop of Canterbury in 1583, and in his primacy the attempt to introduce a disciplinarian or consistorial system into the English Church was resisted and defeated. It was, therefore, providential for Whigfelt that such a champion as Hooker appeared, to remove the reproach that Cartwright’s last book had not been answered. Whigfelt enjoyed any with a mastery of logical analysis, a breadth of learning, and a dignity of style beyond the reach of any other disputant. His books of the last word in the long controversy between Cartwright and Whigfelt, but when the first instalment of it appeared in 1594 it was in spirit something altogether new. The sober Hallam declares that Hooker mingled in these vulgar controversies like a knight of romance among callit brawlers.¹ Because be was temperate and conviction no more champion,⁴ he proved himself the judge and umpire of the lists.

Whigfelt did not move Hooker from the Temple till 1591, when he appointed him to the parish of Boscobee, six miles from Salisbury, making him in the same year prebendary and sub-dean of Salisbury Cathedral. In 1598 he was presented to the living of one of the Benefices of Salisbury, where he remained till his death. A chill taken in his passage by water betwixt London and Gravesend brought on his last illness. He made his will, ‘though sick in body, yet sound in mind,’ on 30th October, 1600; it was proved on 3rd December. There is, therefore, no reason for doubting the Latin note in Archbishop Laud’s copy of one of the books of the Polity, which states that Hooker died in the afternoon on 2nd Nov. 1600. His will made Joan Hooker, ‘my well-beloved wife,’ sole executrix, and ‘my well-beloved father, Mr. John Churchman and my assured good friend,’ Mr. Edwin Sandy, overseers. The inventory was £1092, 2s. 2d. It is probable, therefore, that Isaac Walton’s account of Hooker’s marriage is a distortion of the facts. That Hooker’s faculties were unpaired at the end of his life is clearly shown by the vigour, acuteness, and erudition of the notes he scribbled upon his copy of ‘A Christian Letter,’ an anonymous attack, published in 1599, upon bk. v. of the Polity.

2. The ‘Ecclesiastical Polity.’—Only five books of the work entitled, ‘Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, Eight Books,’ were published in the author’s lifetime. The Preface ‘to them that seek, as they term it, the reformation of laws and orders ecclesiastical in the Church of England,’ and the first four books, without date, were published in 1594. At the end of the Preface there was a short summary of the proposed eight books, indicating that in some form they were nearly complete at that date. It is probable that the defence of the Prayer-Book in bk. v., which is longer than all the others combined, became more elaborate than Hooker at first intended. The final description of the fifth book is different from that in the summary of 1594; Hooker finds he must resist the accusation that there is ‘much superstition’ in the Prayer-Book, and this necessitates a detailed examination of it. But for the effect which Hooker’s book produced, that the public mind it was an advantage that it came out in instalments. The portion published in 1594 was in several respects so contrary to popular tendencies, that, if there had been more of it, readers might have found it too much to assimilate. The Preface, just at the time when the infallibility of Geneva was becoming almost a dogma among the reformed Churches, reviewed Calvin’s character and career impartially, recognizing him as incomparably the wisest man that ever the French Church did enjoy, and praising his exceeding pains in composing the Institutions of Christian religion, and his less industrious labours for exposition of the Bible. Hooker insists that ‘wise men are men,’ and that what Calvin did for the establishment of his discipline was more commendable than that which he taught for the continuance of it established. The Preface has not received the praise which it deserves as a piece of historical literature. If we compare it with the notes upon Calvin made in 1599 on the margins of the ‘Christian Letter,’ we shall realize that Hooker’s account of Genevan affairs was founded upon a careful reading of Calvin’s letters and other documents, and shall appreciate the restraint of its style. It is to be regretted that Hooker did not live to expand his note. ‘Remember to make a comparison between Calvin and Benza. . . .’ The only man no man would displease, Calvin one whom no man durst.⁵ But in the Preface the touch of irony and humour which Hooker allows himself is more effective than direct invective, and runs through his whole exposition of the claims and teaching of the disciplinarian party. ¹They were entered in the Stationers’ Register, 29th Jan. 1602-3. ⁴Church and Pages, 1 154.

HOOLIGANISM.

The most famous book of the Polity is the first. It deals with 'laws and their several kinds in government.' It shows how the laws are subject not to the law, but to many, and insists that the welfare of society depends upon the proper adjustment and co-ordination of laws. The inquiry is impressive in its scope and in the range of authorities upon which it is founded. There is a true imaginative grandeur in Hooker's vision of the whole universe of angels and men subordinate under God to the reign of law, which is in all its various forms essentially an expression of the Divine reason. Aristotle and the philosophy of Greece, the Greek and Latin Fathers, and, finally, St. Thomas and the schoolmen, are co-ordinated with the teaching of the Bible in support of an absolute and unchangeable code as the measure by any one kind of law all the actions of men were to be condoned by the admirable order, where in God had disposed all laws, each as in nature, so in degree, distinct from other. Hallam has pointed out that Suarez, writing on the Continent about the same time as Hooker, arrived at nearly identical conclusions. Raleigh, in his History of the World, makes the same point on the authority of the already recognized, and the famous passage on law is re-echoed on the stage before 1611. In the latter half of the century, Locke's theories of civil government are founded upon quotations from 'the judicious Hooker.'

The second book resists the Puritan assertion that Scripture is the only guide by which all things can be interpreted by the rule of all things, hence this life may be done by men. Hooker, admitting that Scripture is an infallible guide, denies that the only guide by which men are led, and carries forward the argument by quotations from the Churches: 'Let it be sufficient for me presenting myself at the Lord's table to know what there I receive from Him, without searching or enquiring of the manner how the Christ formed His Church.'

It can hardly be doubted that Hooker left the last three books of his treatise finished at his death, but the finished copies were lost or made away with, and the books as printed have not received final revision. The sixth book as we have it is not the examination of lay eldership promised in 1609, but in different form on papacy and on episcopacy. The genuine sixth book has disappeared. Books vi. and viii. are the rough copies of the promised discussions of episcopacy and the relation of Church and State. Books vi. and viii. were printed in 1648, book vii. in 1642.


R. BAYNE.
Hooliganism is an international phenomenon. Witness the 'hoodlum' of California, the 'larrikin' of Australia, the 'khillig' of St. Petersburg, the 'Hooligan' of Germany, and the 'Apaches' of France, Wales, and Ireland.

2. Characteristics.—Lack of self-control, love of malicious mischief, indifference to the comfort or suffering of others, idleness passing into dishonesty and crime, horseplay passing into violence—mark the hooligan. In one sense, hooliganism is no new thing. We read of it in the Fortunes of Nigel, and in the accounts of the street fights which took place between the apprentices for the 'crown o' the causey.' University students have always given themselves over periodically to a form of hooliganism—smashing lamps, breaking seats, and turning the Graduation ceremony into pandemonium. In Norman Macleod's day the Glasgow students were declared to be a 'disgrace to the High Street.' and as a result, he is said to have made the distinction that, 'It is always drawn between them and, say, the Govan riveters who are out to 'paint the town red.'

3. Classification.—Modern hooliganism may be classified under various heads.

(1) Mob hooliganism, the conduct of the population on occasions of public rejoicing and national victory, as on 'Mafeking' nights. Then the people seem to lose their heads altogether and become disorderly and reckless. Viewed as a symptom of growing instability in the national character, such conduct is serious. Mob mind is a malady of our time (Ross, The Foundations of Sociology, New York, 1895, p. 113). Mob hooliganism varies with the density of the crowd. 'The way in which hooliganism asserts itself is a matter of the atmosphere in which the hooligan finds himself' (Westminster Gazette, 6th April 1906, p. 2).

(2) Political hooliganism, the glaring illustration of which is the conduct of the militant suffragettes. Smashing shop-windows, defacing monuments, setting fire to theatres, breaking hatches, and assaulting Cabinet Ministers cannot be described as anything but hooliganism of a very bad type. There is manifest lack of self-control, love of malicious mischief, and callous indifference to the sufferings of others. It is only fair to say, however, that militants are in a minority in the Suffrage movement, and that their tactics are strongly disapproved by many as unworthy and unwise, and calculated to hinder rather than help their cause.

(3) Industrial hooliganism, seen during strikes in assaults upon fellow-workmen, over-zealous picketing, and the destruction of goods, rolling-stock, and property. The hooliganism of the miners and dockers has been familiar, but the most exemplary patience and self-control during the strikes in Great Britain amongst the miners and dockers (1911-12). When workmen indulge in hooliganism, it is due either to a passionate sense of wrong or to the sinister influence of the baser sort who mingle with the workers and exploit them for their own ends. Among the hooligans of the industrial classes are 'Forty Thieves,' the 'Pomemos,' 'Velvet Caps,' 'Tim Malloys,' 'San Boys,' 'Crush Boys,' 'Pug Uglies,' 'Cop Beaters,' 'Tough Rids,' and 'Crook Jacks.'

(4) Literary hooliganism, manifested in savage criticism of books, of parties, and of parties. The classic examples of the first are the Quarterly's attack on Tennyson, Macaulay's attack on A'Court, and Montgomery, and Blackwood's attack on John Keats. The reviews in those days frequently led to duels, such as that between Jeffrey and Tom Moore. For sufficiently savage and hooliganaceous attacks on parties and figures one has only to read the popular magazines and newspapers—especially religious—of the present day.

(5) Criminal hooliganism.—This is the most serious phase. In all great cities there are gangs of hooligans with sensational names, such as the 'Forty Thieves,' the 'Pomemos,' 'Velvet Caps,' 'Tim Malloys,' 'San Boys,' 'Crush Boys,' 'Pug Uglies,' 'Cop Beaters,' 'Tough Rids,' and 'Crook Jacks.'

4. Causes of hooliganism.—The great root-causes is the undisciplined life, revolt against all authority, human, and Divine, which characterizes the lower orders, to-day, Roman Catholic as well as Protestant. The present writer's experience as a Prison Chaplain enables him to say that, 'It is a prevailing impression, hooliganism is as rife in Roman Catholic circles as in Protestant. This undisciplined life, however, is itself an effect, the resultant of many causes, some of which may be here indicated.

(1) Defective education.—Street lads have, as a general rule, managed to escape the ordinary influences of our educational system with the minimum of instruction. Reading remains for them an irksome task. They find no pleasure in it, and so are cut off from one of the greatest helps to self-control, one of the strongest safeguards against temptation. But their education is defective on the moral side as well as on the literary. Character has not been developed and strengthened, and the will has not been cultivated, self-control has not been taught. They are children of impulses and passion, and ill fitted to stand amidst the complex conditions of modern civilization.

(2) Wretched housing is another potent cause of hooliganism. Growing lads and girls in the poorer parts of our big cities are shamefully overcrowded. They have literally no room to live a decent human life, no opportunity of self-realization, no home life to speak of, and so they are driven out to the streets. Home to them means simply a place to eat in and sleep in, and not a place for social recreation or happy fellowship, still less for mental or spiritual culture. The loss is infinite, and tragic in its results upon character.

(3) Lack of playgrounds and open spaces for wholesome recreation.—When the children are sent out of doors to make more room in the houses, they are turned into the street or back-alley. The slum is their playground, and there is no finer breeding-place for young hooligans and criminals. Everything there, the whole environment, conspires to degrade and ruin the boy and girl. The process is sure, and the waste of young life and capacity is awful.

(4) Misdirected energy follows naturally. There is nothing wrong with the energy, any more than there is with steam or electricity. What it needs
is guidance into proper channels—not repression, but proper expression. It is easily misguided, misguided; and the result is hooliganism.

(6) Preventative measures.—Reformatory and preventative measures do not have the effect of preventing crime, but of preventing the anti-social tendencies of individuals from developing into criminal tendencies. The problem of hooliganism is largely the result of the social, educational, and industrial system. The children take after their parents, follow the only example they know, and so the vicious circle continues to be trod.

(7) Mental and moral defect.—A very moderate first-hand knowledge of hooligans will convince any one that many of them are mentally and morally weak. They are defective; and experience shows that defectives soon become delinquents. Mental instability is frequently found associated with hooliganism and crime. As already hinted, hooliganism may fairly be described as a by-product of our civilization. Our social system is largely responsible for it. It is, therefore, a social problem. We must cease to manufacture hooligans.

5. Care of hooligans.—The first serious attempt to deal with it was made in 1788, when the Philanthropy Society was formed in England by Robert Young. In 1808 the Dalston Refuge was founded. In 1815 the Prison Discipline Society. Parliament began to tackle the subject in 1878, when Pitt brought in a Bill which, however, proved abortive. In 1811 and again in 1818, Parliament condemned the imprisonment of children for lawless conduct. Royal Commissions dealt with the matter in 1834 and 1837. The Education Committee for Oct. 1931 said:

'The young offender gains ground upon us, the plague of the policeman, the difficulty of the magistrate, a problem to the statesman, and a sorrow to the philanthropist.'

That same year a Committee of the House of Commons recommended the establishment of Reformatory Schools, and in 1857 the Industrial Schools Act was passed. Its results were remarkable. In 1866, no fewer than 13,981 children under seventeen years of age had been committed to prison. In 1897, thanks to Industrial Schools, the number had fallen to 1888. Up to 1901 (according to figures given by John Trevethen, Secretary of Redhill Farm School, in an article in the Nineteenth Century for Jan. 1901), out of 3611 reported on by Reformatory, 2966 were in regular employment, 123 in casual employment, 641 had been convicted, and 357 were under sentence. Of 9338 reported on by Industrial Schools, 6379 were in regular employment, 480 in casual employment, 460 had been convicted, and 354 were unknown; i.e. nearly 50 per cent were doing well, and only some 15 per cent had been tried—a very satisfactory record. The charge, then, that 'Reformatories are hooligan manufactories,' is singularly unjust and ill-informed. Considering the material supplied, the proportion of failures is surprisingly small, and a good many of the failures are caught up and reformed by the Borstal system. One-third of our burglars are boys from 16 to 21, and 20 per cent of crimes against morals are committed by those under 21. In 1891, Dickens visited the Industrial Society's Farm School, Redhill, and wrote an interesting article about it in Household Words, ending as follows:

'The system must be tried, the administration must be reformed, the preventable young criminals must be prevented, the State must put its Industrial and Farm Schools first, and the prisons last—and so to this combination you must come. You may put a few boys up to a little, and destroy (not irresponsibly) two or three thousand of immortal souls in the meantime, but the change must come.'

These words were prophetic. The change has come. We are now putting our schools first, and our prisons last. That, is, educative methods are displacing punitive methods. Hence the new treatment of juvenile offenders, wise and firm, known as the 'Borstal.'

6. Preventive measures.—Reformatory and preventative treatment, however necessary and valuable, does not go to the root of the matter, and will not eradicate hooliganism. Therefore preventive measures must more and more be adopted. Generally, whatever makes for social amelioration makes for the extinction of hooliganism, and the production of a law-abiding, well-behaved, self-respecting population. The following reforms, however, have a special bearing upon the social phenomenon which we have been considering. Hooliganism will never disappear until we have—

(1) An improved system of education which will aim deliberately at moral training, the disciplining of the will, the formation of character.—To secure this we could well afford to drop much with which the curriculum is at present overloaded. Boys especially are ruled by ideals, and we must instil into them higher ideals than that of the robber knight and the pirate chief.

(2) Industrial training.—With a basis of hooliganism is due to casual labour, blind-alley occupations, unemployment, and consequent street-loitering and larking. R. Dyer, a leading educational expert, truly says that "One of the most important problems of the day is the deliberate and complete organization of the whole field of industrial work in a way that is recognized by the most critical social psychologists as the original training and preparation for the years of adolescence" (Education and National Life, London, 1913, p. 77)."
HOPE (Christian)—Hope is the name of a grace which is characteristic of the religion of the Bible. St. Paul sums up the misery of the Gentile world in a single sentence, when he speaks of them as "σκότος νόος και σκότος σώματος εἰς τὸν κόσμον" (Eph 2:12). The Bible, on the other hand, is the book of hope. One strange book (Ecclesiastes) reflects the deep melancholy which was a pervading note of ancient literature; but hope cherished in the darkest times, hope continually kept alive by the writings of the prophets, hope of a future never abandoned and ever shining anew in spite of every conceivable discouragement—this is the dominant note of the OT. Whatever is written therein was written for our learning, that through patience and through comfort of the scriptures we might have hope (Ro 15:4). The God whom the OT promises is "the God of hope"—the Author and Giver of hope (Ro 15:13). The "hope of Israel" (Ac 28:20; cf. 26:20) might be understood in widely different senses. For St. Paul at least it included not only the complete fulfillment of the Messianic expectation in its widest sense, but the fulfillment of the true destiny of the individual in the glory of the resurrection life. To many modern Jews it may mean little more than the expectation of a brighter day for their oppressed and down-trodden nation—an expectation based on faith in God's justice and His unique relation to Israel. But in any case, hope—the boundless expectation of God—is the deepest note in the poetry and prophecy of the OT; in a transfigured form, it reappears in the NT. (For the meaning and use of the word in the OT and NT it may suffice to refer to EDB, s. v.; and J.E., s. v.)

Hope, like faith and love, is a Scriptural virtue. It cannot be said to have a place in heathen ethics. There are isolated passages in praise of hope. A fragment of Manander is quoted by Jerome Taylor, _Life of Christ_, pt. 3, § 15: "... οὐκ οἶδα τί προσευκτήριον ἡ δόξα του Ἰησοῦ." According to windows, hope w. p. 6. But heathen hope was low or aimless. "Thou dost not hope," says Augustine to the Christian, "as the Gentiles hope, as the citizens of the day, as the people of the earth, as the artisans, as shipwrights, as sailors, as men who believe in a world beyond this one; but as a man who believes in God, and who believes in the God of Christ and not in the god of the pagans. Indeed, thou believest in God, and thou seest and understandest all things."

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In both Testaments, indeed, the duty of hope is based on the revealed character of God: (a) as omnipotent and therefore able to fulfill His purposes, even against human expectation (Ro 4:17); (b) as specially pledged to be the Saviour and Sanctifier of His elect people (Jer 14:1 17:5, 6; Ps 40, etc.); (c) as the righteous moral Governor and Judge of mankind, whose ways are destined to be finally vindicated in spite of all the enigmas which burden the just man with a sense of unfathomable mystery.

The exact objects of hope differ to some extent in the NT. The Anglican Catechist (18th) expressly denies that "the old fathers did look only for transitory promises." The hopes of merely temporal good, which were characteristic of primitive man, were double; everything and everybody became the discipline of calamity, so that hope itself became spiritualized (cf. Ps 63:17, 18, etc.). On the other hand, the gospel is the religion of the "better hope" (He 11:1). Hence it is the hope of men who for the first time enter into intimate fellowship with God (see Bruce, _Ep. to the Hebrews_, Edinburgh, 1899, p. 271 f.). Thus the hope of the Christian is a "good hope" (2 Th 1:2), a "blessed hope" (Tit 2:13), a "hope of the calling of righteousness" (Gal 5:5), of "salvation" (1 Th 5:9), of "eternal life" (Tit 3:1). It is an expectation of spiritual blessings already realized and powerfully conveyed to man in Christ. Nay, Christ Himself is "our hope" (1 Th 1:1), the living pledge that the divinest promises of life, immortality, and glory will find their fulfillment for all who are lovingly and truly related to Him. His resurrection is the ground of hope because it is an earnest of the fulfillment of man's destiny (1 P 1:13). So Aug. (c. Fusc. xi. 8) strikingly says that the Christian expectation of future bliss and immortality "in Christiam non spe sed essentia est." The believer, he adds, "in Christiam habet substantia esse." The present article will deal with the function of hope in the moral life of the Christian.

1. The _object of hope_ is, of course, some form of future good, the true blessedness of which man is capable. The object of hope is the highest good—"bonus futurum, arduum, possibile haberi" (Aquinas, Sum. ii. 2. xvii. resp. f. 165). For this is described in various ways in the NT. The Synoptic Gospels the _sumsum bonum_ is the Kingdom of God or of Heaven; in the Fourth Gospel, eternal life; in St. Paul's Epistles, _eternal_ blessedness of God; in Hebrews, access to God and unrestricted fellowship with Him. All these are simply different descriptions of one supreme blessing, viz. that spiritual state which carries with it the very presence of God in the human spirit. In a true sense, then, God Himself is the supreme object of hope; "bonorum summum Deus nobis est" (Aug. de emer. Exp. 13; cf. 20; etc.). For God, says T. H. Green, "is all which the human spirit is capable of becoming" (Proleg. to Ethics, Oxford, 1853, § 187). The final _beatitude_ for which we look is the reign of God in man, i.e. that perfection of our nature which results from His indwelling presence in man. "Non alius aliud Domine Deus tuus spectes, sed ipse Dominus spectes tua" (Aug. Enarr. in Ps. 39 [40] 407). So Aquinas, Sum. ii. 2. qu. xvii. art. 2, says: "Proprium est principale speci objectum est ipse aeterna beatitudine.

2. We may next discuss the _claim of hope to be a Christian virtue_. We must remember that man's nature, being disordered by the Fall, can be restored only by an act of Divine power. The revelation of God in Christ, making known His character, purpose, and requirement, necessarily affects the normal springs of human action. Thus, for a Christian the primary springs of action—the affections, appetites, passions, sentiments—yield to certain higher principles directly resulting from man's changed relation to God. These are the "theological virtues"—Faith, Hope, and Love, so called because they bring man into a right relation to God and are Divinely communicated to him. The Gospel revelation of God is, in fact, a new inspiration; it develops in man a new attitude towards God, and, consequently, a new disposition or character. It sets before him a new end or aim of action, viz. union with God. Hence the necessity of _faith_, which appropriates the revealed facts—the good will and Fatherly love of God, the Divine victory over sin, the possibility of _blessedness_; _love_, which responds to the goodness of God, and embraces in union with God the Divine aim of creation—an end which is wider than any merely personal good, and includes the well-being of others; and, finally, _hope_, which, in reliance on the revealed character of God, looks forward with confidence to the fulfillment of the Divine

Aquinas, Sum. i. 2. qu. xii. art. 1 resp.
HOPE (Greek and Roman)

Such conduct is contrary to the spirit of the petition, ‘Lead us not into temptation’ (see W. H. Mill, _Fieschi Sermons on the Temptation_, Cambridge, 1844, no. 5; Bernard, in _Fs. ‘Qui habetis’, Herm. xiv._). The remedy against presumption is the spirit of humility and holy fear, and attention to the warnings and exhortations of the gospel: ‘Abstain from every form of excess’ (see Taylor, _Holy Dying_, ch. v. § 6) and _Aquinas, Sum. ii. 2. qu. xx._

The defect of hope, on the other hand, is despair, which springs not necessarily from indolentness but from lack of confidence in God and servile fear. The Heb. verb for ‘despair’ (רָעֵשׂ) is an uncommon one (Ec 2:29; see also 1 S 27, Job 38, Is 57, Jer 32 18). The conception occurs in the NT only to be negatively (2 Co 4); the exception in 2 Co 1 is, as the context shows, only apparent. Despair is, in fact, incompatible with the spirit of faith (1 Co 13). It is, as _Aquinas_ points out, a principle of sin (cf. Eph 4:18), and that for three reasons. (1) Just as hope is based on a true conception of God’s character, so despair results from a false and unworthy one, by which God is robbed of His due honour. (2) Despair acts on the will and leads to recklessness of living: ‘Abstain from unbecoming homilies labantur in vita et a bonis laboribus retrahuntur.’ (3) Further, despair implies that ‘aversion from the unchangeable good’ which is the very essence of sin. ‘If sin is, in some respects, a descent into hell’ (Isidore, quoted by _Aquinas, Sum. ii. 2. qu. xx. art. 3_; cf. Aug. _Enarr. in Ps. 144_).

The causes of despair are various. Moralists specially mention two sins: love of a good toward evil (g.v.—that spiritual sloth which robs a man of hope and so casts him down that he thinks the good unattainable. To these may be added the lack of gratitude for God’s benefits, impatience, and culpable ‘weakness of spirit’ (Taylor, _Holy Living_, ch. iv. § 2).

The remedies suggested for despair are at the same time means for sustaining or augmenting hope. Taylor advises (loc. cit.): (1) Sobriety and moderation in our expectations, and consequent indifference to the dispositions of the flesh and to the vicissitudes of human life. (2) Reflection upon the character of God in whom there are all those glorious attributes and excellences which in the nature of things can possibly create or confirm hope; the soul must contemplate the power of God and His fidelity to His promises. (3) Recollection of Christ’s travail for our redemption and the manifold unmerited favours of God to avarice and pardon. In this connexion _Augustine_ (in _Joyn. Enonym. tract. xxiii._ III.) refers to Exk 19:2 as a text of comfort for the despairing. (4) Remembrance of the past mercies of God, and of His providential care for the soul. This is implied in St. Paul’s words, ‘experience wrought his hope’ (Ro 5). To these may be added (6) the abiding and continuous spirit of penitence—contrition for sins already forgiven and often-repeated acts of repentance. Speus sus cuique est in scientia propria, quod substantiam se sentit ad dilectionem Dei et proximi cognitionemque profecto’ (Aug. _de Doct. fili. 14._)


R. L. OTTLAY.

HOPE (Greek and Roman).—The etymological association of ὧπος with ὑπάλληλος, ‘pleasure,’ ‘will,’ ‘desire’ is perhaps illustrated by _Pindar, Pyth._ ii. 49; but the neutral meaning, whether of good or evil, common from Homer to
SOLON re-echoes the thought (xlii. iv. 33 ff.):
1 We mortals think alike, the good and bad:
Anticipation makes all men glad.
Till evil strikes, then we appeal our fate
Who gave on airy hopes in vain.

This general moral be applied to every trade and
vocation in turn, in illustration of the ample proposition that hope makes in all designs begun
on earth below ' (Shakespeare, Troilus and Cressida, l. 11. 3.)
In similar vein, Theogonis writes (387):

'Hardy and Hope, two cruel gods are they,
Who equally on all mankind deprey.
Men's fortunes prosper oft beyond their thought
And hope, and oft good counsel comes to naught.'

After Theogonis, Findar (Nem. xi. 46) and the
dramatists (Soph. Antig. 616; Eurip. Sup. 479)
take up the parable. Thucydides incorporates it
in his cynical philosophy of human motives (see
P. Shorey, Transactions of Amer. Phil. Assoc.,
vol. xxiv. [1895] p. 71; F. M. Cornford, Thucydides
Mysticator, London, 1907, p. 107 l.)

'Hope easily led astray' is one of the elements of which
the mortal soul is compounded by the divinities
that came to the making of man in Plato's
Timæus, 69 D, and hope is a motive of crime in
Antiphon (fr. 68, Diels) and Democritus (fr. 221).

This is prevailing tone. But, of course, hope
is also described as a blessing and a counsel,
and there are parallels with most familiar quota-
tions from Pope's 'Hope springs eternal' (Theogonis,
1135) to Gay's 'While there is life there is hope' (Thuc., iv. 49), and Thucydides' hope is but a
dream of those that wake' (Findar, ap. Stob. Flor. 111. 12).
'Aschylus' 'Exiles feed on hope' (Ag. 1668) became a proverb. (For a collection of
comparisons, see Stob. Flor. 110 ff.; C. F. Nигельбах, Nachhomers, Thuc., Nürenberg, 1857,
p. 383 l.; L. Schmidt, Ethik der alten Griechen,
Berlin, 1882, ii. 70-75.)

(3) The better or fairer hope is almost a technical
term for the assurance of a blessed immortality
which the mysticism brought to the initiated (see
C. A. Lobeck, Apollonius, Königsberg, 1829,
l. sect. 11, pp. 69-73; Findar, in Plato, Rep. 331 A,
and Plato, Phædo 63 C, where Burnet comments,
'Epia is Orphic for faith'). This better hope
extends to worldly prosperity also, and is some-
times the reward of moral and not merely cer-
emonial purity (cf. Isocr. iv. 23 with viii. 34-35, i.
39, and xv. 322). In Antiphon, vi. 6, it is a
sanction of the oath and of the righteous adminis-
tration of justice.

(3) The friendly exhortation not to despair but
to cling to hope (Soph. Culp. 674, 675) is the
inescapable transition into the affirmation of the
duty of hopefulness (Pind. Isth. vii. [viii. ] 10;
Eur. Hera. Parr. 105; Horace, Odes. ii. x. 18). The
transition and the blending of the idea with the better
hope of the righteous appears in a notable passage of
Plato's Laches (732 C).

More simply Demosthenes (de Cor. 97), in an often imitated passage, declares to the
Athenians:

'Good men should attempt all honourable things,
easing before them good hope as a shield and beaying bravely what
God gives.'

Similarly Menander (fr. 572, Kock):

'When thou dost well, thrust forth to cover thee
Good hope a shield, in confidence that God
To righteous boldness lends a helping head.'

But there is a wide gap between these sayings and Emerson's optimistic Americanism: 'We
judge of a man's wisdom by his hope.'

To Epictetus (fr. cxv., Didot) and Democritus (fr. 116.
Diels) is attributed the saying that 'The hopes of
the educated are better than the wealth of the ignorant.'
The saying, 'The hopes of right-
thinking men are attainable, those of the foolish
not' (Democrit. fr. 58, Diels), may be ultimately
derived from Plato's Philebus, 40 A-B.

(4) Hope is freely personalized in Greek poetry,
and Clytemnestra's 'My hope shall never tread

HESIOD, is still for Plato the normal one (Laches,
644 C [which Liddell and Scott, s. v. Ósw, II.,
misunderstand] and Phædo, 39 E). The verb
throughout Homer seems to mean 'expect' or 'deem'; the noun occurs twice in the Odyssey
(xvi. 101 and xix. 94), in a formula, in the sense of
'hope.' There is no personification of hope in
Homer.

In the myth of Pandora (Hesiod, Works and
Days, 96), Hope remains in the jar when other
evils have flown forth and been dispersed among
men. The natural and traditional interpretation of
this is that hope stays with man as his sole
consolation (Campbell, Pleasures of Hope, l. 30-40;
St. Symonds, [Gr. Morol., and Religion, Cowley],
The Mistress). On this view the jar contained a
mixture of good and evil, corresponding vaguely
to the two jars in the Homerio apologue (II. xxvi.
527-533). Further confirmation is found in tales of
Babrius (58), in which the jar contains only
blessings, hope remaining when the others are
dispersed and lost. But, if we may press the logic of
a myth, it can be plausibly argued from the phrase
'other evils' that hope too is an evil. It
is the delusion which, in Cowper's words (Hope,
1823), is there to stamp the vanity of all that.
That men have deemed substantial since the fall,
and there is abundant confirmation of this view in the
many passages of the moralizing poets which warn the
too trusting to the fate of 'the man of special danger
of his temperaments, 'the chase of a cheating prey
with hopes that shall never be fulfilled' (Pind.
Pyth. iii. 23). Another ingenious mediating inter-
pretation makes the blessing to consist in the
absence of hope in the sense of foreknowledge of
fate. This would do for humanity what the
Prometheus of Aschylus (Prom. 290) boasts that he
did by implanting in them 'blind' hopes that they might hide with thin and rainbow
wings the shape of death (Shelley, Prom. n. iv. 62).

A propon de l'Epia hésiòique, id. xxii. (1910)
466, is on the hypothesis of the myth that will satisfy all requirements of a captious
logic. Why, for example, should Zeus in the
accomplishment of his revenge wish to console
mankind? And how, on the other hand, can in
the one case the escape from the jar and in the
other the remaining behind in it consistently
symbolize the presence with mankind of a blessing
or a bane?

In post-Hesiodic literature we may distinguish,
though we cannot keep apart, (1) the idea already
of that hope is an illusion and an evil; (2)
the hope of the better hope of the initiated or the
good; (3) the anticipation of such modern ideas
at the duty of hopefulness; (4) the personification
of hope.

(1) 'Creatures of a day,' says Simonides of
Amorgos (i. 8-7),

'They live like cattle, knowing not how God
Shall bring such things to its appointed end.
But Hope and covetousness make them desire
Their agiton of their vain desires.'

(See on this Wilamowitz, Sappho und Simonides,
Berlin, 1913, p. 272 ff.)

1 By the Sapphoists poets hope was classed among the evils
which true sage must renounce to secure perfect tran-
quility of mind (cf. Schölting, Ind. Sprückte, St. Petersburg,
1907-19, no. 1040-52, 1177, 1444, 2800).
there are marked analogues with Nahua culture. The composite character of the Hopi is also substantiated by their legendary history, which represents different portions as coming from widely separated parts of the country.

The term 'Hopi,' which those people prefer, and which alone should be applied to them, is a contraction of *Hopi:dii:,* 'peaceful ones,' or *Hopi:dii:kso:nii:da,* 'peaceful all people'; and the common appellation of *Moquis* (with many variant spellings), which means 'dead' in Hopi, is an offensive mimoer.

As a tribal name *Moquis* is seemingly of alien origin and of undetermined etymology—perhaps from the Keresan language (Míshkwa in Laguna, Mo-to in Acoma, Moat in Sia, Cochiti, and San Juan, Kh'wii in Jemez, and Soke in Upper and Lower Ute), and described by Otho T. S. M. T. in 1892 as "Mochuqu" (1890). They are known to the Apache also as *Kwa:* ("live high up on the mesa"), and the Zuni sometimes generalise and call them *Moquis* ("smallpox people") and *Hopi:* ("sorefoot people"). The use of the name *Ponca* by the *Tonkawa* (Poncas) and *Chatick:* (isolated buccis); for further synonyms, see Fedde, op. cit. 606 f. 1.

1. History. The districts from which the phratry names were, according to Fedde (19 2BEW, 582): Tokomabi (S. Utah)—Chas. Ala.; Palaiskwahi (S. Arizona) and the Little Colorado—Patung, Longya (?), Pakti, Kukkuk, Pits, Tawa, Tabo; the Maboi (Rio Grande valley) and New Mexican pueblo (Zuni, Acoma, Jemez, etc.)—Houn, Kopok, Pakah, Ana, Ruah. Roman steps in which these clans reached Tusayan is very uncertain (Fekows, 19 2BEW, 581 f.; for the native traditions, of the very full account by Stephen, op. Mindeleff, 5 2BEW, 18 ff.; also Voth, *FOMAS* viii. 22 ff., but perhaps the most reliable summary is that of Fekows (Am. An. series new, ii. 894 ff.).

The existing Hopi pueblo, Walpi, Shongopovi, Mishongonvi, and Oraibi (the Oraibi colonised from Shongopovi) were established before 1250; Shicuvo (colonised from Walpi) and Shippanovi (colonised from Walpi and Mishongonvi) were founded about 1750; and Hano was built early in the 18th cont. (Fekows, Am. An. viii. 414, and 19 2BEW, 581 f.; see, further, HAI ii. 901, 563 f., i. 871, i. 145 f, 564, 551, i. 531). The inhabited pueblos are elaborately described by Mindeleff (5 2BEW, 61-79), who also describes the ruins of Old Walpi, Old Mishongonvi, Sigtamui, Atawasti, Tokomabi, called by him 'Horo House,' Cheakshaviu (called by him 'East House'), Kawayuk (called by him 'Mishiponvi,' Kwahtoni, Chukuri, Chukuri, Pakha (op. cit. 45-60; for the tradition regarding Pakha, see Stephen, op. Mindeleff. 46 f.)

These are only a few of the ruined sties, and to these may be added Chukwahciul, Honschi, Kachiul, Kikakoi, Kukkuk.

1 The spelling of Hopi names is by no means uniform; in the present art, the vowel have their closest sound is represented on a "but": p and d, and 4, are indistinguishable; *s*h is in "disab": *s* in "finger": *s* in small; *s* in German sh.

2 For the Hopi tradition of the destruction of the above, see Voth, *FOMAS* viii. 45-53.

On this subject generally said to be Tewa in origin, and to have migrated to Zuni and thence to the Hopi, being one of the components of the population of Awaiki, see Fedde, *FOMAS* viii. 54-55.
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Ground makes probable the bitting of any object within several feet of its path. So far as is known this is the only acrophobic club used in America. The material is Gambel's oak (Quercus gambelii), and a branch of the proper cactus is selected for its manufacture. One end is cut to form a handle, and the club is usually varnished with resin and painted with an irreversible design in black, red, and green. Of late years a rabbit figure is frequently painted thereon. The weapon has a religious significance, probably arising from its use in ceremonial 'rabbit hunts' (Hough, *Hopi* ii. 245). The *pilatu-kokalo* constitutes part of the equipment of the male and *Pilu-kokato* machinist (Fawkes, *E.R.B.E.W.,* 118, 119, plates xix., ii.)

3. Birth, naming, and initiation.—The parturient mother is usually attended by her mother (or, if her mother is dead, by her aunt or older female relative), who is not, however, generally present during actual parturition, except in a case of difficult labour or the like. The father likewise remains away under extraordinary circumstances. After the child has been born, its head and the head of the mother are washed with sooty sand, and the infant's body is rubbed with ashes, after which an ear of maize is placed in its cradle to guard it. The care of the newborn child devolves mainly upon the paternal grandmother (or, if she is dead, upon her sister or other female relative on the father's side), and until the fifth day the mother must not see the sun or receive any solar light. On the fifth day the washing is repeated, as well as on the 10th, 15th, and 20th. During this period the mother may eat no meat or salted food, and all sustenance must be prepared, at least in part, with a decoction of juniper leaves; on these 20 days the mother is furthermore, forbidden to be barefoot. Shortly after birth four horizontal lines are drawn upon the wall of the room, these being called the child's 'house,' and on each of the days of washing one of these lines is solemnly effaced—a ceremony whose real meaning is still unknown—and is offered to the rising sun with a prayer for old age.

The 30th day marks the purification of the mother, the naming of the child, and its presentation to the sun. On this day both mother and child are again solemnly washed, the former also being obliged to stand over a steaming vessel into which juniper is thrown, thus receiving the final purification. The latter, together with sweepings and everything connected with the mother during her ritual impurity, is then thrown away without ceremony. The after-birth, which has been kept until this time, is sprinkled with sacred meal, a feather is added, and the whole is rolled together, waved over the mother's head, and carried away to be shaken out or buried by the paternal godmother. When the latter returns, she rubs the mother's arms, neck, and face, and the child's face (on the Middle Mesa she takes ears of maize and makes for 20 days, over the front of the child, without touching it, from head to foot), and with prayer-meal and ears of maize she makes some such prayer as, 'May you live to be old, may you have good meat and may you keep well, and now I name you N.' All the other

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2 It may be queried whether these lines do not represent the four 'houses,' or stages, of the Hopi creation legend. On the child's 'house,' see *Voit, PUMAS*, vii. 49.
women belonging to the father's clan do likewise, one of the many names thus given being finally selected to be borne until initiation into one of the fraternities. The child is now placed in its cradle, and, when the father (who is present or absent when these ceremonies have been in progress) announces sunrise, the infant is carried by the godmother, escorted by the mother, bearing prayer-meals. The face of the child is uncovered, and the godmother and mother pray over the meal and cast it towards the rising sun (on the Middle Mesa the godmother plants two bakes (on which see below, § 11)—one for the mother and one for the child).

Meanwhile, provision has been made for a feast, at which various foods (stewed meat and shellfish) and plenteous (sweet mush) are indispensable. The first morsel of each food is given in sacrifice to the sun, and the child then receives a small bit. After the feast, when the mother has returned a larger portion of maize meal than was given her for her child, the guests return to their own homes. About the age of eight or ten, children undergo what may be the survival of an initiation rite. In the course of the Powant ceremony the children are led into the presence of the two Tufwup kachinas either by their mothers or by their godfathers (godmothers in the case of girls). The children, who carry ears of maize, a handful of prayer-meal, etc., are then bobbed in prayer-meals by the kachinas with yucca whips, the boys severely, the girls more gently. After them the godfathers (but not the godmothers) are whipped, and then men with various aliments. Previous to this whipping the children have believed that the kachinas are real; after it they know that they are in reality only personations (F. Swales, 1868, 353-365; 24. F. W. H. S. B. 36, 69; Voth, FCMAS vi. ii. 436 f.).

Children are initiated into the various fraternities at about the age of fifteen or eighteen, and they then receive the names by which they are permanently known (for the initiation rites of the Antelope fraternity, see Fowke, Stephen, and Owens, J. A. E. iv. 62-63). All Hopi proper names have some reference to the name of the Name Giver, never, unless coincidentally, to the clan totem of the Bearer of the name (Voth, FCMAS vi. iii. 68). The real meaning of these names varies according to the clans which give them; and, even when the meaning of the individual components of proper names is known, grammatical vagueness often renders precise determination of the meaning of the whole very doubtful.

4. Marriage. The marriage ceremony of the Hopi comes strongly to the fore in their marriage customs. The choice of partner usually depends upon the youth and maiden concerned, but the actual proposal is generally broached by the girl or by her representative. Names are exchanged, but there is no marriage by purchase. Marriage is rare in summer or late spring, but is common in autumn or winter, when agriculture is at a standstill. Escorted by her father (or, if she be dead, by her aunt), the girl goes to her future husband's house, where she grinds maize for three days, during which time she is expected to talk as little as possible. On the morning of the fourth day the heads of the pair are washed by their respective future mothers-in-law, who then pray, casting the sacred meal towards the dawn. After a wedding breakfast, a mixture of lime, black stuff, etc., is thrown into the room. At Orashi, after this first washing separately, usually the flag of the rising sun is then washed together in each bowl, and this hair washing, and especially the washing of the hair of the bride, is said to have "crucial moment" in which the two are supposed to "become one." (F. W. H. S. B. 24, 36, 69; Voth, FCMAS, vi. ii. 146.)

5. Burial.—The hair of the corpse is washed and dressed; the chin and the lower cheeks are painted black; the head is bound with a cotton cord; and the face is covered with a rain-cloud masque; the body is bent together, tied, and wrapped; and prayer sticks are placed in the hand. There is crying and mourning after death, but no screaming or loud lamenting, although there is wailing during the washing of the body and on anniversaries of the death, professional mourners being unknown (C. F. C. Higham, HAI 1906). The adult dead are buried at night or early morning in a sitting position, facing the sun and looking towards the slope of the mesa, or of hills near them, or they may simply be laid in crevices in the rock; the former is the normal practice at Mishongnovi and Orashi, the latter at Shongopovi. No communication with the outer world by a
sticking touching the body and projecting above the ground; and dishes, often filled with food, as well as a few pottery ornaments, are placed by the grave, while a number of geraniums, daughter of what the family belonged. The graveyards are utterly neglected. The faces of children dying before they are able to tell their name are not painted, nor do their foreheads have the cotton cord. Their bodies are thrust into rock-crevices.

On the 3rd day after death the last food- and prayer-offerings are prepared for the dead. The latter consist of a double green blackaba, a single black blackaba (the chokopori, or 'sea'), an eagle-breast feather (the puls, or 'road'), and about six mafiakina (a sort of prayer-bearer). The road' father, brother, or uncle of the deceased places on the ground west of the grave, the thin string pointing westward. From this road he sprinkles a meal the westward Denise the continuation of the road. According to a belief of the Hopi, the hilibr (breast or soul; on which see below, § 52) of the deceased seconds early the next morning from the grave, partakes of the hilibr of the food, mounts the hilibr of the seal, and then travels along the road to the masnii (skull house). Taking the hilibr of the double blackaba along as an offering. In the case of the death of a small child that has not yet learned to talk, the road is made from the grave towards the house of the child's family and is believed that the soul of that child returns to the house of its parents and is received in the next child that is born in that family. Until that time the little soul is believed to hover over the house where it is heard in the house, for instance a croaking in the room, they think that the little soul is present. On the following day the foster-brother often secretly deposits a pinch of food on the floor in some part of the house for her departed child. When I asked one time what because of that child was in case no further birth took place in the family, I was told that in such a case the soul was received into the mother's deceased, who then took the little soul with her to the other world (Voth, FUMAS xi. 101).

6. Religion; general character; ancestor-worship. Hopi religion is broadly characterized by Fewkes (JAFL xi. 180 f., 19 BEBW, 625) as based on a composite totemism overlaid with rites for rain and corn, the two prime necessities of the arid environment. There is also some trace of an form of ancestor-worship in so far as the dead are apparently represented by the ghost-dogs, or crooks, placed about the altar of the Antelope fraternity the shortest being for the oldest, since old age is most highly veneratedindispensable.is the local totemic supervisor of snake-races may have a similar implication (Fewkes, Stephen, and Owens, JAEA iv. 26, 75; Voth, FUMAS iv. iv. 211). Again, at the feast connected with the Namakakina and Namakakina one of the kachinas, who are also associated with the ancestor-cult, collects from the bowls of food given by each woman a pinch of each other in type but not in nature. Three supernaturals, differing in name and personification, appear in a number of mythologies of most Hopi altars. Those three are (a) Sky-god, (b) Earth-god, and (c) Cultus here or heroes. They are personified symbolically and may be represented by a human being, a horned toad, or a picture, or by all of them combined.

An important feature of Hopi mythology is the pairing of entities in man and female, so that the stephen (op. cit., Fewkes, JAEA ii. 153, note) could observe that 'there are numerous dual gods. These are not good and bad, but male and female, as expressing essential completeness. There is no male deity without a corresponding female counterpart, but there are one or two which would seem to indicate that the two were united in one being. . . . In one or two instances two male deities are associated, but each of these has also a corresponding female deity known by the termination 'mili' . . . Inf., on the sun, and his male relative, Tali-ow-a, divide the task of bearing the shining shield across the sky, each carrying it four days alternately. Furthermore, Fewkes suggests (Am., v. 17, note 5) that the Plumed Serpent (Palitukif) is the dualistic counterpart to the earth.

9. Totemism. It has already been observed (above, 6) that the basis of the Hopi religion is totemistic—a totemism which 'has the worship of anthropomorphic parents, male and female, a reverence which amounts to worship of a certain portion of the dead; of beasts or animals as sharing in part a supernatural element possibly due to metamorphosis or the absorption of elements foreign to simple totemism' (Fewkes, JALF xi. 154).

The principle of totemism comes conspicuously to the fore in the famous story of the rainbow; according to Fewkes (19 BEBW, 1088 s.), the presence of snakes...
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is generally supposed to show that this rite is a form of snake worship. It is in imitation of the worship of the ancestors of the Snake class, which are anthropomorphic beings, called the Snake people, and whose heads are said to be made of the Great Snake, nor has their worship anything to do with that of the bird-men, who were introduced into Hopi mythology and ritual by the Rain-cloud class."

This totemism is also the keynote of the ceremonial washing of the snakes in the kivas before the public celebrations (on this see Fewkes, Am. An. xi. 318-318).

10. Nature-worship. — Like Hopi mythology in general, and like their altars, their conception of the Sky-god is, at least in its present form, composite. The general system of 'Sky-God Personations in Hopi Worship' has been discussed in detail by Fewkes, J. Amer. Eth. Soc. xiv. 14-35. The sun is his shield or masque, 'a visible symbol of the magic power of the Sky-god conceived of as an anthropomorphic being' (14). Ahlta, the Sun-god of the kachinas, returns in the Powantar; and, when Etocito, the Germ-god and the ruler of the underworld, leads these clan-ancestors in their westward departure at the Nimankachina, he can only be deemed the same deity under another aspect (19, 24). Indeed, the kachinas in general are connected with the solar cult. In the bird-men represented in the Soulnakas, we again see a personation of the Sky-god (30 f.); and, when feather designs are found on almost three-quarters of all ancient Hopi decorated ware, while over two-thirds of the animal pendants on pottery represent avian forms, we are here to find yet another mode of representation of the same deity (Fewkes, Am. An. xi. 1-14), and it is for this reason that turkeys and, next to them in importance, eagles (in ancient times probably parrots as well) are kept for their feathers, which are used in the preparation of bakos (on which see Fewkes, Am. An. new series, ii. 600-707). The Plumed Snake (Pallúport, which in the Pallúportklo religious ceremony emerges from sun-symbols and kernel corn, A. A. xvi. 53), with his symbolic field of maize, is a representation of the Sky-god wailing the lightning (Fewkes, J. Amer. Eth. Soc. xiv. 28); and the Bird-Snake personation in the Soulnakas at Walpi represents the return of the Sun-god (28), for

's the serpent representing the lightning, one attribute of the Sky-god, and the bird, another; combined we have the Bird-serpent, the great old god of those Hopi clans whose ancestors once lived in the 'far south' (i.e. Palawakwa) (31).

An extremely interesting cult in this connexion is that of the Aloska, the ancestors of the Aalita ('Horn-Men'), who, in their personations—especially at Mispahongriv, where the cult was introduced by the Paiute, the founders of the pueblo—wear close-fitting wicker caps bearing large curved projections of buckskin, painted white, and re-sembling the horns of the mountain sheep, which the Paiute imitate in some of their actions. In Walpi the cult survives in the ceremonies of the Leñkapí, Witítčimit, and Soulnakas (see Fewkes, Am. An. new series, i. 624). Like the other horned gods, Aalita, Calako, Tewtāw, and, with Natsaka — the Aloska are intimately connected with the sun. At the same time, they represent the mountains, their peaks, and their cult is a highly modified form of animal totemism, while the purpose of the rites performed in this cult is the germination and growth of seeds—particularly maize — and the bringing of rain.

11. Sacrifice and prayer. — Reference has been made above (§ 6) to cases of sacrifice to the dead; but the most important form of Hopi sacrifice is that to the dead. At many feasts the first morsel is taken by the head priest and set on one side, probably as a sacrifice (Fewkes, J. Amer. Eth. Soc. xiv. 29) for, above, returning to the pueblo, a stick or stone is thrown on a pile of such objects, especially at shrines of Massañ, the god of the underworld (Fewkes, J. Amer. Eth. Soc. xiv. 195, J. Amer. Eth. Soc. iv. 41, note 1); for whom bits of food are placed in the rafters of the houses, that he may not hasten the departure of any of the family to the underworld (Minderleit, 3 B.B.W., 102); the 'prayer-meal,' which is so important throughout Hopi ritual, is also to be considered a form of sacrifice, as is the bake, which is presently to be noted (Fewkes, J. Amer. Eth. Soc. xiv. 29), the personal Fewkes witnessed a dog sacrifice at Silhumonvi; and certain details in the treatment of rabbits after their death in the ceremonial rabbit-hunts may point to a former system of animal sacrifice. At the present time such sacrifices are rare; and, if it does occur, its type is highly modified (46-189). It is also noteworthy that the Hopi have a tradition of human sacrifices in connection with their deluge legend.

An interesting object, which seems to be the medium between sacrifice and prayer, is the bake, or 'prayer-stick,' which bears the prayers to the deities. These 'prayer-sticks' are not confined to the Hopi, but are found also among the Navaho and Apache, with analogues among many other stocks (Hough, H. Ai. ii. 304; Solberg, A. A. xxiii. 73). These bakes, which range from a few cm. to 3 m. in length, are ordinarily double, 'male' and 'female,' bound together, and are made of sprigs of various sorts of willow and cottonwood trees, being adorned with pine needles, eagle feathers, etc., and painted in various colors. They are prepared with fasting and other purifications, but are seldom made for the personal advantage of their manufacturer, being rather for others (cf., for example, above, § 33); the personal prayer-bearer, or nakźvëwës, being somewhat similar; after they have been used, their sanctity is at an end. The bakes are placed in clefts in the rocks, in sacred spots and shrines, usually in honour of specific deities or by special societies, and on certain ceremonial occasions. While they are being made or set in place, prayers are murmured over them, and, in their symbolism of colour, components, etc., the Hopi see a medium between him who prays and his god, so that they are a strengthening of the verbal prayer of the bearer of the petition in permanent form (Solberg, 56-59).

Like the prayer meal, the bakes are regarded by Fewkes (16 B.B.W., 29) and J. Amer. Eth. Soc. ii. 50, note 3) as 'sacrifice by symbolic substitution'; and he continues:

's offerings of corn or meal would be natural among an agricultural people like the Hopi. Substitutes for human sacrifices to the gods were sometimes made by the Atece in the form of dough images, so that the method of substituting symbolic products for the real in Europe, was not unknown in America (see, further, B.B.W. ii. 694). . . . In these days sacrifices have come to be a symbolic substitute of products of the field—corn, flour, or bakes—still retaining, however, the names 'male' and 'female,' and with a human face painted on one end of the prayer-stick. The snake-heads are also to be regarded, according to Fewkes (loc. cit.), as true bakes.

Yet another form of substitutitional sacrifice is seen by Fewkes (J. Amer. Eth. Soc. xiv. 193) in the rizas, or dolls, which, carved especially at the Powantar, Papúlkut̄, and Nimankachsina, and presented to the little girls, are 'simulacra of the gods,'

'... the pine needles are brought from the San Francisco Mountains; certain seeds from the region south of Huwa'vapul (100-110 miles from Walpi); cohews from Tewka (several days distant); and the flavoring materials—red henna and green malachite—often from the Huwa'vapul (N. W. Arizona), etc. On the plains of Heneolithic, Shëwëwë, and Shëwëwë, Fewkes (Am. An. iv. 685-697) found Pacific coast shells, such as Potamose and the Nimpahéchins, and winged eagle bones are used in many ceremonies (Voth, J. Mus. Am. xi. 106 f.).'
and are analogous to the dough images of the Aztecs.

As a single example of the many verbal Hopi prayers may be cited the following, used at the Snake and Flute ceremonies and recorded by Davy M. D. B. M. (Feg. 215. 11. note 5).

"We joyfully and courageously go through a ceremony here. May the clouds from the four world quarters have play on us. May they nourish our fields and our crops, and then the corn, quickly bearing seeds, our children will eat; and they being sown, we shall also eat and be satisfied, and then after that shall mature and we shall gather it in and put it in our houses, and after that we shall eat and live on it. Therefore we are happy, and being strong shall perform this ceremony."

11. Purification. - Ritual purity is as necessary to the Hopi as to any other people. Before many ceremonies attendance is obligatory. At the conclusion of some ceremonies, particularly the Snake ceremony, before there can be a return to the ordinary mode of life, it is requisite to remove all that has been associated with the individual during the sacred period, this being accomplished by the taking of a strong emetic. It must also be noted that expectoration forms a portion of a number of rites, apparently with a religious signification (Feg. J. A. E. II. 78, 82, 93, 103).

12. Symbolism and imitation. - Symbolism, here a side of sympathetic magic (see above, § 7), runs through all Hopi ritual. The connexion of feathers with the sun has already been noted (above, § 10). Passing mention may be made of the representation of lightning by the snake (see above, § 10), as well as of the numerous rain-cloud symbols, such as the terraced forms found on many of the kachina masques, and the rich symbolism of the altar. To give a full account of Hopi symbolism would practically be synomous with detailing the entire ceremonial system of this people (cf. Feg. J. A. E. VII. 9-26).

As a single concrete example of Hopi symbolism we may cite that of the sipooph, the representation, in the floor of the kiva, of the aperture through which mankind reached the surface of the earth. According to Mingeffer (Feg. B. B. W. 130) -

"The sipooph, with its cavity beneath the floor, is certainly regarded as indicating the place of beginning, the lowest house under the earth, the abode of Mitina, the Creator; the main or lower floor represents the second stage; and the elevated second floor is made to denote the third stage, where animals were created. Mr. Stephen observed, at the New Year's festivals, that animal fetishes were set in groups upon this platform. It is also to be noted that the ladder leading to the surface is invariably made of pine, and always rests upon the platform upon the lower floor, and in their traditional geneses it is stated that the people climbed from the third house (stages) by a ladder of pine, and through such an opening as the kiva hatchway; only most of the stories indicate that the people were made in the kiva hatchway. The outer world is the fourth world, or that now occupied."

Symbolism likewise attaches to the cardinal points, of which the Hopi recognize six: north, west, south, east (in the order named), above, and below. The north really lies between the true north and west, being determined at Tusayan by the notch on the horizon from which the sun sets in the summer solstice; the second (west) by the setting in the winter; the third by its rising in winter; the fourth by its rising in summer; the fifth by the center of the kiva, on which are placed two cardinals having its own symbolic color: north, yellow; west, blue; south, red; east, white; above, all color; below, black (Feg. V. 82).

A remarkable feature of Hopi ceremonial is the first-person address (sipuq, ch. i. ev.) performed sinistrally-north, west, south, east. This extremely curious phenomenon has been studied by Feg. J. A. E. VII. 33-42, his conclusion being that the north forms the initial point because, according to Hopi tradition, the sipooph of the creation legend is far away to the north, whence even those in the sipooph, in the Indian mind, with the stones through which individuals are born (Feg. J. A. E. III. 56).

The type of the fingers of the outstretched hand (Through, in Feg. L 1701 ff.). As is shown by the accompanying cut, the bull-roarer is from a Hopi painting of the Tewa type, having a terraced top to represent rain-clouds and bearing the lightning-snakcs (see Feg. 21 B. W. 1, plates III. XXXX. 141, 218, 118, 117, 116).

The games of the Hopi have been fully considered by Culin, in his 'Games of the N. Amer. Indians' (n. 42 to his Pref. 1907), among them being archery (300), ball race (689, 678 f.), bean shooter (760), buzz (755), cat's cradle (774); said by the Zeffi to have been taught by the Spider woman to her children, the War Gods (n. 797), war dance (160-165), double ball (649), hidden ball (337-339), hoop and pole (466-468), races (807), skinny hop (833-835), stills (781), tope (743). At least some of these games are regarded by Culin as possessing a religious connotation, as ball race (686), double ball (649), hidden ball (337-339), and hoop and pole (466-468); cf. also 54, 433, 441.

Among the Hopi games mention should also be made of a children's dance, called wakiksina, or 'we-go-thriving dances,' from the fact that pigeon knots are tossed to the spectators at its close. It is a secular imitation of the kachina dance, and, when observed by Feg. on 16 Jan. 1900 (A. M. D. IV. 609 f.; cf. B. B. W. 50), was performed by about 15 boys and girls, wearing ceremonial kilts and blankets, with painted bodies and with feathers in their hair, but without masks. The little girls play with flowers, or dolls, which are generally made by the participants in the Pomegranate, Palmilukkoti, and Nimankachina, but which possess no religious significance of value (Feg. A. S. VII. 46-74).

15. Anthropology and ethnology. - The theological anthropology of the Hopis is thus described by Feg. (A. M. D. IV. 111).

"The modern Hopis recognize in man a double nature, corresponding to body and soul, and to the latter they are said to give the expressive name kisvur, or breath, in which he partakes with organic and inorganic natures, and it likewise forms an essential part of objects of human manufacture. The figure which is so constant and prominent on altars have breath-bodies, and it is this essence, not the idol, which is worshipped. The prayer-bearer, or palo, has likewise a breath-body, and this is the essential part of the offering taken from the dead by the god to whom it is addressed. The material stick remains in the shrine; the supernatural is taken by the God. It is the breath-body or breath which passes at death through the sipooph, or gateway, to the underworld, the place of its genesis before it was embodied as well as the post-mortem home. In this future abode, in its cultus of the dead, these spirits or souls are the sepulchrs in the cultus which they followed on earth. Even the different religious rituals perform there much the same rites as in the upper-world, but minus the movements and rituals of the living."

1 The place of emergence was the Grand Canyon of the Colorado, whence also came the wife of the sun, who went to the east (Feg. A. M. D. IV. 4. 5).
HOPI

with more repertend paraphernalia, the magnificence of which is correlated with the imagination of the priest who may tell you of them.

The best summary of Hopi concepts of the future life is that of Voth (Forsch. xi. 98):

"The future world is a place of eternal existence. When a person dies, his soul is absorbed into the body of the dead and is thus transported to the future world. In the future world, the soul will live eternally, and will be able to communicate and interact with other souls."

With regard to the under world (mazdzi, or 'skeleton house'), it is believed by the Hopi that the seasons are reversed—when it is summer above, it is winter below. This belief is supported by the fact that there are five summer months named after those of the winter in the culture, with special emphasis on the five summer months (May, June, July, August, September).


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HORACE.

—In the lifetime of Horace (65-8 B.C.), a vast change took place in the Roman world.

If he had been in Rome at the time—but he was at Athens— he might have listened to the Philippics of Cicero, as a young man of twenty-one or twenty-two. It is probable that Augustus had not only secured his own monarchical power, but was determined to provide for the succession to what was virtually a throne. In his manual, the boy god, it is fairly clear that the prevailing creed of educated Romans was Epicureanism. Lucretius had expounded with force and fervour the theory which denied all intervention of the gods in human affairs, and constructed the universe as an aggregate of material atoms acting under mechanical laws; and, long before, a speaker in a tragedy of Ennius had put in an epigrammatic form: "That the gods exist I hold and shall continue to hold, but I deny that they are concerned with human affairs any more than the stars. I shall go well with the gods, ill with the wicked,—but it is not so in the world I know." (Talamo, frag. 1, Ribbeck.) In a time of disintegration and civil commotions, that was a bold exposition to utter shipwreck, it was natural for men to think that the gods were careless of the welfare of Rome; just as, in a later day, the mob of the city is said to have stoned the temples when the news came of the death of Germansicus (Suet. Calig. 5). When Augustus restored peace and prosperity, it was possible to believe in Providence once more, and the new government made a deliberate attempt to revive the old religion of Rome; temples were rebuilt, and old ceremonies revived with unheard of splendour. According to Dio Cassius (III. 20), Augustus advised Augustus to practise and encourage religion, but to set his face against foreign superstition. The advice is characteristic of Horace's faculties; and, according to the strict contexts in his nature. An indolent voluptuary at most times, he could on occasion display the greatest energy and skill. According to his own literary tastes, he made no error in selecting for encouragement the really great writers of the time; interested in astrology, and perhaps ascribing his recovery to the influence of the planet Jupiter (Hor. Odes, II. xvii. 22 f.), he dissuaded Augustus from showing any favour to the Oriental creeds and rites which had already made considerable inroads at Rome. The revival of the old religion was undertaken by the Fire College. The new government had to seek stability in continuity with the past, and political institutions at Rome were closely bound up with ancient rites and ceremonies. Augustus made no attempt to subdue the mass of the people and to conciliate the restless of the rising poets; and he must have been especially gratified by the 'Invocation of Horace' who had fought at Philippi under Brutus and Cassius. Horace was a later and more reluctant convert than Virgil.

Epicureanism still had its disciples, though it was no longer, perhaps, professed quite so openly. It has been remarked that the Augustan poets make a reference to name Lucretius or extol him directly. Virgil, extolling the knowledge of nature and the defiance of death that it brings, uses a phrase which shows us that he is thinking of Lucretius (Georg. II. 692, 'et animus Aeneidae avari');—Lucretius had spoken of the 'metamorphoses'. Horace, on his journey to Brundisium with Macedonias, is asked to believe that inceses takes fire spontaneously on the tail of a scorpion: he refuses to do so, and uses words that belong to Lucretius, 'deos didicis asercum aequus aevum' (Sat. i. v. 101). In saying 'didicis', Horace almost professes himself a disciple of the epicurean poet; and it can hardly be doubted that Epicureanism was his prevailing belief, though he interested himself at times in the religion of his country. Probably Macedonias and he were as free from superstition as any two men of their time. Their ideal of life was progress towards the tranquillity and quiet enjoyment of nature. 'In rage of avian, you say, Well, but have all the other vices taken their departure too? Meaningless ambition! The fear of death! Anger! Dreams, the terrors of magic, miracles, witches, ghosts by night, and Thessalian portents,—have you a smile for them all? Do you count up your birthdays? Are you forgetting your friends? Do you grow kindlier and better with advancing years?' (Bopp. II. ii. 206 f.). Horace had dealt scathingly with the sorceries of Canidia in the Epodes (v. and xiv.); and in an early Odes (v. vii.). Spiritual or unseen powers seem to have little place in his creed. He is a man of the world, who has arrived at some measure of mental tranquillity by the help of Epicurus.

In the Natures and Epistles, Horace speaks in a familiar tone, as to a friend or friends. He does so, too, in many of the Odes; but some of the latter are much more public and formal in character. He is addressing his countrymen generally, as the lyric poet of Rome (Odes, IV. iii. 25); and here we find him lending his support to the revival of the old religion. It was neglected of the gods that brought trouble upon Italy (Odes, III. vi.), and only the restoration of the goddess brought its continuance. He goes far in the direction of deifying Augustus,—he imagines him seated among the gods and 'guzzling the cup of nectar with glowing lips' (Odes, III. iii. 11 f.),—further, perhaps, than Augustus himself would quite approve; for, as far as Rome itself was concerned, he does not appear to have consented to more than the association of his genius with the street-religion of the roads. In the Carmina Sacra, Horace is the official poet of the State: that he was definitely commissioned to write a choric hymn has been confirmed by the record of the celebration found on stone: GARMUS COMPOSITUS HORATIVS FLAVIVS. Here in carefully chosen phrase he exalts the deities of the festival and the deities in whom Augustus professed a special interest. Apollo was
his chosen guardian, who appears with his bow in Virgil’s picture of the battle of Astii (Aen. viii. 242). The Palatine temple with its sacred pool had been dedicated ten years before. Diana is, of course, associated with Apollo. Diana as Iliob, the Parcae (l. 28), and Tellus (l. 29) have been seen with horses during one of the nights of the festival. Venus genetrix, the ancestress of the Julian house, is not forgotten (l. 50), and Jupiter Capitolinus appears as sovereign of the gods in the closing stanzas (l. 78). It seems a curious anticipation of the future that special honour is paid to the sun (l. 9 ff.), when we recall the importance which the worship of Minerva was to assume in the third century of the Empire. Poetry was not the only art enlisted in the service of the new government. The Ideas of the Carmen Saeculare are found also expressed in stone: on the breastplate of the great statue of Augustus, found on the site of Livia’s Villa, we again meet with Apollo and Artemis, the rising sun climbing the sky in his chariot and the resuscitated figure of the fruitful earth.

There is, no doubt, a considerable difference between the satirical writings of Horace and his more formal lyric compositions. In the former we have seen him deny the activity of the gods; in one of the latter he professes to have been converted from this ‘insane opinion’ when he heard the thunder roll and saw the lightning flash in a cloudless sky (Odys. i. 335). Such a declaration may have been expected from the lyric poet of the new age. But as far as the old religion of Rome is concerned, we must beware of charging Horace with gross inconsistency or hypocrisy; to do so is to some extent to misunderstand the nature of that religion. The religion of Numa was not dogmatic: it made but small claim upon the belief or faith of its votaries; it asked for no demonstration of its truth. It was a system of ceremonies intended to propitiate certain unseen powers, whatever their precise nature might be. If they existed, they might influence the fortunes of Rome for good or evil; to continue their rites was at least prudent, and it was prompted by patriotism and veneration for ancient institutions. Such a religion probably had not lost its hold upon Italy to the extent we are apt to suppose; to revive it was not so very artificial and unreal an effort, nor did it involve any gross mental or spiritual change in the revival or acquiesced in it. See art. ROMAN RELIGION (Fourth Period).

HORSE ('sæs' 'seasons').—In the development of Greek religion man's interests and emotions were focused first upon the earth as the source of his food, and then upon the heavenly bodies as the controllers of earth's fertility and seasonal changes.

1 In analyzing a god we must look for traits from earth, from ‘weather,’ from moon, from sun (J. E. Harrison, Themis, p. 392). So the Horse as weather-deities were preceded by a form or aspect in which they were the seasoners of earth's fertility. In the decay and mutual shifting of these primitive ideas and types, partly also from the very nature of religious ideas, the tensions of emphasis and over-precision are hard to avoid, and the analysis here made for the sake of clearness must not be mistaken for a historical evolution.

2. The Horse as Nature-deities.—Primarily the Horse were Nature-powers, controlling earth's ferti-

Depth perception is disabled for this document.
Horn and Moire are agents of the will of Zeus.  

5. **The Moon and the Seasons**: The Moon is closely connected to the seasons. Its phases are linked to the different months of the year, with the full moon representing the summer months and the new moon representing the winter months. This connection is reflected in various mythologies and calendars. The lunar cycle is a significant concept in many cultures, influencing agricultural practices and religious observances. The Moon's phases are often associated with the growth and decay of plants, symbolizing the cyclical nature of life.

6. **The Sun and the Seasons**: The Sun is the source of life and growth, associated with the summer season. It represents the power of creation and is often linked to fertility and abundance. The Sun's journey across the sky is mirrored in the seasons and is a symbol of the continuous cycle of life and death. The Sun is often depicted as a protector and provider, ensuring the sustenance of all living things.

7. **The Concept of Time**: The cycles of the Moon and the Sun are fundamental in understanding the passage of time. These celestial bodies are used in calendars to mark the passage of days, weeks, months, and years. The cyclical nature of these cycles is a reflection of the cyclical nature of life, emphasizing the importance of preserving tradition and wisdom for future generations.

8. **The Role of the Seasons in Mythology**: The seasons are often depicted as characters in myths, each with distinct attributes and symbols. Spring, for example, might be associated with renewal and fertility, while autumn signifies the harvest and bountiful gifts. These symbolic representations are integral to the narrative of mythological tales, serving to teach important lessons about the human condition and the cyclical nature of life.

9. **The Influence of the Seasons on Art and Culture**: Throughout history, the seasons have been a source of inspiration for artists and writers. They have been used to convey emotions, ideas, and themes, from the beauty of spring to the melancholy of winter. The cyclical nature of the seasons is a recurring motif in literature, painting, and music, reflecting the timeless human experience of the passage of time.

10. **The Seasonal Cycle in Daily Life**: The cyclical nature of the seasons is reflected in the daily activities of humans. From the agricultural cycles of planting and harvesting to the ritual cycles of festivals and celebrations, the seasons play a crucial role in shaping daily life and cultural practices. Understanding the cyclical nature of the seasons is essential for the well-being of communities and individuals, guiding their actions and decisions throughout the year.
Horns by animals possessing them. These reasons will appear more clearly after certain facts regarding the place which horns hold if representations of divinities have been reviewed.

1. Divinities with horns.—In many religions, especially in those of antiquity, divinities are frequently represented in staid or image or picture as wearing the horns of an animal on the head, or this characteristic is referred to in myths. In Babylonia the higher gods and godesses often wore head-dress with a double pair of horns surrounding the sides and front. Nin-tu, a form of the goddess Māh, is depicted with a horn on her head. Ramman is represented with four horns (see Gilgameš, v. 1., p. 241). Hittite deities also wore caps ornamented with several pairs of horns, probably those of a bull, as in the sculptures found at Ibrîs, Carcæmĭth, and elsewhere. Melkarth of Tyre was represented as an almost bestial god with two short horns on his head, and the Syrian Hadad has similar horns. Phoenician goddesses usually have the horns of a cow, like Ashtaroth-Qarnain, of the two horns, but these may be borrowed from the Egyptian Hathor, identified with 'Ashartak. Hathor, with whom the cow was identified, is depicted with a cow's head and horns, or merely with horns. Isis was assimilated to her, and cows were sacred to this goddess. Her usual ornament was a pair of horns with the solar or lunar disk between, but sometimes, as the female counterpart of the Ram of Mendes, she wore ram's horns. Ra has sometimes the head with ram's horns, Osiris sometimes a crown with horns, and Nepthys has also the horns and disk. Kephis has a ram's head with horns, curving or long and projecting. The god Dżeft of Ugarit was represented as a single horn, possibly the rudder of his boat. From it project the horns of a cow. In Greece, Dionysos, one of whose forms was that of the bull, was called the 'horned,' or 'bull-horned,' and many old bas-reliefs with his head and pteres, or horns, a horned infant. Pan and the satyrs showed traces of their goat origin in the goat horns with which they were depicted. Rivers were personified by divinities with horns or a bull's head, e.g. Achelous (g.v.) and others on coins. Ocean also had a bull's head. Some horned divinities may have been represented with horns through Egyptian influence, e.g. Io (equated with Isis), whom myth declared to have been changed into a cow by Hera, and with whom Hera was sometimes identified. Both goddesses of the Cow. The Guine had a god of the under world with horns, called Cermnoes (perhaps = 'the horned,' from *corne, 'horn'); and a group of nameless gods, some with stage horns, have affinities with him. Some goddesses also have horns. In India the sharp horns of Brāhmamaṇi-pati are referred to in a hymn, and the horns of Agni, who is sometimes characterized as a bull, are also mentioned. Yama, in Buddhist mythology, has horns. Northern Buddhists (Tibet) have also images of horned divinities in temples, and Mahāyāna (= Yama) wear a pair of horns. In the lower culture, gods sometimes have horns. A carving from a temple in Fiji shows such a god, and many examples are also found among the American Indians.

In many of these instances there can be no doubt that the horns worn by the gods are the relic of their earlier animal forms. Earlier worshipful animals became anthropomorphic; or, again, a worshipful animal was incorporated with a god, and art retained for the god some part of the animal—head, or pelt, or hoofs, or limbs, or, in this case, the horns. But these last we have horns like those of the unicorn, with which he will push the peoples. Early Egyptian monuments depict a huge bull destroying the walls of town or fortress, or piercing old Europeans with his horns, a horned infant. Pan and the satyrs showed traces of their goat origin in the goat horns with which they were depicted. Rivers were personified by divinities with horns or a bull's head, e.g. Achelous (g.v.) and others on coins. Ocean also had a bull's head. Some horned divinities may have been represented with horns through Egyptian influence, e.g. Io (equated with Isis), whom myth declared to have been changed into a cow by Hera, and with whom Hera was sometimes identified. Both goddesses of the Cow. The Guine had a god of the under world with horns, called Cermnoes (perhaps = 'the horned,' from *corne, 'horn'); and a group of nameless gods, some with stage horns, have affinities with him. Some goddesses also have horns. In India the sharp horns of Brāhmamaṇi-pati are referred to in a hymn, and the horns of Agni, who is sometimes characterized as a bull, are also mentioned. Yama, in Buddhist mythology, has horns. Northern Buddhists (Tibet) have also images of horned divinities in temples, and Mahāyāna (= Yama) wears a pair of horns. In the lower culture, gods sometimes have horns. A carving from a temple in Fiji shows such a god, and many examples are also found among the American Indians.

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kings and their power, and in En. 90-a: a lamb with horns signifies Judas Maccabeus, and other horned lambs the Maccabees.

It is obvious that the addition of horns to the image or representation of a god might symbolize his divine power apart from his being related to any earlier animal-god. This is analogous to the addition of a pair of horned animal-gods—the triple-horned divine bull or boar of the Celts, or the three-antlered stag of a Pagan story—or the giving of a horn to an animal which naturally does not possess it, e.g. the serpent, as in the case of a horned serpent on a Gattish altar, the Thracian horned snake Zagreus, and the similar horned snake in American Indian legend.

Some moon divinities were represented with a crescent moon on their heads or were symbolized by it. This crescent bears a certain resemblance to a pair of horns, the likeness being occasionally emphasized, and there was a tendency to confuse the crescent moon on the divinity’s head with horns. This is seen, e.g., in the case of the Jb. moon-god Sin, the Greek Io, and the Egyptian Isis. But there is no clear reason for supposing that the crescent moon is the origin of all horns as applied to divinities.

2. Semi-divine and demonic beings with horns.

—Nothing is more usual than to find various beings of a semi-divine, half-demonic character invested with horns. The fauns and satyrs of Greek mythology are an example of this, and more or less corresponding to these are the Russian wood-spirits, or Perun, with goat-horns. These may be regarded as later anthropomorphic forms of earlier woodland spirits conceived as goat-horns. But demonology attributed to many of the monstrous demonic beings pair already possessed by demons, e.g. a sea-monster with the ears of a basilisk and horns twisted into three curls, while the demon of a poem story, or the giving of a horn to a goat, should be noted that Ex-bani has goat-horns as well as other animal features. In ancient Persia the conglomeration of animal representations of demons were often horned, though here the figure of a good genius is also horned. Hebrew and later Jewish demonology had similar creatures—see instances, perhaps, the semi-divine beings of the surrounding pagan transformation into demons, e.g. the ‘Seraph of Lv 177, 2 Ch 11, is a dragon, 364, probably horned beings akin to the Greek satyrs and, like them, of goat origin. There was a demon called Kebab Merihi with the head of a calf and a revolving horn; and an ox-like demon dwelling in desolate places. Hindu and Buddhist demonology and belief also know horned demons; and the Japanese oni are frequently seen in human form but with bull’s horns. Demons in later Sia often have horns; but this is a conception which is common to Christian demonology in general, as a glance at medieval and later pictures of hell or of demonic or witch orgies will show. Invariably also the devil presented himself to popular imagination with horns, goat-like face, hoofs, and tail. In both cases we have here a reminiscence of horned demi-gods—Pan, the satyrs and fauns, the Celts 45—46 and, of all whom, as far as they existed in folk-memory, a demoniac form was given. Grimm, however, connects the goat-like form of the devil with the goat which was the sacred animal of Donar, 'whom the modern nations of the Devil so often have in the background.'

Thus, while, in some instances, horned spirits or demons derive from earlier animal-gods or are earlier anthropomorphic horned beings transformed to demoniac shape through the influence of a new religion, in others, horns seem to have been deliberately given along with other bizarre attributes, in order to intensify their monstrous and awe-inspiring aspect.

3. Horned men—Horned head-dresses were frequently worn by certain persons. Kings sometimes wore such head-dresses, probably because they were regarded as incarnations or representatives of horned gods, or simply as an emblem of their power. Part of the head-dress of an Egyptian king consisted of horns, like those attributed to Osiris. 46 Bab. and Assy. kings wore rounded caps with parallel horns encircling them from behind, and curving upwards towards the front without meeting. These resembled the head-dresses of the gods.

Ortel relates a curious story which shows how horns were regarded as a symbol of kingship. Opposite the thron, looking at his reflection in water, saw that horns were on his head and then found that they were actually there. Anxious to know what this portent meant, he offered sacrifices, and was, after inspecting the entrails and seeing the horns, addressed him as future king. Rather than consent to be king, he desired sentence of banishment; but, though this was granted to him, he paid for his horns, so that he could wear them, his horns being seen by his own subjects. 48

In paintings and statuary, Moses was often represented with horns. This is usually referred to the text of Ex 34, where it is said 'the skin of his face shone.' Horae of horns is here taken to mean 'beams of light,' but not improbably there is a textual error (Ex 34, 29, s. Horn). Aquila and the Vulgate translated the text 'quod cornuta aedificavit sua,' and thus the legend grew. But it may have been influenced by that of Alexander as well as by the Bab. and Egypt. representations of horned gods.

Among some savage peoples, horns occasionally form part of the insignia of chiefs. This custom is found among the American Indians, the horns being sometimes still attached to the animal's skin, which covers the head, or they may be made of metal. Priests and medicine-men sometimes wear horns—either as identifying them with some horned god, or because of some magical power attributed to the horns, or as a symbol of office. This is found among savage tribes, and it was a custom of the priests of Babylonia. Again, the horn decoration may be worn by the men of a tribe or by its warriors, as among the Amund, where the men wear horns as part of their head-dress.

The wearing of horned helmets may have been derived from an earlier custom of wearing a head-dress composed of the skin of the head with the horns of an animal, but the horns on the helmet were probably also intended to have some apotropaic forces in face of danger. The Sardinians are represented on Mounts Mennoengian caskets. Such helmets were also in use among the Ituruanas, Romans, and Greeks, as is evident.

1. Boccaccio, 309 E, 312.
2. BL XXX (1687) X, XXXV (1690) 210; S. Edmonds, 'Zagreus, legend, myths, at religions, Paris,' 1905, II, 263; M. A. Owen, Folk-Lore of the Muscovy Indians, London, 1904, p. 4; a so-called 'horns serpent' ('cerastes cornutus') is known in Egypt and Palestine (c.f. Gn 44 5 Evm; Herod, 11, 39). 3. See the conclusive remarks of Schafalovius, in ARK XV, 44.

4. R. T. Thompson, Deities and Devil Spirits of Bab, London, 1905-06, iv, 147; Maspéro, 676, 693.

6. H. G. Dorn, pp. 519, 517.
7. See RB (1909) 411. The Greek Minotaur is sometimes horned.
8. Rel. in Hym. 7 (1909) 150.
12. For a cult of the devil, see above.
13. In a Talmudic legend, Calis is said to have horns on his forehead—the mark of Cain (Bearing-Cold, Legends of O.T. Characters, London, 1873, 1, 179).

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shown by examples which have been discovered as well as by designs on coins. They were also worn by the Celts and certain Saxon vessels which have been found have large curving horns elaborately ornamented. Similar horned helmets are figured on the Gundestrup cauldron, and some Anglo-Saxon helmets were horned.

Mimeic dances, usually for the purpose of securing luck in hunting, are found among savages, e.g. the American Indians; men disguise themselves with the skin and horns of the animal to be hunted. In Germany and in Gaul, during the Kalends of January, riotous processions of men masquerading in a similar manner took place, and, continuing in Christian times, were vigorously combated by the Church. These had probably some connexion with the earlier animal-subs of Celts and Germans. In different parts of England, e.g. in Staffordshire, and sporadically elsewhere, masquerade dances of men wearing deer-horns, etc., occur periodically. Thus at Bromley six men carry reindeer-horns, and dance through the town. The horns are kept in the church tower. Whether these are connected with the older practice just referred to, or, whether, as is alleged, they represent a custom connected with an animal privilege of the custode silviris, is uncertain. In Bulgaria at carnival time the locals in a masquerade wear masks combining, e.g. a man's head and an animal's horns. Elsewhere—in Hungary, Bohemia, Sweden—the human representative of the corn spirit in animal form wears a goat's or cow's horns; and the grotesque masks worn by savages on ceremonial occasions often have horns attached to them.

The horncrest, used of a husband whose wife has been unfaithful to him, 'to give horns to,' or 'to get or plant horns on' (Fr. porter les cornes, corseau; Germ. erraticieren) suggests a connection with the horns of a male stag. This is also the case with the horns of a stag; the horns of a stag with the words 'to make or put horns on' (Fr. faire les cornes à; It. far le corna de). It was an old custom, when a wife was wrongly accused, for the husband to be dragged in procession wearing an oil cloth, or for the wife to carry his horned effigy. Brand cites many suggested explanations of the phrase 'to give horns to,' none of them satisfactory. Donges finds the origin of the old custom of engraving the name of a condemned person on a vacant tomb. On the same tomb is engraved the name of the dead person, with the exclamation, 'beware, beware!' The present use was as common to women as to husbands, who have been the subject of popular jests in all ages. It is possible that this custom might pass to the other phrase 'to give horns to,' as among the Goths. It is said that in Spain it is a custom to put up horns against a neighbour's house.

4. Magical aspects of horns.—Any part of a sacred or sacrificial animal tends to be regarded as possessing the virtues of the whole. This is especially true of the horns, a comparatively indestructible part; and, as they are an adjunct of the skull or head, are particularly regarded as possessing the spirit, the vital forces of the animal acting through it, and for this reason are worn as a charm to avert evil. The horns are said to be efficacious against scorpions, serpents, and evil omens in general. They are also worn to avert the evil eye, and are probably regarded as possessing the virtues of the whole animal. The power attributed to them is thus intensified. Hence the horns of any animal, whether sacred or not, are worn as a charm to avert evil. Certain animals, e.g. the bull, bear, and porcupine, are particularly regarded as possessing these virtues.

The Greek and Roman custom of placing the head of the sacrificial ox over the door of a house to ward off evil—fouwad, beuošeis—is a case in point. Cows' horns were hung up on the temple of Diana on the Aventine, and deer-horns on other temples of Diana, while horns were a common adjunct of shrines and altars. Cows' horns are frequently placed over doorways of dwellings, stables, or cowhouses in Italy and Germany; and in Asia Minor, India, Persia, among the Arabs, the horns of stags, oxen, wild goats, or rams are often seen in a similar position. The custom is not unknown in England, but at Horn Church, Essex, the horns fastened over the east part of the church are of lead. Horns of oxen are placed on gables of houses in Sumatra; and in Tibet a ram's skull and horns protect doorways. Horns may have been similarly used in pre-historic times.

(b) Horns of the altar.—Hebrew altars had projections at each corner called 'horns of the altar,' and upon them was placed the rams of consecration of priests and at the sin-offering was sprinkled. The altar being a sanctuary for the criminal, it was customary for him to take hold of the horns. The horns of consecration, found as models, or depicted in cult scenes, consist of a base from which rise two horn-like uprights, curving outwards. They are found on altars, lintels, etc., and are the same as those used in the sacrificial altar at Paphos, and they have also been discovered in Malta. On Greek and on Arabian altars, heads of oxen are fixed upon them—a surrogacy for the actual fouswad, and would tend to become more and more conventional or symbolic. Similar horns have been found crowned models of shrines, and in connexion with pillars, at the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Paphos, and they have also been discovered in Malta. On Greek and on Arabian altars, heads of oxen are fixed upon them—a surrogacy for the actual fouswad. Although various theories have been proposed for the origin of the horns of the altar in Hebrew usage, this probably explains their presence, as W. H. Smith suggested. The same usage of affixing wild sheep's horns to altars is found in Tibet. In Greece, altars made of horns, as at Delphi, were not unknown. Horns are made of the precious metals, coral, amber, etc.

1 See Hark, F. 6.
2 Dods. Soc. v. 80; Guide to Antiqu. of Bronze Age (Ram. Soc. 1894), pp. 80, 85; E. M. S. More, Prehistoric, Oxford, 1906, p. 82.
3 J. R. Allen, Celtic Art, London, 1904, p. 82.
4 T.S. VIII. (1907) 18.
6 P. 499 (1890) 890; XXX (1910) 93.
7 L. (1900) 601.
8 L. (1919). 80, 827.
9 Ch. Shakespeare; Much Ado, ii. 2, v. 3, Much Ado, i. 1; Greek; and innumerable other instances, especially in the dramatists.
10 Homer, II. 13.
11 Pope, An. London, 1864, i. 195, i. 8, v. 159.
12 Germania, xxxix. (1896) 50.
13 Monumenti degli antichi, Naples, 1897.
14 See Hark, F. 6
and they are carried on the person or attached to the harness of horses, and the like. Such amulets have been found in Crete, in Etruscan graves, etc., and their use is widespread in the lands around the Mediterranean and in Europe—Spain, Portugal, Italy. 1 The maso cornuata, or horned hand—a gesture in which the index and little finger are pointed outwards, these others being folded under the thumb—is extensively used, and is found also in early Roman, early Christian, and Hindu art, while it was formerly known in Great Britain. It is sometimes enough to utter the word cornu to repel an evil influence. 2 Artificial amulets representing horns or horned heads were used in ancient Egypt. 3 In India the horns of gazelles, antelopes, etc., either in whole or in part, repel sicknesses, and horned amulets are in use against demonic influences, while pieces of horns are still effective asghost-repellers. 4 Horn amulets are also much used in further India, China, and Japan. 5 Among the lower races similar uses of horns are found. In Africa and among the American Indians they are worn as amulets, either in the hair or suspended from the neck, as protectives against sickness or witchcraft. 6 In Sierra Leone, horns are used to repel evil. 7

Horns are placed on graves to protect the dead from evil influences, e.g., in ancient Peru, in Flores, and among the Nuba of the Upper Nile. 8 Among the Bantu of the Congo, ox-horns are suspended from a pole above the spot. 9

Horns ground to powder form an occasional folk-medicine. Among the Indians, a warlock, to placate the spirits of the dead, grinds a piece of horn; and ruminoco-silde in order to obtain the animal’s strength. 10 In Egypt an antidote for poisons is to drink out of a rhinoceros’ horn. 11 In Spain, horns are drunk as a panacea against the evil eye. 12 In Cyprus, etc., a killed male’s horn (perhaps that of the Ceratocornus cornutus) is used for medicinal-magical purposes. It is sometimes thrown over them, whereupon one of them gives up the horn. 13

(c) The cornucopia, ‘horn of plenty,’ a horn filled to overflowing with fruits, etc., was an emblem of gods of plenty. Thus it was associated with the goddess Fortuna (‘Fortuna cum cornu, pomis, frutis, etc.‘), the horns of satyrs, fauns, etc. (‘muendaneum cornucopiam Fortunae gestans’), 14 and with Copa (‘auras fruges Italie pleno diffudit Copia cornu’). 15 But it was also given to the Tri Sita, to Diana, and to the Laro. The Earth-goddess emerging from the earth on Greek vase-paintings has a horn of plenty, from which sometimes rises a child. 16 The name itself, cornucopia, could be associated with any god or personage who aided fertility, e.g., Hekateris (whose cornucopia sometimes contains ἀλεύριον), or any form of the Agrath, Damos, e.g., the hero, in the representations of whose ritual feasts it appears, and also the person who represented the Year in processions, the Eumenides. Thus, in the Dionysos procession arranged by Ptolemy Philadelphus, Eumantos is

daid to carry ‘the gold horn of Amaltheia.’ 17 The cornucopia was, in fact, connected (1) with Amaltheia, the goat from whose horns fruit was presented to the Infant Zeus, 18 and (2) with Aëhelous, from whose head Hekateris had broken it off. Later authors combined these two myths. 19 Probably a horn became symbolic of fruitfulness because it belonged to an animal associated with fertility—bull or goat—and perhaps also because it was a drinking vessel not only among primitive but among civilized peoples. 20 Gods are mythically represented as drinking from horns, or they or other supernatural beings offer their guests drink from a horn. 21 But other things besides drink are carried in such horns, e.g., anointing oil, 22 medicines or fresh staff (a general practice in Africa, and found in India in Vedic times), 23 articles used in charms, incantations, etc. 24 Saxo Grammaticus 25 relates that the image of the god Svantovit in Rügen held a horn; and from the diminution or non-diminution of wine poured into it by the priest an augury was drawn regarding the scantiness or abundance of the crops. Medicine or healing water is often efficacious only when drunk out of a horn, especially one taken from a living animal. 26

For all these reasons it was easy for the horn to become a magical property, a device of good fortune, in general, etc., which it was desirable for men to obtain. Hence many tales of robberies of drinking-horns from fairyland, which attach themselves to various celebrated horns, e.g., that of Olden in Germany. 27 Such drinking-horns may at one time have been used as archaic vessels in pagan rites, in preference to more recent vessels; and a supernatural origin would later tend to be given to them. The stolen horn, sometimes a source of luck, a veritable cornucopia. 28 The cornucopia itself, represented on gem amulets, is said to have magic potency. 29 But, in whatever ways such rich productive power was assigned to horns, this primarily depended on the fact that such power was first attributed to the animals possessing them, the power, not the horns, working, however, through their horns. This conception was sometimes mythically represented, as in the case of the stag Eukhydras, from whose horns water continually trickles down to feed the rivers of the under world, 30 and the Iranian primaz Goban-mar, from whose horns spring fruits.

A parallel to the horn of Amaltheia is found in a Kafir tale, in which a boy has a wonderful ox which produces food from its right horn when it is struck. The ox or the horns are sacred for the Kafirs, but the power still continues. Horned cattle are cherished possessions of the Kafirs. 31 In many Cinderella tales the dead mother, transformed to an animal, produces riches or food from her horn. 32 Of an American Indian tale in which a sorcerer produces marvels with the aid of a reindeer horn.

(d) Horns as musical instruments. —The horn was widely used as a wind instrument among primitive as well as among more advanced peoples, and from it the trumpet, often shaped like a horn, had its origin. 33 Such horns are blown not only for

2 J. C. C. Panfit, Antiq. in Egypt, 1906, pp. 178, 179.
3 Elworthy, 126 ff., 128.
4 Archaeologia, III. 7. 1 f.; P.P.R. II. 38, 385; B.S.I. II. 469, 461.
5 PL. xvi. 460 f. See ref. in A.R.W. xxvi. 461 f.
6 PL. xvi. (1907) 436.
11 PL. x. (1900) 221, 221. For a Greek instance of a magical snake-horn, see B.S.I. 469, 461.
12 Amm. Mar. xxvi. 91.
13 Her. Epit. i. 12, 281.
15 See Hipp. 116, 163. 16 See Apollodorus, i. 7. 2, etc.
17 See, e.g., Coxe, de Barb, Gall. vi. 28, 28; and of the minstrel-horse of the Teutons (Grimm, 50).
18 Grimm, 252, 473.
19 See S.B.R. iv. 767 f., etc.
20 Waddell, 604 (Tibet); Thomson, Sem. Magus, 30, 34 (India).
21 See A. C. Bardon, Cults of the Sun, i. 156, 162, etc.
24 Elworthy, 357, notes.
25 Grimm, 495.
26 Grimm, 495.
27 See ibid., note 10.
30 Elworthy, 357.
31 See MacDuff, 490.
32 See Magic (primitive).
ordinary but for ritual purposes. But, partly from the powers ascribed to horns in general, partly from the custom of scaring away demons by noise, etc. the blowing of horns became a common method of driving off demons, or of producing magical results. It is a common method of frightening away evil spirits in British Guiana. In cases of sickness the Garo blow horns to drive out the demon which is causing it.4 Blowing of horns, as well as other forms of noise, is used among many peoples as a method of driving off the monster who is supposed to swallow sun or moon at an eclipse. Among the Jews it is thought that the blowing of the shofar is effective in scaring evil spirits or Satan.5 It was also through the blowing of rams' horns (keres) that the walls of Jericho are said to have fallen down.6 

Gods are sometimes said to possess horns, e.g., Truovo who blows 'his breathed horn'; and Hymettus, daughter of the gods who possesses a powerful horn, Goliathorn, kept under a marble tree, and who blows it at the approach of Dactyle.7 

5. Horns in sacrificial and other rites. -Horns are sometimes presented as sacrificial offerings. In Baluchistan ibex or moufollin horns are placed on the shrines of saints as offerings, or to do honour to the saints.8 In Ladakhs rams' horns are fixed on fruit trees as an eclipse, as a prophylactic offering. Such trees are very fruitful.9 Horns of stags were also sometimes offered to Diana, and votive horns were hung on trees.10 Where oxen, etc., were sacrificed, their horns were often gilded, and their necks were garlanded. This was the case in Roman sacrifices, and notices in the Edda and other mythological works of the ninth century show that this was usual in Teutonic sacrifices.11 In later survivals on feast days the horns of oxen are gilded, or adorned with gilted apples or with ribbons around the base, and on the eleventh day of the month the students, from which there is no escape—these cases the danger, or it may be the certainty, of death is the exciting motive of the emotion; but there must also be the element of suddenness of surprise; where the issue has been foreseen, emotion follows quite a different course. A special wise of horror of this type is being suddenly brought into the presence of the supernatural. Horripilans, the hair standing on end, has from time immemorial been associated with the sight of the risen dead, the hearing of a supernal voice, the believed presence of a god, especially an evil god, a devil, demon, phobia, or a human being who has acquired some of their powers, and takes some supernatural shape. Common to all these cases is the real or supposed powerlessness of the individual, whether because of the suddenness of the onset, the conditions of the situation, or the immensity of the force which he has to face— the invulnerable and unlimited power, for example, and unlimited desire to injure, on the part of the evil spirit. The sense of sin, and of the immi- 

ness and thoughtlessness, as the Congo and Putumayo (1812) atrocities, cruelty to children, the 'horror' of a war, etc. There is not only sympathy with the actual sufferers, but also a feeling of outrage done to the human soul, a feeling that the same feeling stands out strongly in another set of cases, the so-called 'unnatural' crimes—matricide and parricide, incest, sexual perversion, cannibalism; the feeling is that of violence done to the human type, the ideal of humanity which each of us, consciously or unconsciously, carries about with him. Probably the same sort of feeling is at the root of the horror, once universally felt, towards the insane, towards witches and sorcerers, etc. When the ideal of humanity includes sainthood among its elements, the same suppressed feeling is taken towards atheism, blasphemy, and, to a less extent, towards heresy. A lower form is the instinctive repulsion felt among the uncivilized towards human deformities—amputated legs, club-foot, dunceness, etc. Thus the diffuse form of horror may be characterized as a humanitarian emotion, its object being mainly actions, features, traits which outrage or violate the ideal of humanity so far as it is developed in the mind of the individual. The specific emotion of horror is more intense, more egoistic, and concerns situations of imminent danger to oneself. The rush of a wild beast of prey, the sudden fall of a support upon which one stands, the death of a child in the arms of the parent from which there is no escape—these cases the danger, or it may be the certainty, of death is the exciting motive of the emotion; but there must also be the element of suddenness of surprise; where the issue has been foreseen, emotion follows quite a different course. A special wise of horror of this type is being suddenly brought into the presence of the supernatural. Horripilans, the hair standing on end, has from time immemorial been associated with the sight of the risen dead, the hearing of a supernal voice, the believed presence of a god, especially an evil god, a devil, demon, phobia, or a human being who has acquired some of their powers, and takes some supernatural shape. Common to all these cases is the real or supposed powerlessness of the individual, whether because of the suddenness of the onset, the conditions of the situation, or the immensity of the force which he has to face—the invulnerable and unlimited power, for example, unlimited desire to injure, on the part of the evil spirit. The sense of sin, and of the immi-

nece, and unerring (as) by fear. In fact the ex- 
pression of horror looks like a spasm of action, an effort so supreme as to throw the mechanism out of gear; sometimes the effort to resist the tremendous resistance to the danger is made; at other times the paralysis extends to a merciful loss of consciousness. In animals, Verwoon1 has shown that the so-called hypnosis or cataleptic state into which frogs, snails, birds, guinea- pigs, rabbits, and other animals fall, when held down in an unusual position, is produced by lassitude of the muscles, arising from the excessive initial 

1 Die sogennante Hypnose der Tiere, Jena, 1806, p. 68.
Hospitality

Arabian (D. S. Marbolouh), p. 797.
Babylonian.—See 'Semitic.'
Buddhist (T. W. Rhys Davids), p. 798.
Chinese (J. Dyce Ball), p. 803.
Greek and Roman (S. G. Stock), p. 806.

Hospitality (Arabian).—The notion suggested by 'hospitality' with the Arabs, as indeed with all other nations (Pindar, Pyth. iv. 30), is the bestowal of food; to 'entertain' and to 'give food' are synonymous in the Koran (xxiii. 73) as synonyms. The usual word for 'hospitality' (sawāfā / sawāfā) seems to be connected etymologically with a word dawāf, 'crowd of persons sharing a meal,' one that is slightly different in meaning and thought to be connected with garyād, 'village,' and perhaps it is to be explained from the Heb. qārd, 'to meet.' Partaking of food makes the guest a temporary member of the family, and so confers certain rights and duties: when Abraham, immediately on the arrival of the Divine guests, offered them a boiled calf, but found that their hands did not reach to it, he became terrified (Qur'ān xli. 73). The partaking of food, therefore, proves that the intentions of the guest are not hostile, while it also lays on the host the duty of protecting the guest as a member of his own family; ordinarily this relationship is established by the partaking of bread and salt (Doughty, Arabia Deserta, Cambridge, 1898, i. 223). In the case of an ordinary guest the
The hospitality of guests is thought to have started by Abraham (Thaylīṭ, Lālit ḫalīl, 1337, 4). The definition of hospitality in the Qur'an appears to be 'feeding on a hungry day of famine' an orphan who is also a kinman, or a poor man who is in need (sū. 14). The latter act is assigned a high value that, where the code admits exile, it is measured in terms of what the mendicant serves this purpose; the food is to be normal, and the amount specified as a nusūd.

The value in the practice of hospitality has naturally been exaggerated by the Muslim theologians, and in homiletic works some remarkable views are formulated. 'An account will be demanded on the Day of Judgment as to how much each person should have spent except that on the entertainment of guests: God will be ashamed to demand any account thereof' (Qūq al-Qūdah, 1910, II, 182, after ḥasan al-Ḥarrit, t. 110, A.H.): 'to refuse an invitation is to disobey God' (sū. 187); provided that the place where hospitality is offered fulfills certain conditions, e.g. is not adorned with silk or satin, gold or silver vessels, etc. (sū. 190).

Sayings attributed to the Prophet are: 'Hospitality is a right'; 'Hospitality for a night may be claimed'; 'Any area or village wherein a Muslim is allowed to pass a night hungry is out of the pale of Islam'; 'Hospitality is three (days); all above that is charity' (probably meaning 'cannot be demanded').

The Prophet is said to have asserted (p. 268 f.)

In spite of these quotations, the desire to entertain was by no means universal among Muslims, and a whole literature exists in illustration of stinginess; the classical treatise is that by Ḥaḍīṣ of Ḥadār (sect. 22) to perform it. In the Qur'an (sū. 80). Lot appeals to the people of Sodom not to disgrace him in the matter of his guests; he is apparently ready, if compelled, to yield this right in the face of divine authority (sū. 19, 28) (b. 188).

The formula whereby guests are greeted, ḥūṣayn wa-sahāb, wa-masḥuḥūn, probably go back to remote antiquity; the last of these words is the 'width' and 'meat' of the Egyptian ḥūṣa, and the first is said to mean 'you are among your family';

the second is probably a jingle matching the first, but means 'easy.' In modern times the phrases ḥumār, 'you have rendered us at home,' and awūshṭān, 'you have rendered us lonely,' are often heard besides. We sometimes hear of gifts of ḥūṣayn (b. 117) the ideal wife is said to be hospitable to her husband's family; in sū. 117 it is stated to be the duty of a good citizen to treat guests with honour and respect; in ālā'ī, 42 (in the canonical verses), one of the heroes of the tale boasts of the friendly and hospitable reception he always accorded to guests; and in sū. 236 (again in the canonical text, and that his wife is vain who leaves a guest there seated unfed.

These injunctions, or expressions of opinion, are not represented as exclusively Buddhist. In the first passage they are put into the mouth of the Buddha, in the others into the mouths of good men not belonging to the Buddhist community. It is evident that the Buddha adopted current views on the subject, omitting only any reference
to superstitious customs, connected with conceptions of taboo or animistic visions.

3. Hospitality of the Celts to the religious Orders.—When Buddhism arose, there were quite a number of wandering teachers (paññāñādī, 'wanderers') who propagated doctrines as varied as those of the Greek sophists. They were respected by all social grades, though most of them were men of noble birth. It was considered a virtue and a privilege to provide these unfrocked theologians with the few simple necessaries of their wandering life—especially lodging, food, and clothing. Many of the 'wanderers' were organized into communities, with such rules as seemed suitable to the wanderers for the regulation of such bodies of co-religionists. The people supported all alike, though they had their special favourites. The Buddhists adopted this custom, and those among the laity who followed them carried out very willingly the current views as to such hospitality to the 'wanderers.' It was enjoined upon them to give to all. Thus, when Siha, a nobleman who had hitherto followed the Jain doctrine, became a Buddhist, it is specially mentioned that the Buddha urged him to continue, as before, his hospitality to the members of the Jain Order. In the Edicts of the Buddhist emperor Ashoka, frequent mention is made of the duty of hospitality to teachers of all the different sects (not only one's own).

4. Hospitality within the Order.—The 'wanderers' were accustomed on their journeys to stay with one another, and a set of rules was drawn up for their guidance when guests of this kind arrived, prescribing the etiquette to be observed both by the incoming bhikkhu (the disciple) and by his hosts. These regulations are of a simple character, such as might be drawn up now under similar circumstances. They are too long to quote, but have been translated in full by P. Silas, 1 the Oldenberg Vol. III of the Vinaya Texts (SBE xx. 1885) 273-282.

It should be pointed out that all this is considered to belong to the lower morality of the unenlightened; it is taken for granted, and never even referred to in those passages of the books in which the essential doctrines of Buddhism are expounded to the converted. It is really Indian (see HOSPITALITY [Hindu]) rather than Buddhist; though a detailed comparison of the Buddhist doctrine of hospitality with that of other Indian sects would show, that the Buddhists laid more stress than the others did on certain details, e.g. on the importance, in such matters, of disregarding, or paying but little attention to, any differences of sectarian opinion.

LITERATURE.—The authorities are quoted in the article.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

HOSPITALITY (Celtic).—1. Gauls. —It has already been noted in art. ETHICS AND MORALITY (Celtic), vol. v. p. 425, that the Gauls manifested a great desire for knowledge of the habits and customs of foreign peoples, and it is in this eagerness for information that we find the source of the hospitality for which they are so often praised. They welcomed the hards not only because they loved to hear them sing of the deeds of heroes, but also because they delighted in the stories of distant relations made by these travellers. They never refused hospitality to a stranger; and, after having done him the honour of their table, they pressed him with endless questions regarding their neighbours; as Cesar says (de Bell. Galli. iv. 5):

'Quandoqueque post hospitatem Galli, inquit, industrie et lardus etiam invictus consilere cogant et, quid quiceris eorum de quaque natio, qua rerum humanarum legendarum, quae ex alius gentibus, quae ex laude Gallorum, proconsule cogenas.'

1 Vinaya Texts, ii. (SBE xvi. 1883) 115.

Every traveller received warm welcome among the Celto-Iberians, because they considered those who were in the company of strangers as beloved by the gods (G. Duttin, Manuel de l'étude de l'antiquité celtique, Paris, 1906, p. 117). It is needless to observe, therefore, that the statement of Diodorus (iv. 19, v. 24), that the Celts were accustomed to put strangers to death, is merely a fiction.

2. Irish.—The Irish terminology for the relations of hospitality is as follows:


The Irish, too, would entertain their guests with such courtesy that they were called 'the hospitable guests of Ireland' (C. Ó Dáire, in the Placita of 908; Ó Murchadha, in the Book of Houses).

In Ireland, hospitality was not only practised as a virtue, but enjoyed by all from the earliest times, and references to this subject are equally numerous in religious and in secular literature. In the account of the second battle of Maesmor, we find the following statement concerning Ireland in the reign of King Domnall: 'Her inhabitants were hospitable, spacious, and open for company and entertainment, to remove the hunger and gloom of guests' (J. Ó Donovan, 'The Battle of Magh Rath,' Irish Archæol. Soc., Dublin, 1842, p. 106). Beo (SE ii. 27), in writing of the plague of 984, states that many English people fled to Ireland, not only for the nobility and of the lower ranks, but to Ireland at that time either for the sake of study or of continuance. The Irish, continues the chronicler, 'willingly received them all, and took care to supply them with food, as also to furnish them with books to read, and their teaching, without any charge.'

From what is contained in the Ancient Laws of Ireland (London, 1893-7, iv. 257) as well as in the saga, we may conclude that from the very earliest times a king's chief function was to be able to entertain any passing stranger or any other person who might seek his hospitality without asking any questions regarding himself or the purpose of his visit. One who neglected to discharge these duties incurred without fail the hostility of his people. For example, in the account of the second battle of Moytura, the people, says the saga, complained bitterly of the poor hospitality of King Breon:

'the kinsfolk of his people were not graced at his table, nor did their breath smell of ale at the banquet. Neither their poet, nor their bard, nor their satirist, nor their harper, nor their pipers, nor their trumpeters, nor their drummers, were ever seen engaged in amusing them in the assembly at his court' (P. W. Joyce, See. Hist. of Ame. Ireland, London, 1903, i. 68).

The poet Ceithre, son of Ean, once presented himself at the castle of this king seeking hospitality. 'He was received into a small, dark, somber house where there was neither the least furniture nor bed. He was given three small dry rolls of bread on a little plate. Arising the next morning, he was not grateful.' Then Ceithre pronounced against Breon the first magic maldescription ever composed in Ireland, and the outcome of all this was that Breon was driven from the throne of Eriu which he held, and his wife of Sabost, and finally, Senechfa himself exceeded all the bounds of hospitality.
HOSPITALITY (Celtic)

The first maintained that she would die unless she obtained a bed made with her own hands. But, in addition to this, she demanded the narrow from the ankle of a wild bear. Because of the narrow, the young man was able to at once see her rabbit, and he set off. For three years, he was able to satisfy all the same equaling requests of the two women.

But Sanchan was still more a beggar than they. He was surprised that she would die unless she obtained a bed made with her own hands, and in addition to this, she demanded the narrow from the ankle of a wild bear. For three years, he was able to satisfy all the same equaling requests of the two women.

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inquiries of their guests, in order, without doubt, to afford them better protection in case of necessity (Joyce, p. 184). As the _Ancient Laws_ (iv. 327) specify, where a king might be excused for deficiency of provisions if the number of guests should exceed expectation, it is obvious that a host should be stationed at each road and the limits of his means in order to provide for a number of guests.

As stated above, there was a 'public hospitaller' (brughar, brugaid, briga), who had, as a gift from the king, to assist him in fulfilling the functions of his charge, appanage lands of various kinds. He seems to have had, for example, the temporary usufruct of sequestered lands, and of such lands as fell into the public domain through failure of heirs, or pending the decision of the courts as to the rightful succession to them. In return for these immunities and lands, he was bound to maintain his establishment in a proper condition. His was a position of high honour, and all who laid claim to his hospitality were bound to show him due respect. Though his revenues came principally from the land, he had other allowances. The extent of his house and premises, the character of the building and the number of guests it was to accommodate, were fixed by law. The hospitaller (O'Curry, p. 224) was bound to have always in the house 'minutely given in the _Orla Gobhach_, a MS publication of _O'Flaherty_, the _Anc. Irish_, London, 1873, ii. App. p. 485). He was specially protected by law from trespass and from wanton or malicious damage to his furniture or premises. He was given his privilege as a mark of the king's favour, and was entitled to hospitality (O'Curry, p. 225). Among the privileges extended to the brugaid or brughar, was that of brewing, for his house should never be found lacking the ale necessary for the refreshment of a guest. This right was enjoyed by the bishop, abbot, or other person, and their respective suites, as well as by the household of a chief or the master of a house. The hospitaller (O'Curry, p. 225) was not only entitled to have two hundred of each kind of cattle, but also to supply his house with all the necessary furniture and utensils, including one hundred beds for guests. The _Ancient Laws_ (l. 67) deny that the brugaid had the right to borrow, stating, on the contrary (iv. 311), that he is a 'man of three sorts, the son of a living roosting in the fields to break the bluffs of his face, the son of a dead cock sitting on the hocks, and the pointed snout of a plough; i.e., he should have plenty of live animals, meat cooked and uncooked—usually of three kinds—and a plough, with all other till ing appliances. He is also the son of three sorts, i.e., his house was always to be provided with a sack of malt for brewing ale, a sack of salt for curing cattle-joint, and a barrel of stock, or charcoal, for forging the irons, in case of accident to the horses or vehicles of travellers (O'Curry, i. p. 225). The _Ancient Laws_ (iv. 310 f.) prescribe, further, that his kitchen fires should never be permitted to go out, and that his cauldron should always remain on the fire, full of joints boiling for any guest who might chance to arrive.

In addition to the foregoing, the _Broin Lasa_ (v. 17, 179, 22) provide that a number of open roads should lead to the brugaid's house, so that it might be within access of all; and a man should be stationed at each road and the limits of his means to pass without seeking the hospitality of the brugaid. From the account of the destruction of Da Derga's hostel, we are able to ascertain that at night a light was kept burning on the lawn (faidhche), to serve as a guide to travellers. In fact, Da Derga never closed any of the doors of his house, day or night, with the exception of those to the windward side (Stokes, "Togail Bruaidn Da Derga," in _BCel_ xxii. 1901).

According to _Keating's History of Ireland_, tr. O'Mahony, London, 1856; see also in _Ib._, there were 90 brugaid in Connaught, 90 in Ulster, 93 in Leinster, and 130 in Munster. Though these figures are far from being accurate, they indicate how very numerous these houses of hospitality were.

There were a few brugaid of a still higher class than those already mentioned, who, it seems, entertained kings, chiefs, and the married daughter of kings (O'Mahony). These were on very intimate terms with them. With the exception of this fact, their duties were in every way similar to those of the other two classes. With the creation of the position of brugaid arose the necessity of public hostel of which he might be placed in charge. These hostel were called brudus or bruggai. The ministrations of public or State-endowed hospitality. According to the _Story of the Pig of Mac Domhghaile_ ('Sceil muic Me Dáthghaile,' in _Windisch_, l. 98), there were in the Red Branch period, about the middle of the Christian era, six of these royal hostel in Ireland: the hostel of Da Derga in the province of Cualann, and the hostel of Fergussa Manach (father-in-law of Cuchulainn) which was located at Luasa (now Luisk, to the north of Dublin), the hostel of Me Dáire in Broinney, and the hostel of Da Choca in West Meath, and the hostel of Bla the farmer (brugga) in Ulster, as well as that of Ma Dáthgháile, who was king of Leinster. In regard to the hostel of Mac Domhghaile, it is said that 'there were seven doors in the hostel, and seven ways through it, and seven hearths in it, and seven cauldrons, and an ox and a salted pig in each cauldron. The man who came into the house threw his fork into the cauldron, and what he obtained at the first thrust, that he ate. If, however, he did not obtain anything at the first thrust, he did not make another (cf. also Stokes, "Togail Bruaidn Da Derga,") _Bunshing_, the _Hostel of the Hostel of Da Choca_, in _BCel_ xxii. (1900) 967).

The brudus of Da Derga was the most important of these hostel. The account of the destruction (togiad) of it was published by Stokes in _BCel_ xxii.

(1901), and it relates how Conari L., king of Ireland, and his retinue, who were staying at the time, were destroyed by a band of Irish and British marauders in the 1st cent. A.D. This hostel was situated on the river Dodder, where excavations were made and remains were discovered by Fraser (Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad., 1879-80, p. 29). The brudus of Da Choca, in the destruction of which Cormac Conlinssea, son of Conchohol, king of Ulster, perished, was the next in importance, and was, as stated above, situated in West Meath, a few miles from Athlone. The account of its destruction contains the statement also that 'every brudus is an asylum of Irish and red-haired people, for all criminals guilty of murder (_BCel_ xxii. 315).

There was still another kind of public hospitaller, and that called the _bistanach_ or _bistach_ hospitaller, the connection between him and the brugaid is not very clear. The _Book of the Dun Cow_ (Leabhar na nAithre, p. 123, line 4 f. from bottom) mentions them together, apparently making no distinction whatever between them. The _bistanach_ was obliged...
to entertain travellers and the chief's soldiers whenever they sought his hospitality. In order to enable him to discharge his functions, he was granted a tract of arable land called the Beside-Headleigh, which was equivalent to about 1000 acres. Besides this, he was entitled to a much larger amount of waste land.

According to Cormac's Glossary (p. 130), there were three heads of household during the time of Puns who entertained chieftains and warriors on their hunting expeditions.

In addition to these, we find in Christian times that many monasteries or chaim, often guest-houses, for the reception of travellers. These houses, which were constructed at some distance from the monks' cells, dated from the time of St. Patrick (Joyce, l. 393). According to the Lives of the Saints (Stokes, Lives of the Saints from the Book of Lismore, Oxford, 1890), it was enjoined upon some of the inmates to receive the stranger, take off his shoes, wash his feet in warm water, and prepare supper and bed for him. This was done in accordance with the Ancient Laws (v. 151, 277), which state that hospitality is incumbent on every servant of the Church.

An old Irish sermon on Hospitality contains the following:

"The Lord will say on the day of judgment, 'I was in need of a guest-house (tech-sigad), and ye gave me household'; 'I was in need of a lodging (haid), and ye gave me hospitality'" (Stokes, 'Tithings of Ireland').

Once, when St. Columba expected a guest at Iona, he told the brethren to prepare the guest-house, and for water ready to wash the stranger's feet (Reeves, Additions to the Life of St. Columba, Dublin, 1837, p. 57). When St. Columba's grandson arrived at Saighir (now Skeritten in King's County), to visit the other guests, the latter learned that the fire had unexpectedly gone out, and he asked him with a tone of apology: "The first thing that you (the guest) need is water to wash your feet, but just now we have no means of heating water for you" (Stokes, Lives of the Saints, 277).

"One gentleman, disguised as a poor person, came to the monastery, and complained that his shoes were dirty, as he was arrived early in the day. The monks, in the Quadrangle, heard the commotion, and one of them ran up to him, and said to him: 'You are very fortunate to be here. We can give you a clean suit of clothes to wear, and we will wash your shoes.' The gentleman was delighted at the offer, and said that he would accept it with gratitude.

If a monastery was situated on the banks of a river where there was no bridge, the monks usually had a barge ready to carry any traveller across free of charge (Hesley, Ireland's Ancient Monasteries and Churches, Dublin, 1890, p. 457). Irish missionaries on the Continent established monasteries for the use of pilgrims on the way to Rome, some of which were in Germany, although they were mostly in France (cf. Cramb, Journal of Ecclesiastical History, London, 1863, p. 458, note 2). This was usually added broom with chopped-up meat.

Such a repast, adds Geraldus, was formerly used by the nobles youth from whom this nation boasts its descent, and whose manners it still partly imitates. The family waited on the guests, the host and hostess standing up and taking no food until the needs of the visiting chieftain were attended to. The evening was then passed by the guests in listening to the songs or recitations of the bard of the household, or of minstrels who in their wandering had joined the company. Often all united in choral singing (Rhis and Brynmor-Jones, The Welsh People, London, 1900, p. 220 f.). The bread that they served was a thin and broad cake fresh baked every day, which, Geraldus says (loc. cit.), was called 'brotin' in the old writings, but which was probably very much the same as the 'griddle-bread' or 'bake-stone bread'—bura hlech or bara plano—of modern times (Rhis and Brynmor-Jones, loc. cit.; T. Wright, The Diet. Works of Geraldus Cambrensis, London, 1863, p. 463, note 2). To this was usually added broom with chopped-up meat.
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kind of cloth manufactured in the country, called kroche, was then placed along the side of the hall, and the matron, or mistress of the family, who was common (Giraldus, loc. cit.). The fire on the hearth in the centre of this hall continued to burn all night, and the people were so arranged that it was always well kept.

'But when the under side begins to tire with the hardness of the bed,' says Orosius (loc. cit.), 'the upper one to suffer from the cold, they immediately leap up and go to the fire, which soon repairs them from both inconveniences; and then, returning to their couches, they alternately expose their sides to the cold and to the hardness of the bed.'

Until the end of the third night the host and the people of the house were responsible for the safety of the guest. According to the Ancient Laws of Wales, one of the cases where guardsians are appropriate is to guard lawful guests [Digestum Code, III. v. 300; Gwentian Code, II. xlviii. p. 377; Anomalous Welsh Laws, xiv. p. 714, in Aneurin Owen, Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales, London, 1841]. If during the period of his visit recognized by law — i.e. before the end of three days — the host was accused of theft, the testimony of the host could clear him only of theft, committed by night (Anomalous Laws, xiv. p. 736, § 2); and, if the host failed to clear his guest, he himself was obliged to pay three pounds to his lord and recover his property from the complainant, i.e. sufficient, no doubt, to relieve his guest of the punishment he might suffer (ib.; also ch. xiv. p. 708; and ch. xvi. p. 709).

There are three privileged progressive visits, 'says the Tract of Dependants Medium (W. Prothero, The Ancient Laws of Cambria, London, 1820, p. 6, sec. 11). These are: the visit of a head of the tribe of the Cambrians; the visit of a lord from a bordering kingdom; the visit of a bard from the bordering kingdom in the convention, according to the privileges and institutions of the bards. If during the period of the visit he is committed by theft or murder, the bards of the host are to maintain his innocence, and if he is killed, the bards of the deceased are to avenge his death (ib.; also ch. xiv. p. 709).

This goes to show how greatly a violation of the laws of hospitality was condemned among the Welsh; and we are not surprised, therefore, to discover that severe punishments were meted out to the guilty. If it happened, for example, that a guest was seen to arrive and enter a house in good health, and in the morning was found dead, and the host and his family had raised no alarms, or exhibited no marks of wounds received in his defence, the host and his family could not escape capital punishment, unless perhaps they were liberated per patriam, if the King's justices should deem that the truth could be ascertained per patriam (Lewis, op. cit. 379). It was on this account that laws were made about receiving and parting with guests by daylight. If, on the contrary, the master of the house was found dead in the morning, and his servant or a stranger had passed the night in it, such stranger or servant could scarcely escape danger by the inquisition of the laws concerning consummation. 'For if the patriam could not say the truth as to such secret deed, the man was sufficiently acquitted by their not finding him guilty' (ib.).

The Ancient Laws provide further (Anomalous Laws, iv. 458, § 14, ed. Aneurin Owen) that, 'if a person come as an intimate to another person, having an animal or other property with him, when he departs, he is not to take with him the offspring of the same; nor anything but what he brought with him to the house, if it remain, unless he be assigned to him by the host; so as which is said; an agreement is stronger than justice.'

As in Ireland, no stranger was to remain beyond three days without 'commendation,' i.e. without being commended to some lord under his protection, and answer for him, or without being admitted to some borth, or fellowship of mutual responsibility (Lega Bem. i. 20, in Lewis, 231). In Ireland this was 'the lord's protection,' and was necessary to every stranger to safeguard him through the country (J. Strachan, Stories from the Tides, Dublin, 1806, p. 4). Calculations not only accept the protection of King Conchobar of Ulster on his first visit to Emain Macha, but even requires the Ulstermen to accept protection from himself (id.).

Of the king's guest the Venedotion Code (I. x. 10, § 18, ed. Aneurin Owen) states that he is one of the six persons to be served with food and liquor by the royal steward. The other five who are the recipients of this honour are the king himself, his kinsmen, his adelings, his chief falconer, and his foot-holder. And, finally, one of the four persons for whom there is no protection against the king is 'a person to whom the king is a supper guest, who ought to supply him with food that night, and who does not supply him' (Digestum Code, II. viii. p. 214, ed. Aneurin Owen).

IOLOMIA. — This is sufficiently indicated in the article.

JOHN LAWRENCE GERRI.

HOSPITALITY (Chineses).—The Chineses are hospitable people; they enjoy social intercourse; they love to chat together. notwithstanding the hard struggle for existence which many of them have to carry on, they enjoy life to the full, and extract well-nigh all the pleasure which can be got out of it. One of the first sentences in the Confucian Analects runs thus: 'How pleasant it is to have friends come from a distance!' The commentators amplify the wording of this so that it reads: 'How pleasant to have friends come to you from a distance, attracted by your learning.' There is no doubt that the context gives them reason to paraphrase the passage in this way. At the same time, although the attractive power that draws the friends together is learning, it opens up to the guest hospitality. This is not the only instance in the Classics; others are even more to the point, and in them we find hospitality enjoined as a duty. Now, these Classics are the standard which the Chineses have applied to their conduct, and they contain, according to them, the principles which are to guide them in all affairs.

It might be thought that the etiquette of this Eastern people, with its stiff formalism, like a coat-of-mail, would so hamper intercourse that it would act as a kill-joy on all attempts at the offering of hospitality; but under the rigid forms of outward ceremonial there beats a human heart warm with all the elements that foster the exhibition of it. A good correctness to formality of intercourse, lest it should dull the edge of hospitality, is found in a saying of the philosopher Ts'ao, one of the principal disciples of Confucius: 'I daily examine myself... whether in intercourse with friends I may not have been sincere.' Another disciple of the Sage also gives a word to much the same idea when he states it as one of the leading principles in the conduct of a man to whom the term 'learned' might be applied: 'If, in his intercourse with his friends, his words are sincere.' We thus see that those followers of the Master were carrying out the principles he laid down of 'Hold faithfulness and sincerity as first principles.'

In the compilation of memorials known as 'The Book of History,' extending over about 1700 years from the most ancient times before the day of Confucius, we have, in the portion known as 'The
HOSPITALITY (Christian)

Great Plan’ (3055–2198 B.C.), one of the oldest parts of this ancient work, ‘the entertainment of guests’ laid down as one of the eight objects of government. This would seem to include in its purview ‘all festive ceremonies, all the intercourses of society.’ In an agreement entered into by an assembly of 900 B.C., one of the injunctions was: ‘Be not forgetful of strangers and travellers.’ This was taken to include officers from other countries. The Doctrine of the Moab—‘One of the Chinese Classics’—in a description of the duties of a ruler of a country, says that ‘by indulgent treatment of men from a distance they are brought to regard one’s city as their capital.’ The commentators differ as to the meaning of ‘men from a distance.’ One thinks it includes ‘guests or envoys and travellers, or travelling merchants. The learned translator of the ‘Chinese Classics’ (J. Leggs) doubts whether any others but travelling merchants are intended by it. Another commentator would apply it to ‘the princes of surrounding kingdoms.’

Confucius considered that the study of ‘The Book of Poetry’ taught the art of sociability. This book is a collection of 305 pieces selected by Confucius from more than 3000. They may almost be described as folk-songs, thus collected thousands of years before the vogue for such things in the West. These short poems represent the life of the Chinese some 3000 years ago. Some of them were sung at festive gatherings. In one ‘admirable guest’ are spoken of. Merry gatherings they seem to have been. We read: ‘As we feast, we laugh and talk.” In another we have a general returning from all his toils and feasting happily with his friends on roast turtle and mince carp.” Another is descriptive of a feast given by a king. The hospitality thus sung in these songs seems to have been appreciated to the full.

The Chinese system of treatment in its train, among its good features, the development of hospitality on a far more liberal scale than might be expected. Should a European, in adopting a Chinese surname for his own, rise among the inhabitants of the ‘Middle Kingdom,’ come across a Chinese gentleman bearing the same name, he will find the most genuine interest taken in him by his newly-discovered clansman, and the utmost hospitality shown to him. The clansman in trouble or distress finds a refuge in his ancestral home in the heart of his clan in this land where poorhouses are unknown. Not only so, but a clansman, when out of work, can, and often does, go and live for days and weeks with one of the same clan as himself. Bed and board are given to him freely, and he is hospitably entertained until work again comes his way; and he, in his turn, is able to offer the same entertainment to a brother clansman in need.

The teapot in China is always ready to be produced on the advent of a stranger; nor is the Chinaman content with a single teapot, for often each cup serves for one, and each guest has a brew made specially for him, and replenished with boiling water as often as he likes. These cups are slowly sipped while the host does his best to entertain his visitor. Sweetmeats and pipes are also offered. A phrase in the Chinese language which is constantly heard is ‘Come and sit down,’ being an invitation to the house. For to those who sitter it. The low status of woman in China, her supposed inferior position in contrast to man, and the false prejudice of the Chinese, have hitherto prevented the implying the sexes in entertainments, such as dinners, parties, and social gatherings.

Respectable women were excluded from participation in all such functions except when all present were of the same rank as themselves. But with the revolution in manners, customs, and education, as well as in government, which is now taking place in China, a different position is being taken by women, and she begins to share with her husband in both the dispensing and the receiving of hospitality.

LEWIS-LYLL.—In addition to the ancient sources cited in the foottnote, the following modern works may be consulted: J. Doolittle, Social Life of the Chinese, London, 1885; H. B. Gray, China, London, 1879; C. W. Bail, Things in China, Shanghai and Hongkong, 1908; E. K. Douglas, China, London, 1867; S. Kidd, China, Dublin, 1868.

J. D. Y. BALL

HOSPITALITY (Christian).—The foundation of the first hospitals and hospices by the Christian Church also shows practical work, which the principles of hospitality was applied by Christian charity to invalids and weary travellers. Hospitality is proverbial in the East (cf. the story of Abraham, Gen. 18:1). The guest was sacred and held in esteem, although discovered to be an enemy (Jg. 19:21). Before the time of caravansaries, which were unknown until the end of the 7th cent. B.C. (cf. Jer. 9:9), the stranger, when travelling, was dependent upon the hospitality of private individuals. Hospitality was practised among the Greeks and Romans also, but it was the private hospitality of a civic genius. Christianity transformed it into a public virtue, by demanding as a formal duty from members of the Church, and especially bishops, a more scrupulous and constant observance. In fact, it was the earliest Christians interpreted Christ’s words, ‘I was a stranger, and ye took me in’ (Mt. 25:35), in their broadest sense (Mt. 10:40, Lk. 10:16-17), and showed hospitality towards pagans as well as Christians.

St. Paul followed in Christ’s footsteps: ‘In love of the brethren be tenderly affectioned one to another; communicating to the necessities of the saints; given to hospitality’ (Ro. 12:13, cf. 1 Th. 5:15). A ‘saint, i.e. a Christian, provided with a letter of recommendation from his church, was welcomed by the Church of Rome from one end of the Roman empire to the other without having any anxiety about a home. Wherever there was a Christian church he was sure of receiving food and shelter, and admission in cases of illness. The Christians showed hospitality towards all poor travellers.

Hospitals in the East.—Naturally it was the travelling attacked by illness that called forth the greatest pity and anxiety. This was the origin of hospitals (Inooyia, Hospiticia), the first of which was founded in the lower Tigris valley on account of a famine which had caused a deadly epidemic.

The historian Mommsen (Z.E.F. III. 15) relates the foundation in A.D. 270 of the hospital of Edessa in Syria thus: ‘The town of Edessa, being afflicted by famine, the hermit Euphras came forth from his seclusion to spread the rich with the hard-hearted in allowing the poor to die instead of devoting a part of the superfluous bread to the relief of the needful. People, in wealth which you are so carefully amassing, he said to them, “will only serve to condemn you, while you are losing your own souls, which are worth more than all the treasure in the earth. For studied by these words, the rich people of Edessa informed him of their inability to decide upon the person to be entrusted with the distribution of their wealth, as the people of their acquaintance were all covetous and might part it to a wrong use.” “And Euphras tested them, ‘what is your opinion of me?’ “You are an honest man and a holy person,” they answered, “give you charge of the distribution of our alms.” He thereupon received large sums of money from them, and immediately ordered about three hundred beds to be fitted up in a large room, and there attention was devoted to all those suffering from the effects of the famine—strangers and inhabitants alike. Basil, bishop of Cesarea (in Cappadocia), had also opened a hospital in 375, not far from Edessa, consisting of several separate houses (see Greg. Naz. Orat. xiii. “In landam Basilii Magni,” 30).
HOSPITALITY (Christian)

If Orpheus and Cappadocia can boast of having had the first hospital, it was Constantinople that first specified the different classes of those requiring relief. Between A.D. 400 and 403 Chrysostom built the first hospital in the city, and the surplus of his income went to the archbishopric. Of these he placed under the charge of two faithful priests, to assist whom he engaged physicians, cooks, and carpenters to hold a hospice in some part of the town. There were seven different hospitals: (1) the Xenodochium, inn for stranger travellers; (2) the Neocosternum, home for the treatment of acute complaints; (3) the Lobotrophium, shelter for cripples and chronic invalids; (4) the Orphanotrophium, home for the reception of orphans; (5) the Gerontotrophium, home for old people; (6) the Ptochotrophium, home for the reception of the poor; and (7) the Pandechium, a refuge for all kinds of destitutes.

Jerome is reputed to have founded the first orphanage in Bethlehem; and John the almoner, who was elected patriarch of Alexandria in 608, organized assistance to the poor and sick of that town.

The Council of Chalcedon (451) recommended the practice of envoys 'to the hospitals, to remain in the service of the bishop.' Widows were placed at the head of the list of those maintained at the expense of the Church, and in return they were to work for the benefit of the sick and destitute women. Among the qualifications required from a widow in order to receive the Church's bounty St. Paul mentions: 'if she hath used hospitality to strangers, if she hath washed the saints' feet, if she hath relieved the afflicted.' (1 Thess. 5:26).

Hospitality in the West.—Christian hospitality in the West gave rise to two kinds of institutions: (1) hospitals, intended for the sick, lepers, and other sufferers, and generally placed under the control of the bishop; and (2) hospices or almshouses, annexing itself of the monasteries, situated along the chief roads and in dangerous mountain passes; these extended a welcome to travellers overcome by fatigue or benumbed with cold.

Hospitality was the chief virtue enjoined upon the bishop. The bishop, says St. Paul, 'must be given to hospitality' (1 Thess. 5:11), and the Apostolic precept was confirmed by the most famous Fathers of the Church. Jerome in his Ep. III. ('To Nepotian'), and Chrysostom in his Second Sermon on Genesis, advised Bishops to keep their houses open to strangers and sufferers in the cause of truth, and that at the service of the poor, for, in doing so, they are sure to be entertaining Christ himself. St. Augustine had started a hospital in his own house, and often sat down at the same table with its guests. The Councils adopted this principle, and entrusted the bishops with the assistance of the poor and the sick (Council of Chalcedon, can. viii.).

In the decrees of the Councils of the Gallican Church are found the earliest regulations concerning the relief of the poor and the sick. The First Council, held at Orleans under Childeric in 511, devoted two canons to them. The first decreed that 'of the proceeds of offerings or lands granted to the Church by the king two-thirds shall be employed in the maintenance of the clergy and the poor and one-third in the Constantinople that prisoners.' The sixteenth adds: 'The bishop shall provide food and clothing, so far as his means will allow, to the poor and the sick who on account of their infirmity cannot earn their bread by their work for themselves.' The Fifth Council of Orleans (540) is quite as formal. After forbidding the unlawful use of any part of the alms bequeathed to the hospitals, it enjoins upon the bishops ('can. xx.), care particularly of lepers, and the duty is enjoined not only to the best of their ability with food and clothing, 'so that Christian mercy might not fail even in the case of victims of that most loathsome disease.' The fifteenth canon mentions the establishment of hospitals as being in France, and founded at Lyons in 542 by King Childerich and his wife Ultrapoth, at the instigation of the S. John, bishop of Paris. It does not seem to have had one until the middle of the 7th cent., when Bishop Landry established (850) a home for invalids and poor travellers near his church—whence the name 'Hôpital-Dieu.' It is to Lanfranc, its archbishop, that Canterbury owes its hospital (1070), and the first London hospital was called S. Bartholomew's (1109). In these semi-barbarian ages hospitals were often under the Holy Spirit, whose emblem, a dove, is found on the front of several, e.g. the hospital built by Pope Sylvester in Rome (486).

At first the bishops had the management of the hospitals, but gradually, as the duties increased, they were passed over to the chapters, who delegated this work to a few priests called promotores or provveditori. The Capitulare of Charlemagne decreed that the secular and regular clergy should, as one of their first duties, relieve the sick; and, to guard against neglect of duty, they placed the xenodochia under the control of royal authority (Capit. 185). The Council of Meaux (845) refers to the hospitaux socordum, complaining that these had been diverted from their original purpose of hospitality, and imploring their reinstatement as almshouses for travellers and invalids.

3. Hospices of the monasteries in the Middle Ages.—While the bishops were the first to establish hospitals for the care of the sick, it was the monks who created a new form of hospitality—the almshouse, or so-called xenodochia. Its foundation is generally attributed to St. Benedict of Nursia; this, however, is not correct, as it can be traced back as far as the very beginnings of Eastern monasticism.

The custom of washing the feet of the guests which was in use in the Irish convents of the 6th cent. came from the East. Johannes Cassianus, founder of the monastery of St. Victor near Arles (519), in his Collationes (chapter xvi. 'Magister hospitationis'), describes the ceremony performed at the reception of a guest. After the customary salutations the traveller was introduced into the hospital, a wing of the building apart from the rest of the cloister, and taken to his room. After having been shown into his quarters (commodium), he had his feet washed by one of the monks. The whole company then shared in the meal, during the arrival of a guest, breaking their fast and eating cooked food.

When Columban, at the end of the 6th cent., brought Christian principles, along with the elements of civilization, into Gaul, which had been laid waste by the barbarians, he founded monasteries at Ainegre, Luxeuil, Fontaine, Bobbio, etc., and urged upon his monks the duty of hospitality towards strangers and poor pilgrims. His discipies, St. Ouen, St. Farmon, St. Gall, etc., practised this virtue to such an extent that in the 9th cent. the fame of Scottish hospitality was wide-spread. These are the hospitable monasteries referred to by Charlemagne in his Capitulaires, by the members of the Council of Meaux (845), and the Council of Quierry (858), when they speak of the decline of the hospita peregrinorum. The bishops assembled at the first of these Councils implored the Emperor Louis II in Dijon to restore these hospices, help them by endowments, and place them under their control.

'It is our duty,' they said (can. 40), 'to inform your Majesty concerning the houses established and equipped in the time of our predecessors, and to-day abandoned, which are possessed by hospitals, especially, which the kindly people of that nation had built there, and endowed from their wealth acquired by their good deeds, have been completely diverted from their real purpose. Not only are those who seek for hospitality refused
admissions, but even those who, bound by the tie of religion, have served the Lord from their childhood, are being driven from them, and compelled to go begging from door to door.'

Besides Johannes Cassianus and Columbanus, who founded the practice of the Eastern Church, Benedict of Nursia also imposed the duty of hospitality upon the monks of the West. The 33rd chapter of his Rule is entitled 'de Hospitibus suscipiendis,' and prescribes that 'all visitators who chance to arrive be welcomed as if it were Christ Himself, who will one day say to us, "I was a stranger, and you took me."' The purpose here shown is that of charity, especially to servants of the faith and pilgrims' (PL. lxv. 750; cf. E. Martene, Commentarium in regulam Sancti Benedicti, Paris, 1890).

The hospices were practically no monasteries in the Middle Ages without its xenodochium, and many had a monasterium as well. These hospices rendered valuable service at a time when the roads were infested by robbers, or exposed to frost and snow, e.g., those leading through the passes of high mountains, and subject to thick fog or snowstorms. Such were the hospices adjoining the cloisters on the three chief Alpine passes leading from Switzerland to Italy and France. The hospice of St. Gothard has been almost abandoned since the completion of the railway from Lugano to Locarno (1862). That of Simplon is greatly affected by the new road leading from Brig to Domodossola. The hospice of the Great St. Bernard still exists, and is prepared to receive the most abundant traffic on the road from Martigny to Aosta. The monks living there belong to the Augustinian Order, and their lay brothers are called Marroniers. The adventures of those brave men and their famous dogs are well known. They have rescued from certain death thousands of travellers lost in the snow and almost frozen to death for the purpose in extremity of the Great St. Bernard received an annual grant from the kings of France (1760). The grant was confirmed and increased by Napoleon Bonaparte, after the famous crossing of his army through this pass (15th to 21st May 1800).

4. Orders of Hospitallers.—The epidemics which frequently raged among the pilgrims travelling from the West to the Holy Land, and among the soldiers of the Crusades, led to the foundation of hospitals and Orders of Hospitallers in Palestine. The first hospice of this kind at the end of the 8th cent. by Pope Gregory I, and afterwards restored by Charlemagne, who took a great interest in the Christian hospital at Jerusalem. The hospice of St. John, established at Jerusalem before the first Crusade by a few Amalfi citizens, gave rise to the first Order of Hospitallers called 'Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem,' known as Knights Hospitallers, whose rules were drawn up by Brother Gerard (or Gerhard) (d. 1190). This Order, composed of three classes, priests, knights, and attendants, was of a semi-military nature. As a consequence of the services it rendered, it spread throughout the whole of Europe, and was divided into eight provinces or 'languages.' After the conquest of Palestine by the Turks, the Joannites transferred the seat of their Order to Rhodes and subsequently to Maltes, whence the name 'Knights of Rhodes' or 'Knights of Malta,' by which they are also known. The French branch disappeared at the Revolution of 1789. The German branch was restored by Frederick William IV., king of Prussia, about 1860, and still exists under the name of 'Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem.'

5. Hospitality in modern times.—It may be said that individual charity, such as the hospices, is still found in Europe, and the number of hospitals, especially in the north of Europe, e.g. Scotland. But, if private hospitality has diminished as a result of civilisation, public hospitality, on the other hand, has advanced with rapid strides not only by developing existing charitable institutions, but by creating new and very ingenious methods of relieving the sick and destitute.

This leads us to subdivide the remaining discussion into two parts: (1) the development of ancient institutions; and (2) the formation of new methods of relief.

(1) The ancient xenodochium has been transformed into various kinds of night refuges. As early as the 12th cent. the Emperor St. Louis, during his journey from Paris to Paris, was in a position to provide three hundred vagrants with three nights' lodging in their convent of 'Blancs-Manteaux.' Destitute women were received in La Sainte Chapelle. In 1722 Massabo founded the first night refuge at Marseilles, and his example was followed by Lamas and the Philanthropic Society, who opened large night shelters for men and women in Paris (1778). The municipal board of Paris, the municipalities of London, and most of the European capitals, followed in their train, opened various night shelters. The Salvation Army has distinguished itself in this respect.

As a result of the reforms started in England by John Howard and Florence Nightingale, and in France by La Rochefo coucaul-Laincourt, Tenon, etc., the ancient xenodochium has developed into the modern hospital with all its hygienic improvements. Before these reforms the best organised hospitals were military or lazaretto hospitals.

At the end of the 18th cent. the public hospitals in Paris were still in a deplorable state. A new order was formed with the object of establishing a hospital for the poor. They were to be placed in a house bought or rented for the purpose. The first home of this order was in the Temple quarter of Paris.
HOSPITALITY (Christian) 807

France had reached such a depth of decay that they were dreaded by the poor, and deservedly called for the censure of philanthropists and the complaints of medical men. In Paris, wrote Voltaire to Partou on 22nd April 1768, 'a hospital (Hôpital-Dieu) where perpetual contagion reigned, fever broke out there, and died of its own disease together with the sick and the healthy. The patients were burned as corpses, struck by the hand of God, whose first duty was to alarm for their site, and they were subjected to cruel treatment. Charity of such a dreadful kind aroused our horror. An attempt was made to dispose of the horrors of the hospital, reforms were tried with different names, as 'Hôpital-Dieu,' 'La Charité,' 'La Pitié,' 'Le bon Pasteur,' but that did not succeed in imposing upon poor invalids who hid themselves to die at home, so terrified were they at the thought of being forcibly dragged into these places.'

At this time the insane were chained in their cells, and such was the terror inspired by these victims of insanity that they were believed to be possessed by the devil. Dr. Fludd showed great courage in breaking the chains (1779–84).

In England John Howard (d. 1790), who is well known on account of his remarkable zeal, took the initiative towards reforming hospitals, and in France that step was taken by the Academy of Sciences. The first step was taken in the Hôtel-Dieu in 1784, and burned to death several hundreds of the inmates, roused a widespread feeling of pity and indignation. 1 £200,000, a large sum at that time, was collected by subscription for the reconstruction and improvised sanitary arrangements of this hospital. The committee appointed by the Academy of Sciences for the reform of public hospitals numbered in its ranks such philanthropists as Bailly, the Duke of La Rochefoucauld-C luxembourg, tenon, etc. the memoir written by Tenon (be of technical knowledge and courage, denouncing the horrors referred to by Voltaire. The 'Convention' appointed a committee to carry out the propositions that were made, the Revolution and the war of the Empire prevented the realization of Tenon's scheme. Nothing more was achieved until Louis Philippe's reign. Then the Count of Rambuteau, prefect of the police department, ordered preparatory investigations concerning the rebuilding of the Hôtel-Dieu, which, however, was not actually achieved until the reign of Napoleon III. (about 1868–69). We would call special attention to the most recent improvements, especially in the maternity and surgical wards of hospitals, resulting from Pasteur's discoveries and Lister's antisepctic method.

Institutions for the maintenance of widows and orphans are as old as the Church. Whenever there was a charitable institution it regarded the assistance of those unfortunate as its first duty. But there are several ingenious modern methods of this kind which we shall only mention. Having noticed the disadvantages of a widow having to live alone while her children were sent to an orphanage, some philanthropists gave her pecuniary assistance, enabling her thereby to keep her children at home, and to preserve the family intact—a state of affairs beneficial to both mother and child. It was this idea that gave rise to the 'œuvre des petits familles' founded in Paris in 1891. Its aim is to bring together orphans of both sexes and all ages in a house where they are under the care of a Christian matron, who treats them as if they were her own children. Here they receive manual instruction, one of the regulations being that every orphanage must have a handicraft. On the other hand, orphans, other new methods of hospitality to children. In the first rank stands the institution of 'crèches' (infant asylums), founded ever since the Middle Ages the monasteries have hospitably opened their doors to such fallen women as have repented, and, endeavouring to hide their shame, and making a fresh start. Robert d'Arbrissel, the celebrated Franch, made repentance the object of his Order of Fontevrault. One of the convents of this order, St. Magdalen's, was specially set apart for poor and young girls. In more recent times this desirable work of hospitality and moral aid has been carried on by the Roman Catholic 'Good Shepherd's Nuns,' the Anglican and Protestant deaconesses of Kaiserswerth, and the female offices of the Salvation Army; and to-day it is being done by the rescue-work of the 'Home of Fontaine,' founded by Madame d'Avril de St. Croix, and by R. Bérenger's 'League for the Suppression of the Trade in White Women.'

The aged also, afflicted by poverty and infirmities, have at all times aroused the compassion of the faithful. At one time they were received in certain of the monasteries; nowadays there is no town of any size which does not possess its home for the aged. A new feature introduced into these homes in the 19th cent. was the keeping together of old couples, and the association of widows and widowers with young children, so that the company of their age might be brightened by the happiness of youth. We may mention as examples of the new form of the 'Aisle des petits Ménages' at Issy, near Paris, built on the site of the ancient 'Hospital for Lepers' of St. Germain (founded in 1100) and the 'Home of Sainte Présé' in Paris, and as a type of the latter the 'Aisle protestantes de Nanterre' for old women and little girls.

(2) Among modern forms of hospitality the most noteworthy is what is known as the workhouse—a combination of refuge and workshop. The idea, however, is not quite new, for, even before the French Revolution, workshops had been opened in times of poverty to enable the poor to earn a livelihood. 1 "But," says Louis Riviere (L'Assistance par le travail & Paris, 1869), 'the characteristic feature of all these consists of a new element, the effort to impart a systematic organisation to this method of relief, so that the poor man may obtain something more than pitiful assistance. All the institutions have a common aim: in the case of an able-bodied pauper, instead of alms, which are degrading and encourage idleness, they substitute enabling work—provisionally, however; for, although sufficiently remunerative to ensure a livelihood, it also stimulates the desire to obtain something better. The work is compensated either by food and lodgings or by wages.' This method of aid, hospitality by return for work, has been applied on a very large scale by F. von Bodelschwingh in his admirable settlement near Bischof in Westphalia and by J. Rosend at Marseilles; and in Paris and other cities, women have been founded by Madame Suchard de Presse and Risler and Léon Leibnitz, and for men by A. Robin and the Earl and Countess of Lanbein.

Connect with these institutions there are homes for convalescents and for worn-out working men. To give the former classes the 'Clasina Helvetia' at Mentone and the National Shelters at Venice and Wiesenhof founded by Napoleon III., and, in the second, mention is due to the Sailors' Homes established in the British Isles and other countries, and maintained in order to provide a home for homeless sailors returning from long and perilous voyages. Hospitality to return of a matron, they find comfort for body and soul.

The care of children is a characteristic feature of our times, especially of the French nation, which has shown its ingenuity in the matter of orphanages, other new methods of hospitality to children. In the first rank stands the institution of 'crèches' (infant asylums), founded 1 'œuvre des Vœux' ('De Vœux founded by Ed. Vaucher in Paris, 1891.

1 The Hôpital-Dieu in Paris had become a sort of convalescence, open to all poverty-stricken, aged, disabled, and vagrants of both sexes, who, being treated there, it was said, in 1630
2 No fewer than 6000 people took refuge there, and it was quite an ordinary occurrence.

2 Cf. the 'œuvre des Vœux' founded by Ed. Vaucher in Paris, 1891.

3 'Aisle temporaire pour des Femmes' ('1885).

4 'œuvre de l'Hospitalisation par le travail à Sablerville et à Fassy.'
HOSPITALITY (Greek and Roman).

Hospitals in Paris in 1844 by Firmin Marbeau, and now extending their privileges to the children of more than two hundred European towns. Their aim is to nurse and feed young infants whose mothers have to go out to work. To this class belong the "Croche Fortunat-Heinie" and the "Anais Delille" in Paris, the "Porcupines" in Versailles, etc. The children's shelters established at St. Maurice-Fossés (near Vincennes) differ from infant asylums in receiving children from two to seven years of age, and not only by the day, but for several years, as long as their parents are unable to attend to them. The services done by the "Colonies de Vacances," started by L. Bion at Zürich and imitated in Paris, Berlin, etc., and by the "Enfants à la Montagne" organized by Louis Comte, a St. Etienne clergyman, which aims at enabling the delicate and weak children of large manufacturing towns to get the benefit of country air and good food, are also worthy of the greatest praise. But still more to be pitied is the condition of the children in working-class poor are those wretched little ones whom Jules Simon called "orphans whose parents are still alive." Homes for such children were founded in London by Dr. Barnardo, in Liverpool by James Nugent, and at Ashton Down, near Bristol, by George Muller; and in Paris Mendames A. de Barran and Kergomard established homes and professed hospitality and education to the poor creatures who were the victims of unnatural parents. Thousands of these children have by this means been prevented from becoming thieves and criminals.

Children whose instinctive or diseased nature required physical and mental instruction were to be sent to.user.error. This error is not corrected before by bad company. Attempts have been made to improve the moral condition of agricultural schools by associating (at the junction of the Indre and the Loire) and at Le Porce (on the Loire), where military discipline and agricultural work has succeeded in teaching the most unmanageable natures.

But more important than all these ways in which the poor have been helped, is the beautiful spirit is solicitude for young women and girls in search of employment. Many associations, differing in many ways but aiming in common this spirit of charity, vie with each other in the enthusiasm with which they not only provide homes for lonely girls, servants, or governesses in search of work in Paris, but also give them valuable advice and secure situations for them in shops and good families. Such are the "Union internationale des Amies de la jeune Fille," which has branches in all the French provinces as well as in Paris, the "Amistia" club, the "Adalphi," and the "Restaurant pour Dames seules."

And, lastly, it is an almost incredible fact that charity has not given up hopes of curing what was thought to be an absolutely incurable vice, drunkenness. Establishments have been opened in Switzerland, France, England, Sweden, etc., for the cure of inebriates, and in spite of great difficulties they are beginning to obtain encouraging results.


HOSPITALITY (Greek and Roman).

The word ἀσύχωρες, as used in the New Testament, is to be distinguished from ἀσύχωρος, which means originally an outsider or foreigner of some sort. Herodotus twice notices the Laconian use of the word in this its primary sense, as equivalent to ἀμφιβολος. When Cicero was present at their banquet before the feet of Pausanias, he exclaimed: 'With this pebble I give my vote not to run away from the foreigners' (rape fiesios). Cicero tells us that the word hostis meant originally nothing more than perigrinus, quoting the Twelve Tables in support of his assertion, which philology sanctions by connecting the Latin hostis with the German Gast. T. H. D.}

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HOSPITALITY (Greek and Roman)

In the Odyssey the first thought of Telemachus, on being told that Mentor is an hereditary guest-friend, is to press some keepake upon his acceptance. 1

Fifthly, the parties to the relation secured themselves against impostors by the device of tickets, which were broken between them, one part being retained on either side, as the Greek word for a ticket of this kind, and we find Pausanias speaking of it as hospitais tesearo. 2

Probably this custom grew up in post-Homeric times. If so, Euripides is guilty of an anachronism when he makes Jason offer such hospitality-tickets to Medea, for her to present to his guest-friends. 3

Crito, the contemporary of the poet, might have adopted this method of securing the welfare of Socrates, had that philosopher availed himself of the means provided for his escape into Thessaly. 4

Lastly, the relation of which we are speaking was no light exhibition of casual goodwill, but a solemn engagement which had the sanction of religion. The Supreme God in one of his aspects presided over it, so that we hear of Zeus Zephyros and Jupiter hospitatus. 5 What made the offence of Paris so rank, in carrying off Helen, was that it was a violation of the rights of hospitality; and what added a darker horror to the crime of Agiethus was that he first gave a banquet to Agamemnon and then slew him as one at his table. 6 It is worth noting that Herakles, who ended by being the greatest saint in the Stoic calendar, started on his career by being a bad man, who slew a guest with his own hand. 7

Besides indicating the special relation of which we have been speaking, the word eires signifies also any stranger or foreigner as opposed to koivos, koton, enkaios. Hence the adjective eires was used like the American stranger. Men did not travel much for pleasure in early times, for that was to cut themselves off from the social organism, of which they were part, and expose themselves to the mercy of strangers. If a man were found wandering about in another country, he had generally some very good reason for having left his own. Perhaps he had killed some one, whether by accident or design, or had in some way made himself obnoxious at home. At all events, he was helpless now, and to the credit of human nature it is said that the appeal to pity is seldom ineffectual. In early Greece, as among the Jews, there was a strong sentiment in favour of the protection of strangers. Any wanderer or refugee was regarded as being under the protection of Zeus Zephyros; say more, the helper of the helpless, Zeus 'Iatwos, extended his care over him. This sentiment finds strong and frequent expression in the Odyssey. 8 It is remarked, indeed, of the Phaeacians that they have no fondness for strangers, 9 but even they treat their unknown visitor royally, when once they have accepted him as a suppliant. Had we not the authority of Athenaeus for the statement we might be surprised that the Phaeacians, of all people, should display an aversion from strangers, considering how fond they were of visiting foreign lands. The Cyclopes are a gruesome exception to the Homeric world to the general regard displayed for strangers, but then they are not men but monsters. The hospitality of the Tauric Chersonese is beyond the ken of Homer. Human sentiment, when it lacks account of the very system of eires, or hospitality, of which we are speaking. The various words in Greek and Latin for a place of entertainment do not connote more than our word "inn" — innoeio (Artheus, Hop. 660), innoepie (This. III. 68), innoeia (Serv. in Aen. 8. 187), or innoeion (Ovid, Met. 16), innoeium (Hor. Epist. 2. 11. 12), foro (Ovid, Met. 16. 14). 4 Eurip. Aig. 660. 5 Od. viii. 210. 6 J. J. V. His. 150. 7 Od. L. 187. 8 Lord Derby's tr. of the Iliad (v. 276 f.)

1 In Greek-Roman times the accommodation for travellers depended on having a letter of introduction, which provided an account of the very system of eires, or hospitality, of which we are speaking. The various words in Greek and Latin for a place of entertainment do not connote more than our word "inn"—inoeia (Artheus, Hop. 660), inoepie (This. III. 68), inoieia (Serv. in Aen. 8. 187), or inoieion (Ovid, Met. 16), inoieium (Hor. Epist. 2. 11. 12), foro (Ovid, Met. 16. 14).

efficiency, clothes itself in a religious sanction, and appeals to the powers of heaven in favour of what is not, but ought to be. There are many stories which tell us how the God of Hospitality and the God of Supplication (Zeus Edeus and Zeus Isterus) cannot be flouted with impunity. Folklore also declared that the gods assumed the likeness of strangers, and went up and down in the world to keep watch upon the ways of men. The outrageousness of the offence committed by Antinous, when he hurled a stool at the wandering beggar who asked for alms, stands out in high relief when we find that even the unruly suitors were shocked at this conduct, and that it is one of them who expostulates with him thus:

Antinous, thou hast not done well to hit the unhappy wightner, escorted man, if indeed there be a god in heaven! And gods in the likeness of strangers from other lands, taking all sorts of forms, roam about among the cities, keeping watch upon the violence or good behaviour of men.\footnote{1}

Thus, in the Hellenic as in the Hebrew world, one might in exercising hospitality be 'entertaining angels unaware' (He 13:2). Even in St. Paul’s time, in the cities of Lycia and Asia, there was vitality enough in the idea of 'gods coming down in the likeness of men' to lead to practical expression in the way of sacrileges (Ac 16:19). It was the same district which was the scene of the story of Baucis and Philemon, who entertained at table Jupiter and Mercury.\footnote{2}

That there is more about hospitality in the Odyssey than in the Iliad is probably due to the nature of the subject-master—the one dealing with peace, the other with war. When the survey from Aegaeomene comes to Achilles in Iliad, bk. ix., the first thought of that hero is to call to Patroclus for a bigger bowl and a stronger mixture with a cup for each. Patroclus’ own forethought supplies such trifling accessories to the feast as the chines of a sheep, a goat, and a fat hog. The carnivorousness of the Achaeans here, we may note in passing, stands in strong contrast with the temperate, and almost vegetarian, diet of the Athenians. When Priam comes as a suppliant to Achilles, in bk. xxiv., he is met with the same prompt and sheep-eating hospitality; but the hero, aware of the uncertainty of his own temper, has to warn the old man to avoid irritating him, lest he should forget, even in his own best, that he is dealing with a suppliant, and might thereby transgress the commands of Zeus.\footnote{3}

The politeness of an Homeric host required that he should feed his guest before he asked who he was. This is an excellent rule. For, in the first place, it is a tax upon one who is tired and hungry to have to talk at all; secondly, the host makes it plain that his kindness has no respect of persons; and, thirdly, if it should be an enemy that he is entertaining, he will find it more difficult to hate him after doing so.\footnote{4}

Gifts, as has been said already, were usual between the parties who entered into a formal relation of hospitality. But, besides this, some dole or gift seems to have been regarded as the right of any stranger as such. The value would, of course, vary with the importance of the stranger and the disposition of the donor. Odysseus at first expects to get some such gift even out of the Cyclops.\footnote{5} As a beggar he does get meat and drink from Nausicaa, but with the remark on her part that 'all strangers and poor are from Zeus, and a gift, though small, is welcome';\footnote{6} but, when his name and fame have become known to the Phaeacians, he receives\footnote{7} from the

1 Od. iv. 80, 126–128.
2 Commons says apod maloens, ut litera homines hospitii turma munia muneros copulavert, vel in presentia, vel per intermissionem (cf. Soph. ix. 800).
3 Soph. viii. 110 ff.
5 De Nat. Dei. i. 67. 6: 'Marcom Medum, qui hospitio Aridi nostri invitat.'
6 Soph. iv. 144.
7 Soph. i. 12. 8: 'In offcia apod maloens, et observantia set: primum tellus, deinde hospit, deinde client, tum corona, postea scilicet.'
8 Cornuf. de Her. iii. 6: 'Hospita, dilectus, cogniscens, obliviscens.' Cf. Soph. iv. 5. 30: 'Ab hospitibus dictius, bene maloens, et... inferius propriam.'
9 Xen. Mem. viii. 24: 'Non modo hospitum, verum etiam domesticum usum et consuetudinem.'
10 Herod. civ. 21: 'Voluit igitur ea securi, ut eis huc aut illuc, ubi quisque voluerit.'
11 xii. 448 B: 'γειτονίας και φίλων τον οίκον της οικίων.'
12 Thuc. iii. 70.
13 Lk. xxii. 39.
14 Herod. vi. 87.
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there was a salary attached to the position, as we know from the Coinc. inscription, which contains an account of lands purchased by the State for the use of its ἑργατομοί. But in most cases the one to whom he was attached had to conduct himself by men of wealth and station, the attraction of international importance being reward enough in itself for the honour-loving Greek. Thus we find Aelius Galenus desiring the heroic support of the Laconidians, whose single criterion of praise or condemnation—

in classical times it was the backward country of Thessaly that was most noted for hospitality. Xenophon speaks of Polyclitus of Pharsalus as being ‘magnificent in the same way’ as the Thessalians. But we may remember, whose virtues in other respects were not conspicuous, had this redeeming feature in his character.

When Critio, in Plato’s dialogue of that name, wishes to get Socrates out of prison, and to send him to his friends in Thessaly, the philosopher is made to reply with some disparaging remarks about feasting in Thessaly, implying that he was of the same opinion as that afterwards expressed by the historian Theopompus, that the Thessalians were more anxious about a well-laid table than a well-ordered life. In other parts of Greece the practice of hospitality must have been rarer, if we may judge from the story of how Miltiades in the time of Pisastrates became tyrant of the Cerenes. Some Dolonians envied to Delphi had been instructed by the oracle to take as a new founder of their State the first man who offered them hospitality after they left the temple, and they traversed the whole of the Sacred Road through Phocis and Boeotia without receiving an invitation; it was not till they turned aside to Athens that Miltiades, seeing them as he sat in his doorway, sent a messenger to them to come in; and, after he had entertained them, they communicated to him the oracle, and pressed his leadership upon his acceptance. The importance attached to hospitality in unfriendly communities is due to that instinctive perception of the needs of men which underlies ethics. In a more developed society it becomes a rich man’s virtue, a kind of moral luxury, rather than a necessity. By Aristotle it is brought under the head of ‘magnificence,’ which displays itself, among other things, in the reception and disposal of strangers. Magnificence is a civic virtue, and the entertainment of illustrious guests is a glory to the State, on which grounds Homer has to remark: ‘recte enim est laudata hospitallitas.’ In the Economy of Xenophon, where the burdens upon the rich at Athens are being discussed, special mention is made of the social necessity of entertaining many foreign guests, and that too magnificently. The obligations of nobility in this respect were so well recognized at Athens that Solon includes a foreign guarantee among the
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appanages of the rich and happy man, on a level with his elidren, horses, and hounds—

In the Meno of Plato also to know how to receive and dismiss fellow-countrymen and strangers in a manner worthy of a good man is reckoned among the accomplishments of an aspirant to public life.

Callias, the son of Hippocoon, was celebrated at Athens for his princely hospitality; and at Sparta, Lichas, who was παρακόπος to the Argives, but extended his welcome to all strangers who were present at Sparta in the Gymnasia.

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HOSPITALITY (Hindu).—Under the conditions of Hindu law and social usage the exercise of hospitality in the ordinary sense of the term, when, the host shares with his guest a meal or provision which he has himself furnished, is necessarily precluded. A rigorous and minutely divisive law of caste has long forbidden in India that the stranger, or one not born within the inviolable and usually narrow limits of the caste (jati, birth), should be welcomed to a place at the family table. In this aspect of the subject, eating in common is entirely repugnant to Hindu feeling and thought; it is inconceivable and impossible that guests of different castes should partake together of the same food. And the rule or prejudice, together with that against intermarriage, will be among the last to yield to the solvent of European practice and example.

In all other respects the duty of hospitality is fully recognised, and, subject to this important limitation, adequately discharged by all Hindus. Probably no country in the world may the passing wayfarer be so confident that his needs will be met in whatever village he may find himself, although the provision will not go beyond the minimum of his requirements. Consideration for a guest is enjoined in the sacred Law-Books of India as an important part of the duty of a householder. It is true that it is generally assumed that the guest will be a Brâhman. In practice, however, the interpretation which has been given by the people themselves to their obligation has not limited it to one caste or group of castes to the exclusion of all others. The Brâhman has always had the prior claim for the supply of his needs, whether in respect of food or of aught else; but the demands of hospitality are not repudiated by whomever they may be presented, though these others will be entertained with less satisfaction and a considerable abatement of ceremony.

Further, condition which impedes the free intercourse and social communion which the dispensing of hospitality in the European sense of the term involves is that to the Hindu eating is a solemn and sacred religious act. Hence both the preparation and the partaking of food are hedged about with restrictions designed, in the first instance, to secure the ceremonial purity both of the food itself and of him for whom it is provided. To admit a stranger to a share in the meal, or even to allow him to partake of the provisions and acts of eating to be seen by another, would involve an almost certain risk of pollution. No strict Hindu will voluntarily and under ordinary circumstances eat otherwise than in private. A free and open hospitality, therefore, such as obtains in many countries, which invites the guest to an honoured place at the board, is from this point of view, precluded by religious sentiment no less than by social custom.

Apart, therefore, from anniversaries and festivals, and from private occasions for rejoicing, as a wedding or the birth of a son and heir, the lavish entertainment of guests on the part of wealthy natives of India, and of others accordingly, is limited to the feasting of Brahmans, and the making provision for the poor at an open meal at which all comers may receive a share; the only question asked. In the latter case the distribution frequently takes the form of a money dole in place of or in addition to the food prepared. All such acts and gifts secure for the donor religious merit, and are often thank-offerings for public or private good fortune or success. They are evidently also the expression of the nature of alms or charity, the recipients being in poverty and need, not of the hospitality, than of true hospitality (see art. CHARITY (Hindu)). The most recent instance of such donations has been the generous gifts for the poor placed at the disposal of Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy of India, in token of thanksgiving for his recovery from the attempt made upon his life at the Delhi Durbar of 1912. In the formal and elaborate feasting of Brahmans also the relation of host and guest is of a different nature. The sacred character of hospitality is exhibited in the relation places him on a level socially and religiously above that of his host; and the latter may not, and does not, eat until his guests have been satisfied; nor would it be in accordance with the sacred right that he should sit down with them to a common meal. Thus to provide for the wants of members of the higher caste is a sacred duty incumbent upon the Hindu householder which is repeatedly enjoined in the Law-Books. The obligation has often pressed hard upon the less wealthy members of Hindu society, and has been a not inappreciable or ineffective cause of the widespread indebtedness which has overtaken in the past so many classes of the Indian people. Usage and custom, fortified by religious sanction, has demanded an expenditure in the entertainment of guests at festivals or important events in the family life which has left the householder permanently and hopelessly impoverished; nor can real benefit be said to have accrued to any one from the practice, least of all to those members of the higher castes whom it has encouraged in a life of slothfulness and dependency. Nevertheless, the obligation has been generously recognised throughout the whole course of Indian life and history. And, if in part during recent years the responsibilities and duties have somewhat less scrupulously interpreted and acted upon, the result is due to the general loosening of the bonds of a social system which is found to be out of harmony with European conceptions, and incompatible with the relations of a world-wide Empire.

HOSPITALITY (Iranian).—The obligation and the duties of hospitality appear to be taken for granted in the Avesta and Pahlavi writings, and no word for 'hospitality' is recorded. At the

1 Of Mann, iii. 72. 'He who does not feed these five, the gods, the guest, the lord of the house, himself, and wife, lives not, though he harnesses; 10. 90. 1.' Let him offer, in accordance with the rule, to a guest who has come a seat and water, as well as food, garnished according to his ability. A Brâhman who stays unhonoured (in the house) takes away all the misfortunes of the house. A guest in the house of a Brâhman was always to be held in higher esteem, and given precedence in the entertainment of a member of a lower caste; the latter also was to be fed, but in this case hospitality was not obligatory, although apparently it was always received with pleasure and often with a sense of the duty of the giver. See Mann, iii. 108 and xvii and iv. 30, on the duties of a householder.

2 Ranga (Bunj-A., Dict., Bombay, 1900, col. 3220) gives as equivalent of 'hospitality,' leased-ol and xeal-in (occuring

3 Prag. iii. 61.}

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same time, it is indicated that, when one friend visits another, he is given hospitality (Yasa 118. 8). The duty of giving not merely contentment, reward, and thanks (zhviti, ari'y, eydvi), but also welcome (pordi-satki), to a right-handed guest is explained to Darmesteter, in Zend-Avesta, Paris, 1892-93, III. 70), to be one of the three earthly things best for Ahura Mazda; and the duties of friendship—which is scarcely possible without some form of hospitality— are mentioned in the Avesta (Yasa 38. 14, X. 1, X. 51; Vend. 44-46), with special reference to the obligation of friend to succour friend.

In a like spirit, generosity (firdās, rist) is lavished (Yasa iv. 5. 3, iv. 6, iv. 7; Pasr. vii. 3; Pars. vi. 3, and is the greatest of good works (Dink-i Mainyūd-i-Šrta, iv. 4. 44, IV. 4. 12, West, SBE xxiv. [1886] 26, 37), while illiberality is a sin (Dink-i Mainyūd, viii. 34; cf. Arta-i-Virāf Nāma, xxiii., ed. and tr. Hang and West, Bombay, 1922). More than this, the spirit in which the gift is made is made of the utmost moment. Accordingly, Navagistan, ix. 46 (ed. Sanjana, Bombay, 1894, fol. 161, i. 10-15, 162, i. 27; Darmesteter, Zend-Avesta, iii. 133 f.), declares:—

"To see him, spares Zaraštikha, who gives him when his need is felt, is better for him than to be lord over all kings for all time. In the corporeal world the decision for good thoughts and good words and good actions is the king of truth. Truth is what brings good fortune (Yasa 294, 1900, cols. 1444, 1423), adding that the best of all liberations (zād-kāyra) is to be the teacher of religious truth.

Of the actual forms of Zoroastrian hospitality we may have a glimpse in Yast xxv. 63-64 (expanded in Dink-i Mainyūd-i-Šrta, i. 147-148), which states that one should give the soul of the righteous murdered in the haven of Endless Light, it is met by the righteous dead (and by 'angels and archangels of every description'), who begin to ask it various questions, whereupon Ahura Mazda bids that it have food and rest after its journey, and a seat on a richly adorned throne. Even in hell the soul of the wicked receives food of filth before it is permitted to answer the questions of the older deities (Dink-i Mainyūd-i-Šrta, i. 183-192). Similarly, Arta-i-Virāf declares (iii. 16 f.).

"To give the hungry and thirsty food, is the first thing, and afterwards to make enquiry of him, and appoint his task."

It was customary for the host to rise when greeting a guest (iv. i. 1; Vend. xiii. 51). The Greek authors add practically nothing to the details of our knowledge of hospitality in ancient Persia, although there are repeated indications that wine was served to the guests, and even the courtesans were admitted to them (Herod. i. 133, v. 18; Xenophon, Cyrop. viii. 110, 10; cf. 150, 10). The host was presented to the Persian banqueters, as G. Rawlinson, Fifth Orient. Monarchy, London, 1892, ch. iii.; A. Repp, ZDMG xx. [1886] 101 ff., cf. also B. Brissou, de regio Persarum vulgaribus et dignis, Paris, 1883, pp. 101 ff., references to Persian banquets, etc.

By the best source for the details of hospitality in Zoroastrian Iran is the Sāh-nāmeh of Firdosī (tr. Mohi, Paris, 1876-78). The great majority of the instances describe, it is true, the scenes in royal circles and the receptions accorded to ambassadors, but there are also accounts which show that the hospitality of the humbler classes differed in degree rather than in kind.

In general, if the guest was in rank inferior to his host, he respectfully saluted him (l. 234, 257), whereas, if the two were of equal rank, the host respectively in Yasa iii. 9 and xii. 2), but both words mean simply 'one wishes,' 'to be at home to one.'

The statement of Kohler (ETW of Yasa [1884] 206, note 2), that the Massegires, who were an Iranian people (J. Marguer, Firdosī, Berlin, 1901, p. 126), showed hospitality by lending them their money, is an erroneous interpretation of Herod. i. 216 (cf. Strabo, p. 518), who says merely that these Iranians practiced commensal marriage.

When the king learns that Rustam is approaching, he leaves the palace, while the people prepare feasts, adorned by wine, music, and singers. The monarch, with a great retinue, proceeds, reaching large groups of the population until he reaches Rustam, who dishonours and insults him. Xusran embraces him and causes him to remain, and they return, conversing, to the palace. There Rustam is seated beside the king, who converses with him and his companions. Xusran follows the banquet, with wine and music. For a month the festivities continue (in other cases hunting and games add to the enjoyment), and at the end of that time Xusran announces his wish to depart. Therefore, Xusran bestows rich presents upon him, and accompanies him a two days' journey, when Rustam again discourses, and takes formal leave of the king, who returns to his palace.

Among the middle classes the usages were not dissimilar. Bahram Gur (v. 450-459), the king, with an eye to the door of a jeweller. He is at once welcomed most hospitably, and is entertained at an impromptu feast, after which come wine and music, the cupbearer and lute being the host's hired servant, whom the guest, whose identity is known only on the following day, promptly espouses (v. 506-511).

In the Persian stratum of The Thousand Nights and One Night (tr. Payne, London, 1886-84) are a number of descriptions of hospitality as recorded by Bedeckh under the Abbadadi dynasty (q.v. 1. 74-85, xi. 8, 47-48). These throw a welcome sidelight on the descriptions in Sāh-nāmeh; and both works were composed in Muhammadan surroundings, it is probable that they contain in their accounts a considerable amount of genuine Iranian material.

The humblest classes were equally hospitable, as is illustrated by the adventure of Bahram Gur with Labuk, the poor water-carrier, and the rich Jew, Barahama (Sāh-nāmeh, v. 450-459).

It was the habit of Labuk to devote half the day to his calling, and then to seek a guest; and it was his principle to have nothing left over for the next day. Having discouraged the people from purchasing from Labuk, the king rides in disguise to his house, where he is warmly welcomed, and, after a game of chess, is entertained at table, the meal being followed by wine. Bahram passes the night as Labuk's guest, and even at break of day is not asked to remain another day. Since Labuk is still unable to sell water, he parts with some belongings and purchases wine, which he himself prepares for his guests. The third day he urges Bahram to remain, and promises his water-bags for the meal which he prepares; and it is with reluctance that Bahram leaves him. He receives an unknown guest to depart on the fourth day, after having urged him to remain two weeks longer. Bahram next takes the hospitality of the rich Jew, only to be received with niggardliness and ingratitude; and he therefore beseeches on Labuk the wealth of Barahama (for other instances, see v. 367-396, 435-439) (where the hospitality of the host is contrasted with the inhospitality of the husband) (v. 145 f.).

On the other hand, the vice of inhospitality also existed, not only among the poor (v. 489 f.), but also among the miserly rich (v. 519-523).

In Dailam (corresponding roughly to the modern Gilan), it was customary for all the household to withdraw excepting one, who, at a distance, waited upon the guest, who could thus savour his lunch and thirst, the host so carefully venturing to appear even at the conclusion of the meal (Qādiz-i-nāmeh [11th cent.], xii. 3, tr. Querly, Paris, 1883, p. 215). To this al-Makdisi adds that it was not the usage in Dailam to sell bread, but that any stranger might enter a house and get what food he needed; while Ibn Fadlan records a similar custom among the Arab tribes in the desert, and in Arabic anthologies the Persian word for 'guest' is rendered 'master of the whole house' (Inonoswey, 74aknjasysies yfersyed, St.
Petersburg, 1900, p. 182 f., and the references there given.

Modern Iran is so thoroughly Muhammadanised that it is difficult to distinguish between Iranian and Islamic elements. Nevertheless, the following account of hospitality is typical of ancient Persian hospitality. Iranians are descendants of the primitive Iranian people—and the Kurds—may be cited from Soane's *To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in December, 1909*, p. 153 (1):

'...they told me that the best room in the place was at my disposal. They promised nothing enough of the world's goods, but their best rice was sacrificed to the occasion, eggs in numbers sufficient for ten men were produced. Every one of them except the headman, who sat by as host, bowed himself about something. ... Surplus eggs they hard-boiled and put up for my journey next day.' Somewhat discredit the evidence of a young tradesman and his wife to pass the night in the same room. Soane was informed that this was not unusual, since the whole village possessed but two rooms fit to sleep in; and since he passed for a Kurd, and a guest, I must excuse their presumption in occupying the room, which was my exclusive property.' Early in the morning he was awakened by his host's wife, who brought him a dish of the most delicious food.

The spirit of unlimited hospitality appears in many passages of the most ancient sources. When Oh-yama-ta-ni-no-kami, god of the Great Mountain, was visited by the divine prince Ninigi, the grandson of the gods, he offered him 'merchandise carried on tables holding an hundred' (Kojiki, tr. Chamberlain, new ed., Tokyo, 1906, p. 141) to the god of the Ocean. Oh-wata-tani-no-kami, saw Ho-wori-no-mikoto (His Augustness Fire-Subside) at his door, he immediately 'led him to his table. His table was the highest. ...' The leading eight layers of rugs of sea-salt (salt) beneath the floor, and spreading on the top other eight layers of rugs, and setting on the top of them, arranged merchandise on tables holding an hundred, made an august banquet, etc. (ibid. 140).

In these two texts, the reception is preliminary to a marriage, and it has been thought that the present thus afforded were a sort of dowry given by the father; but we see from a variant of the first account, which says that the god of the Great Mountain 'sent his two daughters with one hundred tables of food and drink to offer them respectfully' (Nihongi, I. 84), that it was, in the first instance, a question of presents of welcome and the classical meal of hospitality.

Another legend, which is peculiarly significant, shows us Susa-no-wo, the Storm-god, after he has been expelled from heaven because of his crimes against the Sun-goddess, wandering about the earth under a huge hat and a cloak of green grass in search of a shelter for the night (cf. Nihongi, l. 80). In his distress he asks a rich miser, Kyotan Shorai, for hospitality; but the miser's elder brother, Somin Shorai, though a poor man, makes a bed of millet-straw for the god and gives him some cooked millet to eat. The god goes away. Some years afterwards he reappears.

Are your children at home?' he asks Somin. 'There are ten of them,' is the reply. 'My daughter, and my wife.' The god replied: 'Encircle your loans with a belt of rushes.' And that very night the god exterminated a number of Somin's household, except Somin Shorai and his family. Then he said to Somin: 'I am the god Susa-no-wo. If any infectious disease should break out, let your descendants tell their name and girdle their loans, and they will be spared.' Hence, it is said, the New Year custom of hanging a cord of straw (shime) over the doors of the house to avert pestilence and other diseases from crossing the threshold. This tradition, which is found in a very ancient work, the *Bingo Shoki*, *Topography of the province of Bingo* (see Flores, *Nihongi*, *Zadattai der Götter*, Tokyo, 1901, p. 312), and exists to this day in the locality (see Murray's *Handbook for Japan*, ed. 1884, p. 177), shows clearly what an extent hospitality was considered a sacred duty.

2. Historical period.—Passing now from the primitive period and its legends to the historical period, we find the custom of hospitality integral in the dealings of the Japanese with strangers to their archipelago. No doubt, following a universal habit (Fraser, *G.B.* p. 160), they took certain steps to secure themselves from the depredations of the Japanese, which the strangers might bring with them; thus, two days before the arrival of foreign vessels in any port, a ceremony in honour of the Shafe-no-kami, 'preventive deities' of a phallic description, to ward off evil influences (Engi-shiki 10th cent., *shoki*. 18).

Nevertheless, the Japanese attitude towards strangers was by no means hostile; it was with a kindly curiosity that they saw strangers come among them, and they offered them a house. All ancient Japanese history is full of accounts of how the court gladly welcomed the Koreans, who brought interesting innovations with them—to enumerate the instances would be to relate the whole development of Chinese civilization in Japan, from the introduction of writing (Kojiki, 313) down to the introduction of Buddhism itself (Nihongi, ii. 64 f.). Even the national gods exhibited a hospitality to foreign gods, and even before the introduction of Buddhism more than one Korean deity had been admitted to the Japanese pantheon (see Kojiki, 324; Nihongi, l. 169).

The same welcome was accorded the Europeans when they in their turn presented themselves to the distant shores of the Portuguese, i.e., in the land of Japan, first at Jingu-uni in 1641, then at Tane-gashima in 1649, were received with kindness (see H. Nagaoka, *Histoire des relations du Japon avec l'Europe aux environs de 1600*, Tokyo, 1895, p. 33, 36, etc.). St. Francis Xavier, who landed at Kagoshima in 1540, was very courteously received by the prince of Satsuma, even although, he was the bearer of a foreign religion. At their very first interview, the prince gave him permission to preach the Christian faith in his territory, and, a few days later, sent out letters-patent in virtue of which all his subjects were at liberty to become Christians if they so desired. As a matter of fact, this local prince was not entirely satisfied: he was anxious to enter into relations with the Portuguese and to win over their vessels with a view to commerce, as was clearly shown by the fact that his attitude entirely changed when the saint wished to leave his territory. It cannot be denied, however, that the prince's first welcome was a really generous one—especially if we remember all the difficulties he might have had to
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face with regard to the bouses. The prince of Hirado affirmed that St. Francis Xavier was with much affection and a good grace, to use the saint's own words (Letter of 1651). Then at Yamaguchi, the prince made the saint come to him, questioned him gravely and with much respect, and told him where he came from and what he wanted, listened to his doctrine for a whole hour, and allowed him to construct a mission church. But this quick and short visit seemed insufficient. A little later he presented the saint to a vacant monastery, and published it abroad throughout the kingdom that he had authorized him to propagate his faith. Even in Kyoto, the capital, though St. Francis and his companions could not get an audience of the Emperor, the shogun, or even the chief of the Buddhist Church, yet they were never molested. Finally, the prince of Bungo, the last of the federal princes that Francis had occasion to visit before leaving Japan, wrote letters to the saint saying such things as:

"I beseech you to come immediately, before the sun rises, and knock at the door of my palace where I shall await you with intercourse. . . . Give me news of your health so that I may sleep well throughout the night, until the cock awakens me and reminds me that you are coming." (Bouhours, Vie de St. François Xavier, Paris, 1823, ii. 64).

In short, during the two and a half years which the first apostle of Christianity passed in Japan, he was treated with a tolerance and good-will which would have astounded Europe; and this explains the delusion which sprang up in his mind that he had been unjustly and so fallen into disfavor would easily be won to Christianity" (Bouhours, ii. 38).

The persecutions which Christian missionaries had to suffer later do not prove anything against the hospitality of the Japanese government. In 1633, the Jesuit Fathers Proes and Vilela were received with honor by the shogun Yoshiteru himself. In 1608, when Father Organin arrived at Nagasaki, the shogun's viceroy, who had not been able to give them shelter, made a complete falsehood about the disposal to stay in, and offered him banquets for three days. Why did this same Nobunaga afterwards regret giving this protection to the new religion? And why did Hideyoshi, his successor as dictator of Japan, after first taking the Christians under his protection at Osaka, finish by harshly persecuting Christianity? Because the missionaries made the mistake of involving themselves in the local politics of the feudal princes, causing trouble among the people as a consequence, and finally disturbing the central government. But, in the same edict of 1637 which ordered all the missionaries to leave Japan within twenty days, Hideyoashi decreed that the 'black ships' (i.e. the Portuguese) which came for purely commercial purposes might continue their traffic; and, in another edict of the following year, he recommended his subjects to continue to receive them well (see Saganuma, Dai Nihon Shakyu-ki, His. of the Commerce of Japan, pp. 294-298). Finally, Hideyoashi's successor, the great Shogun, Tokugawa Ieyasu, who had also begun by showing himself friendly to the Christians, was forced, by new intrigues of the Portuguese Jesuits and Spanish Franciscans and Dominicans, to withdraw his good-will and to decree, in a proclamation of 1614, that 'these must be instantly swept out, so that not an inch of soil remains to them in Japan on which to plant the 'black ship' (see H. Tomlinson, Review of the Introduction of Christianity into China and Japan, in T. S. i. p. i. [1888] p. 49). These measures culminated finally when Ieyasu, the third Tokugawa, issued his highly important edicts of 1633 and 1638, laid Christianity under the ban.

The fact that the religious politics of the Japanese seem to have been an exception to their proverbial hospitality, it was only so at the time when the Roman Catholic missionaries, forgetting discretion in their zeal, abused this hospitality. The Japanese were willing to be convinced; they would not be conquered. The necessity of defending themselves against this religious invasion had the additional effect of calling forth, in the above-mentioned edicts of Ieyasu, a limitation of the commercial relations which seemed indispensable for the general tranquillity of the country and the solidity of its government. For political reasons, this distinctly legitimate considerations of public safety, did not prevent the Japanese from offering hospitable treatment to the foreigners who came for the single purpose of engaging in commerce; this explains why Holland had almost the monopoly of foreign commerce at Nagasaki till the Revolution of 1868.

3. Modern period. In the modern period the same spirit may be observed. The Japanese Government employed every means of protection against dangers from America and Europe; it confined the residence and commerce of foreigners to certain open ports and required passports for journeying to the interior, in order both to keep a watch over their movements and to obtain from the foreign powers, in exchange for a more complete freedom for their subjects, the abnegation of the unjust treaties that had been imposed upon them since 1864. When this diplomatic end was attained, i.e. at the end of the year 1899, Japan was opened up anew to foreigners under ordinary conditions. As for the ancient prohibitions against Christianity, they had long been forgotten. So, as early as the Japanese, continuing as of old, to welcome all religious novelties, provided they do not cloak political schemes. The history of Japan, then, exhibits a remarkable spirit of hospitality and of tolerance to foreign inhabitants, in spite of the opposite impression made by a superficial observation of the anti-Christian persecutions; a knowledge of the causes of these persecutions reduces them to a vanishing point, and shows the Japanese character in its true light.

To-day a foreigner travelling in the interior of the country may still find the ancient hospitality, which was never eclipsed except by the fault of those who were the first to profit by it. The present writer can bring his personal experience to witness. One night in 1896, when travelling in Yamato, he found himself lost in the open country. After walking for a long time in the dark and in drenching rain in search of a village where he might find a means of transport, he arrived at a peasant's hut and knocked at the door. Imagine a Japanese travelling in the country in Europe, and arriving at midnight at a peasant's house: there would be furious barking from the watch-dog, hostile suspicion of the unknown wanderer on the part of the master of the house, and, to put things at their best, a poor shelter offered at last, with no good grace, in some out-house. The Japanese cottage, on the other hand, was opened immediately; the father and his family all got up to receive the stranger on their knees; they were very pressing in their offers of a bath and a friendly meal. After this came the classic questions in Homerian style: 

'Honourable stranger, whence comest thou? Whither goest thou? What is thy country? and so on. Finally, when the guest was ready to depart, the father sent two of his sons several miles distant to bring a jinrikisha and runners to carry him to Kyoto. It is hardly necessary to add that these poor peasants would not take any remuneration, and the only way in which their generosity could be repayed at all was by discretely making presents to the youngest members of the family.

II. KOREA. Korea, on the other hand, is quite different. This country, so inaccessible to the foreigner, has been well named 'the hermit nation.' The accounts of missionaries, from the Relazioni de
HOSPITALITY (Semitic).—Hospitality among the Semites and Eastern peoples in general rests upon religious sanctions (see EBB 7:230). ‘To be inhospitable was not only to be despisable, it was also to be irreligious. Hospitality was a sacred duty’ (Thy, Social Life of the Hebrew, p. 170).

1. IN BABYLONIA AND EGYPT.—a. Religious aspects.—Hospitality was practised by the gods themselves. According to the myth of Adapa, food and water of life, garments, and oil were brought to the hero when he arrived before Ann. Acting on the advice of his father Ea, who feared that the food and water might tend to death instead of life, Adapa refused these, but accepted the garments and oil (R. W. Rogers, Cuneiform Parallels to the OT, New York, 1912, pp. 68, 74-76). It was incidentally that part of the ritual which was connected with the offering of life to the gods, and by the cult of the dead, which at the outset required that hospitality should be rendered to the corpse in the form of decent burial, and was continued in the supply of food and drink to the deceased. According to the Book of the Dead, the heart which is righteous and blameless addresses the gods of the underworld thus: ‘I have given bread to the hungry man, and water to the thirsty man, and appear to the naked man, and a boat to the (shipwrecked) mariner. I have made holy offerings to the gods and sepulchral meals to the gods (R. A. W. Budge, Book of the Dead, 1914, p. 175).’

A Bab. didactic poem enjoins: ‘Give food to eat, give wine to drink... With him whom thou shalt set at his table, he is pleasing to Shamash, he will requite him with good.’ (Rogers, p. 179.)

b. Social aspects. Hospitality was practised by the community, among those who dwelt together within the walls of the same city. The Egyptians were a pleasure-loving people, and scenes of feasting and banquetting figure in their pictorial remains. The Babylonians and Assyrians, while more staid, also held festive assemblies. As early as the days of Hammurabi (circa 1800 B.C.) we read of laws for regulating wine-shops (Code, §§ 108-111), with evidence that conspicuous might be carried to excess (§ 109). The penalty of exile from the city

§ 154 implies that the fugitive was placed out with the horses of the State (cf. Gn 41). The curses attached to the budurru, or boundary-stone inscriptions, reveal the same disability in one who has been guilty of violating lands and stables, even while he continues to live within the city: ‘Like a dog (may he) pass the night in the streets of his city; meeting angry faces and holding up his head, may he wander through the streets of his city’ (W. J. Blaikie, A New Boundary Stone of Nebuchadrezzar I, Philadelphia, 1867, p. 60).

3. International aspects.—We are indebted to the Tell el-Amarna Letters for a life-like picture of international relations in the middle of the second millennium B.C., with numerous indications of hospitality, or rather its opposite. (a) Kings did not themselves travel into the countries with which they held intercourse, but sent their ambassadors, and gave hostages, the hospitable reception and treatment of whom was essential to the maintenance of friendly relations. There is clear evidence that considerable strain was put upon the patience of one of the parties by detention of ambassadors, lack of information regarding those given in marriage, and especially shortcoming in the matter of presents. Bubaburash, king of Babylon, apologises to the king of Egypt for not having replied to his envoy at his own table, and given him food to eat and wine to drink, on the ground that his health was not good at the time. He further reproaches the king for sending him, king of Egypt, because he had not comforted him in sickness, nor sent an envoy to inquire after his condition (Tell el-Amarna Letters, Berlin, 1; cf. 2 K 25.24). At this state accompanying a national intercourse is the transit of images of the gods, that of the goddess Ishtar travelling into Egypt (ib., London, 10), while some time later (15th cent.) that the Egyptian goddess travelled to the land of the Hittites to effect the cure of the king’s daughter. It goes without saying that the images were to be honoured, and that those who attended them were to be hospitably treated. The image of the great Amen himself journeyed with Unamon to Phonicia (c. 1100 B.C.), but in the decay of Egypt’s power failed to win respect as aforetime and a favourable reception for the envoy. Probably the first state visit on the part of a king is that chronicled of Khattushil II, king of the Hittites, who journeyed to Egypt (c. 1396 B.C.) to attend the marriage of his daughter to Rameses II (H. R. Hall, The Ancient History of the Near East, London, 1913, p. 371 ff.). (6) The petty rulers of Palestine and Syria represent their discharge of the obligations placed upon them by the king of Egypt as hospitality. Akizi of Karna gave to the king’s soldiers food, drink, oxen, sheep, honey, and oil (Tell el-Amarna Letters, London, 36). Aziru, the rebel son of Abd-Ashtars, professes to have treated Hani, the envoy of Egypt, with due respect, lending him horses and asses for his journey, while his brethren supplied him with cattle, sheep, fowls, food, and drink (ib., London, 30). The faithful Rib-Addi of Byblos reports that upon returning from Beirut to his own house he found it barred against him (ib., London, 16).

(c) To traders a measure of hospitality was extended. After the conquests of Thothmes III there were good roads made throughout Syria, furnished with post-houses where food and lodging could be procured (E. Sayce, Syria and Palestine, London, 1915, p. 190). ‘Traders availed themselves of these routes, and travelled securely. Later, when the land became disturbed, caravans were plundered and merchants robbed and slain (Tell el-Amarna Letters, Berlin, 7 and 8).

(d) Akh, a king’s messenger, on the way to Egypt, bears a passport (ib., London, 58; cf. Neh...
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A postscript to one of the cuneiform letters found at Nuzi (dated 14th cent. B.C.) reads

\[ \text{dayu-mu me4ru, "Highway, Highway"} \] (i.e. for the interpretation) (Rogers, 383; cf. J. B. Paton, Syria and Palestine, London, 1902, p. 36 f.)

4. Hospitality towards tribes and peoples.—In the Tractate Sota (20b) the rabbis declare that "the king claims to have sheltered the people of Malgi in misfortune (col. iv. 11-13). Such royal hospitality is seldom disinterested. Thus, Semacherib eralit Padi, king of Elam, 4-11. The Cylinder of Cyrus represents this king as a benefactor to Babylon and its people (1. 52 f.).

5. Hospitality to nomads.—The desert tribes, who in later times afford the most evident instance of the virtue of hospitality, at this epoch appear rather as marauders, a scourge to settled communities and to traders (especially in the Tell el-Amarna Letters). Yet the Egyptian government was at times tolerant to them, as appears in the permission given to the Mmittis, or nomads, to settle in a prescribed district (reign of Horemheb, XVIIIth dyn.), and to the Shasu, or Bedawin, to possess parts of the land of the Pharaoh, Menepthah II., "to feed themselves and to feed their herds" (Sayce, The Higher Criticism and the Texts, London, 1894, p. 340 f.).

6. Hospitality to exiles and emigrants.—The extent to which hospitality was shown to fugitives and emigrants may be judged from the letter of Amenemhat IV. to Achrn (Tell el-Amarna Letters, London, 75), in which whole families are mentioned, and also from the terms of the Hittite-Egyptian Treaty (Hall, 960, 365 f.).

7. Hospitality to strangers.—Three outstanding instances of hospitality (with elements of inhospitality) accorded to travellers, real or fancied, are furnished by Egyptian tales.

The most instructive instance of this kind is that of the noble Sancha or Sinu (XIIIth dyn.; c. 2000 B.C.). A fugitive from Egypt, he was preserved from death by the hospitality of a Bedawin, who gave him water and boiled milk. For a time he sojourned with the nomads. Thereafter he was received by a prince of the Upper Tenam (perhaps Syria), Ammannahab by name, who made him tutor to his children, and gave him his eldest daughter in marriage. He appointed him to rule over part of the kingdom and commander of the army. He had daily rations of bread, wine, boiled meat, and roast geese, as well as the privilege of hunting game. This kindness reacted on his own practice:

- "The messenger who comes from the court of the petition of abode, I gave hospitality to every one, and I gave water to the thirsty; I set on his journey the one who was hindered from passing by (A'. E. Evans, Life in Ancient Egypt, 3, Oth, London, 1894, p. 276 f.; Sayce, Pritchard's Pictures of Palestine, 178)."

Towards the end of his life he was permitted to return to Egypt, and was graciously received at court.

The coarse garments of the Bedawin were exchanged for fine linen; his body was bathed with water and scented essences; he lay down more on a couch and enjoyed the luxurious cookery of the Egyptians. A house and pyramids were built for him; a garden was laid out for him with a lake and a kiosk, and a golden statue with a robe of scarlet was set up in it (Sayce, 179; cf. Hall, 171 f.).

The Tale of a Mouse is a narrative relating to Syria and Palestine in the reign of Rameses II. (XIIIth dyn.; 13th cent. B.C.). Our interest is in the evidence of inhospitality (the hospitality being described as "loosely satisfied. At every stage Nature shows herself inhospitable; and terror, from wild beasts and from man, always seems to oppose the traveler. His clothing is stolen by thieves and his grooms desert him and join the robbers. Some time later, when he comes to Joppa, the maiden who keeps the garden proves his undoing. Here his bow and sword are stolen, his quiver and armor destroyed."

"Prayer does not avail thee; even when thy mouth says, "Give food in addition to water, that I may reach my goal in safety," they are deaf and will not listen. They say not thy words" (a translation of the whole, see Sayce, 180 f.; cf. E. A. B. Budge, History of Egypt, London, 1905, ii. 118; cf. Fr. 1927, B. 2115, 3 Oct 1500.)

II. BIBLICAL (OT).—So far as the externals of hospitality are concerned, the Biblical data fit in with the record from other sources. It will be convenient to observe the distinction between sokebi and gvr, the former the stranger who is merely passing by, the latter the stranger who acquires a settlement, with certain civic and religious rights, in the land of adoption. It is with the sokebi rather than the gvr that we are here concerned. While all the categories named above might be repeated for the OT, the clearest examples of hospitality are afforded by private and individual instances. The hospitality of the tent and of the city are found in proximity to each other (Gen 16, 9-13 19-24).

With the help of allied passages (Jg 19, 1 S 25, 2 S 12, 1 K 17, etc.) the various stages may be clearly realized. They include: reception (meeting and obeisance), offering of food and drink, and in certain circumstances a feast (an animal, e.g., a calf or a kid, being kindled, foot, invitation to rest and to tarry all night, provision of food and drink, and in certain circumstances a feast (an animal, e.g., a calf or a kid, being kindled, and dressed; bread, butter, milk, and wine also being set before the guests); feeding and housing of animals (asses and camels). Guests were kept inviolate, even as the sacrifices of the honour of the daughters (Gen 19, Jg 19-24). No remuneration was taken, although, when a visit was of set purpose, presents were brought (Gen 24, 43; Job 42, 5). Abraham even went with his guests to bring them on the way (Gen 18, 9).
While hospitality was accorded as a rule, there were departures from it (Jg 19:5). The open space about the city gate was the only inn available in the event of no private house being offered. It was against the laws of hospitality to leave a stranger in such case (Job 34:17), and thus there was probably little hardship entailed in having to pass the night in the open. Travellers took cover under the porches and porticoes (Jg 19:15), which were hubristically in the event of host being found (v. 21). On the road to Egypt they halted at stages (inn or lodging place, Gn 43:20; Ex 16:23), where shelter, and perhaps water, but no food, were to be found (cf. Jer 9:1). The instances in Nu 20:20 and Dt 23:24 show that even water was paid for.

This, however, is an extreme case. Even among those who are blood-relations the ordinary procedure in respect of hospitality is observed, as, e.g., when Abraham's servant journeyed to the home of Rebekah (Gn 24:33, 35). The meeting is that of friends, the narrative working up to the disclosure of relationship, which, of course, produces a great change (v. 24), cf. Gn 26:31-34. Even in such circumstances hospitality is not accepted till the errand has been told (Gn 24:7).

A unique instance is the stated hospitality extended to the prophet Eliashib by the great woman of Shunem (2 K 4:42). As often as he passed by he was turned to eat bread, and in the end had a furnished chamber reserved for his use. This instance is further instructive for the lead taken by the hostess, which recalls the more public part played by women in early times as contrasted with later (Gn 19:24; 21:8; Ex 2:21; Job 1:5). The act of Jeael (Jg 4:17) is to be put by itself as a gross breach of hospitality, notwithstanding the fact that it is justified upon national grounds by the writer of the book of Judges (Jg 4:11). In the eyes of the later Semites such a deed would have been reprobated, and such advantage would not have been taken even of an enemy, once the food-bond had been established (W. Robertson Smith, Kinship and Marriage, London, 1903, p. 176 ff., Bod. Sem. 4, do. 1894, p. 209 ff.). This instance may be set over against Rahab's kindness to the spies (Jos 2), who, in virtue of their hostile mission, could lay no claim to hospitality (cf. Gn 49:30).

We are reminded of the tale of Semechah in the experience of Moses (Ex 2:22), who, coming as a stranger, tarried with the priest of Midian as one of the family. Like Lot in Sodom, he represents the gef at an undeveloped stage.

In the OT the instances of kindness to individual strangers completely overshadow the national and kingy aspects of hospitality. But examples of each are found. The sons of Jacob participated in the hospitality of the Egyptians, although national prejudice required that they should eat bread by themselves (Gn 43:32) and dwell by themselves (46:32). In the wilderness the Israelites were denied the minimum of hospitality by the kings of Edom (Nu 20:19) and of the Amorites (21:2). David, as an outlaw, was the recipient of kindness from Abigail (1 S 25), the king of Moab (29:3), and Ahab, King of Gath (29), and, as a fugitive before Absalom, from certain prominent families dwelling on the east side of Jordan (1 S 17:724). On the other hand, his envoy, sent with hospitality intent to the court of Hanan of Ammon, were shamefully treated (19:9), which led to a dire revenge (12:13). The visit of the queen of Sheba to Solomon (1 K 10:12) is an example of sovereigns standing towards each other as guest and host. A king accepts a guest to a refuge prince to it is in more clear:

Merodach-Baladan is born of its glory by the prophecy of Jeremiah (Jg 19:22).

Hospitality is but rarely marred by deceit in host (S S 15, 1 K 13:33; Pr 23:25) or guest (13:26), or by ingratitude (Pr 41:9); contrast 2 S 9, 1 Ch 6:49. Ruth (Pr 9:4), but there was the possibility of debasement (Pr 9:7), especially when luxury was in fashion (Am 5:25), and this long remained a threat (Pr 23:24, Dn 6, Est 1).

Some code of hospitality necessarily underlies the political alliances during the monarchy, while trade and commerce imply toleration of, and fair dealing towards, foreigners, and perhaps some measure of kindness.

See also the 'Arabian article.'

HOSPITALITY (Tentonic and Balto-Slavio),—

The ancient records furnish the clearest indications of a widely diffused practice of hospitality both among the Tentonics and among the Slavics. As regards the Germans, Caesar (de Bell. Gall. vi. 23) writes: 'Hospitalitatem et rerum jam ad usum publicum fieri addidisse, ut ad veterrimen adnitus publicus, ab impositi bus, beneque eum ad modum domesticum patris vivendi communi/ziisse' (13:31), while Tacitus (Germ. 21:31) says:

'Convictuibus et hospitibus non solum usus indicatur. Quod in aliis partes hodiernae regiones fuerat ubi vacuus habitatus, pro hospitibus sine aliqua appariato spolias excipi. Cum defensor, qui proficiens hostes et hospi terrae hostem constigisse domum non invitat advenus. Nec interesse: par humanitate accipiet.'

Of the Slavs, Mauriutus (Strat. xi. 8) speaks as follows:

'Ne stotiatu bion kastalum, et ab eis teram elanes mias nove filia mi, k homeowner accusandus est, ut eis ad novo pecuniarem fiet aliis hostis laetitiae locum esse.'

The Latins had even a special god of hospitality, called Cerulius ('Ue hospitality deus cui ex omnibus locosis aequulam, primum ex populo indiges hostus servatur libatibis plebis'); cf. H. Ussener, Deidemur, Born, 1890, p. 180. Tentonics and Slavics have another point of contact in the fact that they have a common term for 'guest,' the Goth. gast, grad (gastigd, grad; guest-gast, grad-gast); the Old Slav. gost, 'guest,' and both being etymologically equivalent to the Latin hospes, 'stranger,' 'enemy.' The Lith.-Lat. Lett. Latene have a different term: Lith. gesnat, 'to be one's guest,' esanc, 'guest' (fem.), Lett. eisan, 'guest,' which are all connected with the Lith. hostes- (cf. Gr. hgos, Lat. hoste). Should the question be asked how, in the case of the Goths, O. Slav. gost, a word meaning originally 'stranger' or 'enemy,' (cf. Lat. hostes) should gradually acquire the sense of guest,' the answer will be: And in the practice of exchange of gifts, met with everywhere (see Aryan Religion, vol. ii. p. 51; and Gifts, vol. vi. p. 197), and, in particular, on Tentonic and Slavico, in the closest connexion with the practice of hospitality, and which, as the mutual gifts had to be in some degree commensurate with each other, has been aptly called 'giving and exchanging;' or in most cases of presents.' Tacitus, in the chapter already cited, expressly says: 'Ab omnibus a deo poposserunt, cedebant moris, et poscebant invicem sedem facilidades;' and the Aryan adds: 'it is to a men more clear:

No one is so hospitable or ready to give that he despises presents; Nor so little mindful of gain that he hates return-gifts.'
Here, too, we have the reason why in Old Russian gost' is quite commonly used for 'merchant' (hospes), while gosti's means 'to trade,' and gosti's is the form of the noun.

While the stranger thus literally found an open door because of the wares he carried, we are able to derive from the facts of language a still more precise idea of the way in which a relation between the visitor and his host attained its further development. In the Slavic languages the word gost' (from gosti-pod'—corresponding exactly to the Lat. hospes) is now for the most part used for 'God,' but originally meant, quite generally, 'master' or 'lord.' The second element of the primitive root is gos'te-s (Skr. gos'te, Gr. gos'te, Goth. gōs'ta), 'head of the house.' The Slav. gospodi, Lat. hospes, accordingly mean 'master of the stranger'; and this implies that the guest, during his stay in the house of its entertainer, enjoyed equal privileges with the members of the family. In order to enable us to realize what such friendly treatment meant for a traveller and the day's journey, we may quote here a statement regarding Albanian hospitality, taken from a work entitled Bich Reise durch das Lesbosland of the famous Konrad der Balkanhalbinsel, ed. C. Fatchesch, pt. 1, Vienna and Leipzig, 1904), by K. Steinmetz:

"Their hospitality, which is unrivalled, may be extolled as the finest of all the arts of the Greeks. The hospitality of the Albanians do not have is in the same degree,—and is of itself sufficient, without going into the details concerning the lavishness of their banquets, that the Albanians often expressed by other travellers. It is not confined to the table, engaging the stranger and of regarding a payment as an insult; it goes much further than that. If I eat a mode of bread in a house, drink a cup of coffee, I once offered a friend a glass of wine, I once offered a friend a glass of wine (NOT, i.e. Lat. amicus) at the house, and if on my further journey I am robbed or ill before I arrive as another house, the family a whole will not rest till they have avenged the dead. If I am on a highway, accompany only one man, was able to pass through the rusted tribes without danger; for any possible assailant who might think of robbing or killing me knew that he would thereby expose himself to the most determined vengeance on the part of the household with which I had last journeyed.

It thus appears that the family of the host, and especially, of course, the host himself, accept responsibility for the safety of the guest, and, further, that this responsibility is not limited to the time during which the stranger sojourns with the family, but lasts while he is on his way to other quarters. This is evidently what finds expression in the above-quoted references to the hospitality of the Slavs and Germans, as, e.g., when Mauricius, speaking of the hospitality of a certain tramp, says: "If any one shelters a guest (a merchant, or other person who has come across the boundary) for three nights in his own dwelling, and also feeds him with his own food, and further, if he does not injure another person, let that be the charge which is legally due" (C.F. Liebeschutz, Der Gesetze der Apostelkirche, 1896, p. 121).

From all this it is clear that the practice of hospitality—as a designation of which the Russ. chel'so, 'bread-salt,' derived from the ceremonial presentation of these articles of food at the reception of a guest—ought to be referred to—was of immense significance for the development of the intercourse, and, in particular, of commerce. It was likewise the starting-point of the entire hospital system of Northern Europe, special quarters for travellers being provided in the larger houses much visited by strangers, and more especially in the monasteries; and, when we speak of hospitality's sake, its came in time to be done for payment. All the Teutonic languages have a term for 'guest-house': O.N. gosti-hús, O.H.G. gast-hús, A.S. gast-hús; and O.Fris. gosti-hús, A.S. gesi, a word of obscure origin. In the Slavic tongues we find O. Slav. gospoda, Czech hospoda, etc., 'lodging;' which are derived from gosti-pod' (cf. gosti above), and originally 'protection of and lordship over guests.'

On the traces of the practice of lending a wife to a guest, see art. Cittestrav (Teutonic and Balto-Slavio), vol. III. p. 489.
HOTTENTOTS.—1. Origin and migrations.—
At the time of the discovery of the Cape of Good
Hope and its occupation by Europeans, the S.W. corner of the African continent was found to be in
the occupation of two distinct peoples, known to
us as the Bushmen and the Hottentots. Of these
the Hottentots were the dominant race. They
were almost everywhere engaged in desultory
hostilities with the Bushmen, who were doubtless
the aborigines of the country, and who were
usually treated by the Hottentots as the savage
inhabitants of a colony are too often treated by
the white colonist: they were to be exterminated,
or at least reduced to servitude. For the Hottentots
were an intrusive people. Their origin has
been the subject of considerable discussion. Their
traditions point back to a time when they dwelt in
a watered region somewhere in the centre of the
continent, from which they were driven by a
more powerful people, of a black colour, who came
down from the north or northeast (ibid. 33). An
examination of their language by philologists
has led to the discovery that it was a highly
organized tongue, akin to the ancient Egyptian and
other languages of the northern and north-eastern
part of the continent. It was inflected and
sex-determining. Its roots were monosyllabic, each
ending with a vowel, or the meaning of the word
frequently depended upon the tone. The Bushman
language was of a much more primitive type. It
was not sex-determining; it was hardly inflected at
all; and it abounded in the unorthodox sounds known
to philologists as 'clicks.' Of these sounds, how-
ever, four—and those the most easily pronounced
—were in use among the Hottentots; or five, if we
reckon the guttural peculiar to a few dialects of the
Hottentots and Bushmen. The discovery of these
linguistic facts threw an unexpected light on Hottentot
origins; and it is now generally accepted that
the Hottentots are of mixed descent, probably
due to the intermarriage of men of North African
—that is, Hamitic—lineage with women of Bush-
man race. This mixture may have begun in the
N.E. of the continent. The suggestion has been
made that the primitive ancestors of the Hottentots
were a band of Egyptian soldiers said by Herodotus
(lil. 30) to have deserted in the reign of Psam-
metichus, and to have taken service in Ethiopia,
where the king gave them a tract of land in the
occupation of his enemies, on condition that they
conquered and settled it. They would necessarily,
it is argued, have taken the women of the country,
if they had none of their own. The hypothesis is,
consequently, no more than a guess, and a guess which
may give rise to a number of difficulties; but to dismiss
it leaves the main theory untouched. The mixed
race, thus constituted, for some reason—possibly
the intermission of Bantu on their ancestral seats—
left those seats and fled to the south. As they
were a pastoral people with flocks of long-haired
sheep and hordes of cattle, they were compelled to
turn westwards, so far as to avoid the zone of the
taste-fly. Continually journeying, impelled by
causes which we do not know, but among which
the desire of time to reconquer their homes, for
which they were probably the least, they came at length
down the western side of the continent to the Cape. A
series of straggling tribes, they kept continually in
the zone of the best pasture between the sea and
the mountains or deserts of the far interior.
Finally they settled, since they could go no farther,
in a wide territory from Great Namaqualand to
the shores of the Southern Sea, from Walvis Bay
to the mouth of the Umtamvuna River, the present
boundary between Natal and Cape Colony. Their
immigration seems to have taken place at a period
not long before the discovery of the Cape, and to
have been contemporaneous with the advance of the
Bantu down the Eastern side of the continent.
It was this that stayed the progress of the Hottentots
to the shores of the Indian Ocean.

The Hottentots of Cape Colony have, for the
most part, been exterminated or driven northward
by wars with the colonists and servile oppression;
or they have suffered from the mingling of European
blood, have learned to speak a European language,
and adopted Christianity. Beyond the Orange
River the Korana people (who are emigrants from
Cape Colony) and the Namaqua have been somewhat
less industrious in preserving their racial purity,
such as it was, from white contamination. But
they have not been able to resist the disastrous
pressure of European culture any more than of
European races. They are a dwindling folk; and
—more rapidly than themselves—their language,
their traditions, and their ancient institutions are
disappearing. Their language was investigated
more than fifty years ago by Blessem (ibid. 59); their
traditions and their institutions have never been the
subject of any searching scientific inquiry on the
spot. Hence the attempt to produce an intelligible
outline of them is attended with some difficulty.

2. Characteristics, organization, and culture.—
This name and this country are described
probably it was a contemplative term bestowed by
the Boers. The Hottentots proudly called them-
selves Khoi-Khoi, 'Men of men.' They were, like
the Bushmen, a diminutive race, though by no
means tall as compared with Europeans. Their
wealth, as already intimated, consisted in flocks
and herds. Hence their settlements were never
permanently attached to one spot, and they were
separated from one another by the space necessary
for pasture. The huts were of hemispherical
shape; they were made of rush mats on a light
framework of wood, and were usually movable and
transported from place to place. Of agriculture
the Hottentots knew nothing, though they seem
to have taken kindly to it under European masters
(Theal, 172; Stow, 240; Kolben, 38; Fritsch, 280).

This nomadic mode of life was, of course,
compatible with only a very loose organization.
There were a number of independent tribes, the
chiefs of which were assisted, or sometimes controlled,
by the elders of the various families. Between
these tribes, and indeed between the smaller social
units of which the tribes were composed, there was
little cohesion; frequent, if desultory, feuds were
engaged in. Hence they easily fell a prey to the
colonists. Our information as to the internal rela-
tions of the kindred is very incomplete. Neither
the old travellers nor the modern writers on the
people have understood them. Their reports,
therefore, present contradictory features difficult
to reconcile. Their war is for hunting, and could be
for hardly influence. But the Hottentots have ever
been the people who have now passed for ever;
and any opinion about the family organization can
be expressed only with much hesitation. That the
rule was patriarchal and that inheritance was from
father to son, or, failing sons, to the nearest male
relative, to the exclusion of women, affords a pre-
sumption that the organization was by clans,
raking descent only in the male line. On the
HOTTENTOTS

other hand, in spite of polygamy, the women appear to have taken a high position. The wife was the ruler of the house, to such an extent that a man could not venture, without her permission to take from the vat so much as a mouthful of sour milk produced by the family cows. His nearest female relatives, we are told, punished a violation of this rule by beating the man himself; and if he should abuse the name, the sister would walk into his flock and take the finest cows and sheep; and no law could prevent her from doing so. Moreover, she might inflict punishment on him, though adult, for an infringement of the rules of courtesy and the code of etiquette. A woman might even become chief of the tribe, if of energetic character and the widow of a chief who left a son not yet of age. From these and other customs we infer that, if the organization was patriarchal, the opposite or matrilineal organization had left abundant traces on it (Hahn, Trans.-
geogra., 19-21).

When discovered, most of the Hottentots already possessed arms and tools. They had probably brought the knowledge of smelting from their original seats. Such weapons are not, however, valuable, and the Hottentots were a little timid in using them from the Stone Age. They were a brave and independent people, as filthy and irresponsible as savages usually are, but often provoking to anger, but kindly and hospitable.

3. Witchcraft and witch-doctors.—Like all peoples in the lower culture, the Hottentots were bound to the earth. To them the ghost was a certainty, and the grave a place, together with the apparel and implements of the deceased; otherwise removal would have been of no avail, for the ghost would follow them. They did not trust the medicine of their ancestors; nor does it appear that sacrifices were offered to ancestors as such. But it was the custom for a Hottentot, when in trouble, to go and pray at the graves of his ancestors (Hahn, 119); and, seeing that burials often took place in clefts and holes of the rocks, it is possible that the wild ceremonies described by the old writer were performed in caverns may have been invocations of the departed (Kolben, 56, quoting Vogel). Certain spots, moreover, were held sacred to famous men of the past. In going before the ghost, stop, to muffle the head in the mantle, and offer prayers to the dead man for protection of the worshipper and his cattle, and sometimes to dance round the place with singing and clapping of hands. The legends of many of these heroes were known and told. From an ancestor related by Kolben, however, it would appear that the spot often became sacred from a vague belief, arising it may be from purely accidental coincidences, that there was something uncanny about it, such as led the ancient Greeks to hallow the shrine of a hero unknown, or the Indians of British Guiana to ascribe to rocks and other inanimate objects a powerful spirit who must be honoured and mollified. There is no trace of a belief in future retribution. Rebirth, not always in human form, and shape-shifting, or transformation during sleep, appear in the stories; for the Hottentots were not different from other savage and barbarous peoples who recognized no impassable chasm between man-kind and the lower animals.

5. Food prohibitions. — The Hottentots abstained from eating fish that have no scales. The Bantu also abstain from fish, alleging as the reason their similarity to snakes—a form in which their dead frequently show themselves to the survivors. It
may be that some such reason caused the Hottentot to abstain; but this is a mere conjecture. Swine, fish, was likewise forbidden to them—on what ground we do not know. Another food prohibited, at all events to the Namaqua, was the flesh of the hare. The reason usually assigned for this was that it took, by the hare in the rage of the origin of death (cf. ERE, vol. iv. p. 415°, and vol. v. p. 706°), common in one form or other to all the South African peoples.

There is, however, another and a deeper reason for abstention from hare's flesh. The Namaqua share with the rest of the uncivilized world the belief that he who consumes the flesh of an animal absorbs that animal's qualities and becomes like it. To eat the flesh of the lion or to drink the blood of the leopard or the lion is to acquire the courage and strength of those beasts. In like manner to eat hare's flesh is to become as faith-hearted as a hare (Hahn, 106).

6. Moon and stars.—In connexion with the tale of the origin of death it may be observed that there is some ground for thinking that the moon was invoked by the Hottentots. At new moon and full moon they spent the night in dance, singing, and merrymaking. One old writer also speaks of their sitting at new moon on the banks of a river and throwing balls of clay into the water. It is by no means clear what was the exact meaning of these proceedings. It is possible that they were a rain-charm. The older writers may be roughly divided into two classes—those who denied that the Hottentots had any religion, and those who ascribed to them an idea of God as lofty as their own. Both these representations may safely be discounted. The ceremonies at new and full moon, which we are told, no inclemency of weather prevented, may be, as Kolben (p. 98) emphatically asserts, 'religious honours and invocations to the moon, that he who consumes the flesh of an inferior visible god, the subject and representative of the High and Invisible,' may be altogether beyond the mark. Since she was held to influence the weather, the rites were probably intended to induce or magically compel her aid. More than that cannot safely be said. Certain of the constellations also were known and named. At the first rising of the Pleiades after sunset a religious dance was held, with prayers to Tenni-goob for rain. Stars were said to be the eyes or souls of the dead, and the fate of a hero or a hero's name was connected with the position of a star or group of stars. The mummification of the dead into stars, not unlike that entertained by some of the Australian tribes.

7. Omens.—Many animals were observed for omens. If a hare crossed the hunter's path, he would return home; on the contrary, if it ran in the same direction as he was going, it was a good sign. The korsaan (ois kors) brought luck if it did not fly far from the hunter and soon again sat down. A certain kind of chameleon creeping on a hunter or his weapons or belongings, while he rested on the road, prognosticated success. This, rather than any worship directed to the insect, is the probable explanation of the rites so graphically described by Kolben and in general terms confirmed by Hahn as performed when the mantis appeared. It was, for some reason unknown to us, regarded as a favourable omen of the highest significance. If it went so far as to alight on man or woman, the fattest ox belonging to the kraal was killed. The lucky person received the entrails and wore the cant twisted about his neck until it rotted off, or until some other person was honoured by the mantis in a similar way. The flesh of the mantis was boiled, and the men or the women feasted on it according to the sex of the person on whom the mantis had alighted. The mantis, of course, was never killed or injured, for to do this would turn the omen into disaster and destruction (ibid., 98).

8. Mythology.—Hottentot mythology, so far as it has descended to us, is meagre. Setting aside stories relating to the lower animals (many of them, as we have seen, derived from the tales of the Namaqua), it is based chiefly on the adventures of two mythical beings, who were the subjects of tradition and the object of worship—Tenni-goob and Helitsi-ei-ei. The latter was a sort of culture-hero among the Namaqua and their neighbouring tribes. The traditions concerning him can only be summarized, for he is not so well known as Tenni-goob, the tale of a young girl who had chewed a kind of grass and swallowed the juice. The boy was as remarkable as his birth. He committed incest with his mother. He killed monsters. He fought and conquered great lions, and put wild beasts between the lion's seed and mankind. He cursed the lion and the vulture. To his commands are ascribed the habits of these creatures, as well as certain human observances. He died from eating the fruit of a raisin-tree, which is consequently prohibited; in fact, it causes dysentery and, if re-turned to life. He was an adept in shape-shifting. Another legend represents him as being born again as a young bull from a cow pregnant from eating grass. He has, moreover, a spirit that lives in the graves are found all over the country, usually in mountain passes. Natives who go by throw pieces of clothing or other articles of no value on them to keep them from mischievous spirits. He is held in awe and is believed to be powerful and indeed at times shrikes in all parts of the world. Sometimes more substantial offerings of honey or honey-beer are made. He is glad when men thus honour him. He still gives the Khoi-Khoi good advice, tells them how to keep the lion's children and other wild animals, and prevents danger from befalling them, if they entertain him. These stories present few traits not common to those of mythical heroes elsewhere.

The other personage is more important. He seems to have been known to all the Hottentots. His name, Tenni-goob, also written Teiti-goob, and in other ways, is usually translated 'sore (or wounded) knee.' The story told by an aged witchdoctor in explanation to Moffat was that Tenni-goob was a notable warrior of great physical strength, that in a desperate struggle with a giant, his brother, the giant received a wound in the knee, but having vanquished his enemy he abandoned his companion, who, having successfully defended his nation independent, for no one could conquer the Tenni-goob (wound knee) (ibid., Missionary Labour... in B. Africa, London, 1854, p. 136).

This derivation, however, is discredited by Hahn, who interprets it as the Red Dawn. His reasons are chiefly philological, elaborated under the influence of the mythological theorems current in the middle of last century. But he adduces two other considerations—that the Korana believe Tenni-goob to live in the Red Heaven or Red Sky, and that another mythological personage whom he equates with him, called 'The Man whose body has a brass-coloured backbone,' was addressed as 'Thou who paintest thyself with red ochre.' These reasons are obviously insufficient. Another account of the Korana belief makes Tenni-goob dwell beyond the blue sky, in a light sky. Red ochre is a substance commonly used by savages to paint themselves and the objects of their reverence; and it was so used by the Hottentots. Wishing for rain at the rising of the Pleiades, some of the tribes, when Hahn wrote, still addressed Teiti-goob in a traditional song as 'Father of the Fathers.' The question of his true character depends solely on the way in which we are to construe this phrase. A Korana tradition declares that he made two persons, a man, Laatme (Ovirieth Feather) and a woman, Hai na Mao (Yellow Copper). He gave them cows,
whose shift they should drink, a jerkal-fall to wipe the perspiration off the brow, a staff with a disc (kouv), a quiver with arrows, and a shield. From Temi-goab they expect all good things" (Hahn, 106).

Hahn, who found this statement among his notes, is uncertain of its source, but attributes it "very likely" to a missionary, Wurals. The last sentence, it is to be noted, seems a summary of what is the traditional character of many of the conclusions expressed (not without diffidence) above.

LITERATURE.—Notices and accounts more or less fragmentary are to be found scattered through the writings of the older travellers and missionaries. The fullest and most accurate information is given in P. Kolben, The Present State of the Cape of Good Hope, tr. Medley, 2 vols., London, 1723 (vol. I. alone relates to the Hottentots and has been alone cited above); and of more recent works in G. Fritsch, Die Binnensteere Süd-Afrikas, with an atlas of portraits, Breslau, 1878; W. H. F. Bock, Konger the Fox in South Africa, London, 1864 (a collection of Hottentot folk-tales chiefly from MS in Sir George Grey's library at Cape Town); T. Hahn, Temi-goab, The Supreme Being of the Khoi-Khoi, London, 1882; G. W. Stow, The Bushmen Races of South Africa, ed. Theal, London, 1900 (a painstaking but incomplete work, the author having died before half his task was finished); and G. McCall Theal, The Yellow and Dark-skinned Peoples of the Kamehame, London, 1910. E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

HOURS.—See WORSHIP (Christian).

HOUSE.—See HANDICRAFT.

HOVAS.—See MADAGASCAR.

HUGUENOTS.—French Protestantism was a native product of 1612-28. It had in the past, for the Albigenses (g.v.) had been exterminated, the Waldenses (g.v.) had emigrated, the university of Paris was the centre of Scholasticism, and the reforms of Gerson contemplated no breach with medieval theology. Except for the encouragement given by the sight of other successful revolts from Rome, it owed little to foreign influence. On the other hand, the system of doctrine thought out by Calvin, and the organization elaborated in Paris, had been adopted to some extent in every Protestant country except Scandinavia, and the French Protestant exiles have enriched not north Europe alone, but America and South Africa.

Jacques Le Févre was the Erasmus of the French reform, laying billets he feared to read out by 1612, following the example of Colast, he published a new annotated Latin version of Paul's Epistles, recognizing his doctrine of justification. In 1623 he began to revise the classical French version of the Vulgate. But the group of Humanists, protected at Meaux by the bishop, did little more than reform that diocese and leave it to the evangelical preaching. The political situation was dominated by the fact that Francis I. in 1516 made a Concordat with Rome, whereby he recognized the Papal rights of canonical institution and of exorcising anathem, and secured for himself all valuable ecclesiastical patronage. With the clergy thus rendered subservient, no motive remained for desire reform. The Council of Sess (1528-29) showed that the clergy were equally content, now that all French sees and abbeys were reserved for them. The nobility, however, feared that their rights and their material resources rapidly diminishing, and were accessible to new ideas. And in the Third Estate, craftsmen and artisans, suffering from the influx of precious metals, and they also provided a receptive soil.

The leader was John Calvin (1509-64), a Picard, trained in theology and law (see CALVINISM, vol. ii. p. 146 f.); but in 1534 he had to flee owing to his friend Nicolas Cop advocating evangelical views in his rectorial address at Paris. Finding that the movement was impeded by the ascetic and circular of the Abanabists and by some of their
the most, he published in 1536 the *Institutes of the Christian Religion* for casting the purified metal into the old moulds, but adding two sections dealing with the current slanders, and dedicating the work to Francis. The book was the first valuable dogmatic treatise, and soon was enlarged and translated widely. A revision of Laufrev's Bible version in 1536 by another Picard, Olivetan, and the appearance of Clément Marot's metrical version of the Psalms, were other treasured aids.

Some adherents were exasperated by the refusal of the clergy to reform, and their placarding of handbills attacking the old doctrines and usages that irritated the Catholics. Francis had wavered for a time, but, when he found one of these broadsheets on his bedroom door, he adopted a policy of extermination, announced in 1536, and seldom abandoned during the century. An organized congregation discovered at Meaux in 1546 was stamped out, but the movement spread. Henry II (1547–59) created a special committee of the Paris Parliament—the chief organ of justice—to systematize the proceedings. They proved ineffectual, and by 1553 a congregation was formed even in Paris, while four years later a synod of twelve congregations met and organized a National Evangelical Church. A confession was adopted, reflecting the influence of Calvin. His plan of governing each congregation by minister and elders was followed, and a system was begun of linking the congregations by synods of ministers and elders, much as the South German Anabaptists had arranged a generation earlier. As the movement extended, local synods grouped naturally by the civil provinces and the provincial synods were finally merged in one National Synod. The plan was rapidly adopted by Presbyterians everywhere.

The Synod of 1559 is a landmark, inaugurating a new day in the history of the Church. The repetition of the blood were saved by a forced conversion, but every other leader of note fell, with thousands of humble adherents. The survivors reflected their organization on quite representative lines, till there appeared a State within the State, independent of the feudal nobility and of the Crown. With the accession of Henry III (1574–89), two other parties defined themselves: the League of thronging Catholics, who copied the Huguenot organization, and the Political, who aimed at internal peace and the exclusion of foreign influence, as of the Guises and Catherine. The States-General of 1576, packed by the League, declared for unity; Henry, who had retracted his forced conversion, became heir-presumptive in 1584, the League was driven to a policy of exclusion. Four years later, the States-General declared against even toleration; but the arrogance of the Guises led to their assassination by order of the king, and, with the death of Catherine and the counterassassination of the king, Navarre succeeded as Henry IV (1589–1610).

The League was so strong that Henry found it politic to become a Catholic in 1589; he was able to banish the Jesuits next year, and in 1598 to grant the Edict of Nantes, destined to continue for 87 years, in great contrast to its many ephemeral predecessors. This declared Catholicism to be the established religion, maintaining the obligation of tithes and of the marriage laws; but it stopped persecution and recognized freedom of conscience, with the right of every subject to own religion. The "so-called reformed" public worship was legalized in every place where it was then actually practised—about 200 towns, with five chief cities excepted; also in many other places, and in two places within every bailiwick. All synods were authorized to meet. On the civil side, not only were full civil rights guaranteed, and for
HUGUENOTS

ministers such treatment as the clergy received, but committees of Parliament dealing with cases involving Protestants were to have Protestant members; and if no Protestant was available, about 200 towns were left in their military possession, the garrisons being paid by the State. Rapid development and "temperance" arose in numbers, with theological college at Nantes, Saint Denis, Die, Sedan, Montauban, etc., while domestic piety was nurtured by the Geneva revision in 1588 of Calvin's Bible.

With the assassination of Henry IV. and the accession of his son, Louis XIII. (1609-43), the tendency to absolute royal power increased, as was shown by no States-General being convoked after 1614. During the minority, the Jesuits quietly returned, and won many of the clergy to Ultra- montane views. The rise of Richelieu in 1624 frightened the Huguenots into revolt, and, when La Rochelle fell after four years, their separate political existence ended, and their fortifications were demolished everywhere. The Peace of Alais in 1629 inaugurated a third period, when they were merely tolerated as inferiors, without any guarantee that the Edict of Nantes would be observed. Nobles dropped off, as with the English Puritans after 1660, and the party became chiefly middle-class.

Richelieu and Mazarin, however, gave the Protestants fair play, so that in the troubled days of the Fronde they were loyal. Devoting themselves to manufacture and trade, and not being handicapped by the asceticism of their days, they gained nearly a monopoly of weaving wool, linen, and silk. Though they could hardly have muttered more than one million people out of fifteen at their peak, their importance was far greater. The Edict of Nantes was construed liberally, and public worship was actually maintained in 631 principal places, with 231 others subordinate. The synods met freely, though the National Synod needed special authorization, and a royal commissioneer presided. Thought ripened space under these conditions, and, while Britain the Church of God was hardening, the Huguenots preserved a more open mind. Dalilé's Traité de l'état des églises protestantes, written in 1632 and translated by 1651, did much to break down the authority of the Fathers and exalt the Bible. At Saumur also were sown the seeds which, transplanted to England, were to produce the Deists, though the later emigrants, such as Maude, Gailhard, de Lusancy, took the field against Secularists.

At this time the Huguenots were important enough even to influence foreign affairs. The Synod of Charenton in 1644 condemned the Independents as being against the Church of God, and the excommunication of Charles II., Amyrart and Bochart published books on the Divine Right of Kings, two others translated at The Hague and at Orange the États Basilié, while de Saumaise and Pierre du Moulin, rector of St. John in Chester, put forth royalist Latin pamphlets. William Dugard, Master of Merchant Taylors', translated de Saumaise into English and printed it on his own press. He was soon converted, rather forcibly, and not only did he publish Milton's response, but he became "Printer to the Crown". Also, in 1651, the Intendant of James's friend, accepted the chair of history at Oxford in 1648, and in 1680 published a work on the Conformity of the Discipline and Government of the Independents to that of the Ancient Primitive Christians. The libraries of Arundel, Sancroft, and Charles II. were in charge of Huguenots, and the court of this king even had an official Huguenot ambassador.

These halcyon days ended soon after the collapse of the English Commonwealth and Charles, about 200 towns were left in their military possession, the garrisons being paid by the State. Rapid development and 'temperance' arose in numbers, with theological college at Nantes, Saint Denis, Die, Sedan, Montauban, etc., while domestic piety was nurtured by the Geneva revision in 1588 of Calvin's Bible.

With the assassination of Henry IV. and the accession of his son, Louis XIII. (1609-43), the tendency to absolute royal power increased, as was shown by no States-General being convoked after 1614. During the minority, the Jesuits quietly returned, and won many of the clergy to Ultra- montane views. The rise of Richelieu in 1624 frightened the Huguenots into revolt, and, when La Rochelle fell after four years, their separate political existence ended, and their fortifications were demolished everywhere. The Peace of Alais in 1629 inaugurated a third period, when they were merely tolerated as inferiors, without any guarantee that the Edict of Nantes would be observed. Nobles dropped off, as with the English Puritans after 1660, and the party became chiefly middle-class.

Richelieu and Mazarin, however, gave the Protestants fair play, so that in the troubled days of the Fronde they were loyal. Devoting themselves to manufacture and trade, and not being handicapped by the asceticism of their days, they gained nearly a monopoly of weaving wool, linen, and silk. Though they could hardly have muttered more than one million people out of fifteen at their peak, their importance was far greater. The Edict of Nantes was construed liberally, and public worship was actually maintained in 631 principal places, with 231 others subordinate. The synods met freely, though the National Synod needed special authorization, and a royal commissioneer presided. Thought ripened space under these conditions, and, while Britain the Church of God was hardening, the Huguenots preserved a more open mind. Dalilé's Traité de l'état des églises protestantes, written in 1632 and translated by 1651, did much to break down the authority of the Fathers and exalt the Bible. At Saumur also were sown the seeds which, transplanted to England, were to produce the Deists, though the later emigrants, such as Maude, Gailhard, de Lusancy, took the field against Secularists.

At this time the Huguenots were important enough even to influence foreign affairs. The Synod of Charenton in 1644 condemned the Independents as being against the Church of God, and the excommunication of Charles II., Amyrart and Bochart published books on the Divine Right of Kings, two others translated at The Hague and at Orange the États Basilié, while de Saumaise and Pierre du Moulin, rector of St. John in Chester, put forth royalist Latin pamphlets. William Dugard, Master of Merchant Taylors', translated de Saumaise into English and printed it on his own press. He was soon converted, rather forcibly, and not only did he publish Milton's response, but he became "Printer to the Crown". Also, in 1651, the Intendant of James's friend, accepted the chair of history at Oxford in 1648, and in 1680 published a work on the Conformity of the Discipline and Government of the Independents to that of the Ancient Primitive Christians. The libraries of Arundel, Sancroft, and Charles II. were in charge of Huguenots, and the court of this king even had an official Huguenot ambassador.

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louis d’ors had been brought to the Mint for
conversion into English coins; the total loss in
merchandise was estimated at 35,000:000 livres.
Marshad Vanban indeed trebled this figure, but
was more in his element when saying that France had
lost 140,000 soldiers, and 300 officers. The towns of
coloniasts arose in Württemberg, where French
syndos met until 1892: Hambourg still maintains a
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most of the exiles on to the Mark or the Nether-
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The Calvinists of Holland gave an abundant
welcome to their brethren. Collections were
organised and loans granted, with support for the
pastors; the craftsmen were allowed to practice
and even welcomed into the guilds; and taxes were
not levied for a term of years. Soon a synod of
200 exiled ministers met in Rotterdam, which
visitors declared to be well-nigh French. Richly
did the Huguenots repay their hosts. Some went
to the colonies; in 1664 other exiles occupied
Staten Island; and a New Rochelle arose on the
banks of the Hudson. Under another flag
all received naturalization in 1708. In Guiana,
Huguenots established Paramaribo; to the Cape went
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services were maintained at first; thirty new churches arose, especially in Spitalfields, where the silk industry soon increased threefold, and in the metropolis of Soho. Some of the pastors, however, threw themselves into English life; de l'Aigle from the great temple of Charlemont, pastor of the Huguenots; de Vail passed through it to the Baptists, Capell of Savannah taught in an Independent academy.

A club arose at the Rainbow Coffee House in Fleet Street, under the name of the Exekiarch. Here met Rapin Thoryas, Le Moivre, La Croze, Coste, friend and translator of Locke, and Bayle; such men as science and letters soon created a new public feeling which embittered the popular English mind against the France of Louis XIV. Bayle's Dictionnaire was translated in 1709 by Le Roche and others, and had no small share in the Deist movement; against that may be set Jurieu's Treatise of Devotion, and Drelincourt on Death. A new political doctrine, the Social Contract, was opposed to the Divine Right of Kings, by Jurieu and Abbade; and, though they may have inherited it from the English Commonwealth men, it was destined to be taken from the Club by Voltaire and Rousseau, and to work in France by the pen of Rousseau. Scores of less known pamphleteers were the mainstay of the Whig cause for a generation, when the London merchants addressed King George, 99 out of 542 names were Huguenot, showing how large a proportion of commerce had fallen to them. This devotion to the land of their adoption was old standing; as early as 1655 a society was formed to further true religion in England, and, fired by the new spirit of Methodism, the Christian Communion was made. The attempt was made to train new pastors in England, and the descendants of the immigrants learned not only to speak but to worship in English. Before 1780 most of the French services were discontinued; fifty years later there remained only four congregations in London, with others at Norwich, Canterbury, Southampton, Plymouth, and Bristol; to-day there are two chapels in Soho, one using the English liturgy in French. The absorption was quickened by a grant of general naturalization in 1774, and the gain in this department of national life is suggested by such names as Chamberlain, de la Rue, Dollond, Dumaresq, Gembler, Hambury, Labrothers, Layard, Marvinse, Portal, Pouey, Rapin, Romilly.

In Ireland the great family of Ruvigny earned a new title as Earls of Galway, and laid out a model town as Ffortarlington, whose school turned out such men as the Duke of Wellington; not till 1817 did its French service cease. Fontaine and others published all their works at Cork; and, though these were ruined by English legislation, Croommelin was more fortunate with the thousands and looms for linen and cambric wherever he found them in Ireland; the French church here lasted till 1798. Waterford received manufactures and a wine trade, while its abbey resounded with French eloquence till 1818.

Tillers of the soil passed on to America, some to Oxford in Massachusetts, thousands through New York to Pennsylvania, the home of liberty. The new and balmié Carolinas attracted most; French Huguenots were laid out with vines and olives, and began to weave silk and wool. For a while the settlers looked wistfully to Louisiane, but when the tax law was passed the privileges were freely tendered in the English colonies, strengthening not only the Carolinas, but Virginia and Maryland.

The Huguenots of the Dispersion thus carried with them to a Protestant land a wealth of probity, industry, gallantry, history, scholarship, science. Calvinism had too often become unlovely by transplantation; now it was invigorated and sweetened by this recent spring from the fighting stocks. But the France which thus impoverished itself paid dearly; it was hard to believe in priests who were denounced on persecution, as unchristian or phrasmatic. The typical ecclesiastical was no longer Pélisson, but Talleyrand. Through the insipid and pusillanimous 18th cent., the Huguenots of the home land not only existed, but proved the very salt of the earth.

For a generation after 1685 they had, indeed, been deprived of all public worship and of pastors. Those who ventured back or stealth were often kidnapped into secret prisons, and their sober work was ill replaced by the ministry of the Prophets. But, with the new situation created by failure in war, a new species of pastor arose to minister to the Church in the Desert, men able to inspire and to reorganize. Leading preachers were told off to conduct peripatetic schools, and synods began again whose minutes were recorded. Even in March 1715 the aged Grand Monarch had to admit that there were many Frenchmen who on their death-beds declined the rites of Holy Church; and the revival dated from that very year. The whole reign of Louis XV. (1715-74) certainly saw the persecuting laws maintained, and often executed, and in codifying them even added the touch that no marriage was valid outside the Established Church. But it proved as vain to fine people for absence from service as when Elizabeth tried it; and James VII.'s plan of levying on even village where the Covenanters met broke down as badly in France. Antoine Courtois began a seminary at Lausanne to supply trained pastors. Paul Rabaut proved himself a true Apostle of the Desert. Such huge gatherings came to hear him and other leaders that in 1748 the Assembly of the clergy pressed for a rigid persecution, which for seven years sent a large stream of emigrants abroad. By 1755 the Protestants of Saintonge even dared to build Houses of Prayer. A national Synod the same year showed that there were again 10 ecclesiastical provinces with 48 pastors; and seven years later another showed 14, with 28 pastors and 36 licentiates. By this time Catholic fervour had died down, and the soldiery did not like to enforce the laws. A crisis came after the execution of a pastor merely for preaching, marrying, and giving ordination; an atrocious miscarriage of justice caught Voltaire's attention, and in 1763 he issued a treatise on Toleration. With the accession of Louis XVI. in 1774, there came to power Turges, who even earlier had published on the same theme. When a circular letter was ordered to be sent to all bishops, he sent it also to all the Protestant pastors of the south, thus acknowledging their existence, their status, their weight. Protestant records of birth and baptism were admitted as evidence.

Lafayette returned from America with fresh ideas on freedom, and in 1787 induced the Assembly of Notables to petition for the removal of Protestant disabilities; despite clerical opposition, civil registration of marriage, birth, and death was made valid that year. With the gathering of the States-General in 1789, public worship was conducted with open doors in Paris. By March 1790 the National Assembly was presided over by a young pastor, Rabaut St. Etienne, and it decreed that all property in royal hands or more than a century and a half ago from Protestant emigrants should be restored to their heirs, who might return and take up citizenship.

During the Reign of Terror, the aged Rabaut was silenced, and his brilliant descendant was
gulicled—names shared by other pastors.—while all buildings for worship were closed. But, when Napoleon I. was marrying Marie Louise, in 1810, he grasped at the request of the Paris Protestants for a concurrent endeavor, and secured in return a control over their Church. The State dictated the constitution of the sessions of synods, the composition of the seminary, and even the number of pastors; a veto on all appointments was reserved also. It proved that there were about 430,000 Protestants in 171 churches, with 121 pastors. There was no property except the places of worship and the seminary, which was in 1809 transferred to Montauban and annexed to the university as a faculty of theology.

When the hand of Napoleon was removed, and the Catholic Church was over, the Church began to grow. First Scotch theology quickened native thinking, then German. Even under the Legitimists there arose a Bible Society, a Tract Society, a Foreign Mission Society, in 1835. Leave was withheld for a National Synod to assemble, but an informal meeting in 1846 resulted in a division. A minority seceded, repudiating freedom, adopted an evangelical confession, and arranged for biennial synods. The moderates clung to State pay, but drafted a scheme of reorganization on the historic lines which the State refused to sanction.

In 1872 a National Synod met, the first since 1860, and the division was perpetuated. The general question of 1835, which separated all Churches from the State and abolished all State pay, has given rise to a third section aiming at reconciliation. There are nearly 600,000 of the Reformers, according to the statistics adopted by 1000 pastors, with good organization and equipment. The influence on the national life is so important that it is only too easy to raise an outcry against the domination of the Protestants. International reputations have been won by Janet, Sabatier, and Schérer in theology, by Cuvier and de Quatrefages in science, by F. Guérard and Waddington in politics. The religious strength may be gauged by the honourable share taken in evangelizing the world. A mission to the Cape in 1829 extended to the East Indies four years later, and has met with much success, while the Zambesi was occupied in 1844; within French possessions, the Tahitian and Malay work was taken over from the London Missionary Society soon after annexation; in north Africa there are missions at Senegal and the Gabon, to the Kabyli, and on the French Congo.


HUICHOLS.—This tribe, numbering to-day about 4000 souls, lives in a mountainous country, difficult of access, in the N.W. part of the Mexican State of Jalisco, on a spur of the great Sierra Madre. They are the earliest neighbours of the Coras, or Nayaritas, to whom they are related by language, religion, and customs. Both tribes in the 18th cent. had been Christianized. The Coras still retain a priest and call themselves Christians, although their Christianity is to a large extent mixed up with pagan customs. But the Huichols, since the departure of the padres, have kept back into their ancient religious practice, and represent a very curious survival of ancient Mexican religious faith and idolatry.

The principal god of the Huichols is Tlapallan, 'our grandfather,' the fire-god. He is the god of life and health, and the particular god of the shamans, especially of those who heal and prophesy. He was the first who sat down on a chair, and is held to be more ancient even than the sun. Sometimes he is represented not by one, but by two images. One stands above ground and the other in a cavity beneath it. The latter is invariably the smaller and the elder of the two, and is regarded as closely associated with the sun after it has set, or the center of the world, while the upper image is supposed to be associated with the sun of the day-time, or of the upper world. There exists another form of the ancient fire-god, called Tlaloc, 'water god.' Several Huichol pictures are reproduced on the cover.

He is considered to be the spark produced by striking flint, and is the chief-deer god.
The sun is called by the Huichols Tavv's, or Tavv, 'our father,' or Tawvira, 'our eagle.' It is related that the ancient shamans made Father Sun by throwing the young son of the Corn Mother (or, according to others, the young son of young Mother Eagle, the goddess of the Sky) into an oven, arrayed in full attire, with sandals, pouches, and tobacco gourd, coiled in a circle. A hole was then bored in the oven the boy travelled underneath the ground, and rose as the sun in the East. The assistant of Father Sun is Tavv's Sakanonca, an image whom stands on the high mesa of the Nayarit, above the Cora pueblo of Sierra del Mayarit, where the Coras and Huichols deposit ceremonial arrows and other offerings in a cave. Tawv is considered to be the 'serpent-god,' represented by a zigzag line of blue colour, and was in former times 'the Sun's arrow.'

The great god of the Coras and Huichols is Tabátdí (Cora) or Tandáki (Huichol), 'our elder brother,' the god of the morning star. He is the messenger of the gods; and, when the shamans sing, he accompanies their music and offers his song to the other gods. He himself is called tonosmí, the 'singer,' by the Huichols. He is, at the same time, declared to be the god of wind and air. He is a vision of the god, who made the first arrows for the gods, the god of the hunter, and himself represented by a gigantic deer.

The growth of maize and other vegetables is ascribed to a goddess, called Takotsi Nákenok, 'our grandmother's growth.' She is the mother of the gods, especially of Grandfather Fire. All the earth belongs to her, and she lives in the under world. People implore her for long life, because she is very old. The goddess called Táte Tuirikéts, 'our mother, house of the little ones,' the goddess of conception and birth, and Táte Ite Oteganta, 'our mother the Cora,' the special goddess of maize and other vegetables, seem to be other forms of the same divinity.

Táte Naalimolni, the red serpent, the red cloud, is mainly a water- and rain-serpent who brings rain from the East. She is the creator of squashes and of all flowers, and takes special care of children. Her complementary deities are Táte Kyenimoko, a white serpent whose dwelling is in the West, and who brings rain from the West; Táte Yawrenda, a blue serpent, living in the Laguna de la Magdalena, four days' journey south of the Huichol country, who brings rain from the South; and Táte Bateks Keen, living on the lagoon to the north of the Huichol country, who brings rain from the North. Finally, the goddess of the heavens, the Corn Mother (or, according to some, the maiden eagle), is the mother of Father Sun; she holds the world in her talons, and guards everything from above, where she dwells. The stars are her dress. All these gods and goddesses are clearly recognizable counterparts of well-known Mexican divine types.

The cult of the Huichols consists in libations, in offerings of food and drink, and in preparing cakes of the ground seeds of Amaranthus leucocarpus, called scare by the Huichols (= Mex. sauchilt). Besides the cakes of this kind, they offer to their gods remarkable symbolic objects. They are embodiments of prayers, or charms intended to produce the object of the prayer, and are mainly found in the god-house and sacred gourd. Ceremonial arrows (ulu), sometimes in great numbers, are stuck into the inner side of the thatched roofs of the god-houses, or into the seats of ceremonial chairs, and the heads of arrows in the columns. The colours and shapes are attached to the arrows, and others hang from the roof, while on the altar may be seen wooden carved and painted wooden images of the animals dedicated to the god.

Another kind of symbolic object is called nezilika, 'face.' These are shields, round in shape, made by interweaving pieces of split bamboo with cotton cord, or various colored cattail, and mythological figures being represented in the weaving. They are mostly prepared for Tavv's, 'Father Sun,' and Táte Naalimolni, 'Mother East-water.' The central part, a hole defined by a ring, represents the hole through which the god sees. Compare the ancient Mexican ceremonial object, called nácholom, 'instrument of seeing,' the special outfit of the Mexican god of fire and of Tezcatilipoca. The objects called namá, 'mat,' of rectangular shape, seem to be representative of a cloth hanging over the back of the gods.

Curious ceremonial objects are those called niki, 'eye'—crosses of split bamboo, interwoven with crewel or yarn, and resembling in the most striking way objects that are met with in Peruvian graves. These objects are tied to the twine of bark fibre and offered to the gods. They are called koka, 'bead,' 'necklace,' as they are looked upon as the necklaces of the gods to whom they are dedicated. In October the feast of green squashes is held, called wuind kúndri, 'to beat the drum,' the squashes representing the gourd-rattle (kúndri)—the rattling noise which the dry seeds make inside the squash when shaken. The children are brought to the god-house, wearing on the head a niki, or 'eye' (which in this ceremony seems to represent the squash-flowers), and carrying rattles in their hands. For this feast is held in honour of Táte Naalimolni, the creator of squashes and all flowers, the special patroness of children. It is a great prayer for growth, health, luck, and plenty to eat.

All priests and shamans use tobacco, which the Huichols, like the ancient Mexicans, regard about with them in a gourd hanging over the back. This tobacco-gourd being the essential and most necessary outfit of priests of every class. Besides tobacco, there is another intoxicating plant which plays a very important part in the life of the modern Huichols and other living tribes of the Mexicans, as it did, according to the chroniclers, with the Chichimeca, the nomadic tribes of the northern part of Mexico in ancient pre-Hispanic times. This plant, called in the Mexican language pepoll (by the Huichols, huachumaras), and other tribes of the Sierra, níchitl, is a small species of cactus (= Anakalium Leavini, Hinnings), which grows abundantly in the central mesa, especially in a country which the Huichols call Pálîataz, far from the mining town Real Catorce, in the State of San Luis Potosi. It is thought to be necessary to procure it every year, to ensure the country against drought; and there are large October parties of from two to twelve start on a pilgrimage to Pálîataz; the journey, which is accompanied by various coloured crests and characters, much fasting and praying, required 45 days. The leader of the party and the second in order
HUMANISM. — "Humanism" in philosophy is opposed to Naturalism and Absolutism (qq.v.); it designates the philosophic attitude which regards the interpretation of human experience as the primary concern of all philosophising, and asserts the adequacy of human knowledge for this purpose. Epicyclic man into the centre of the intellectual universe and giving to all science and literature a reference to human life and its purposes, philosophic connects itself with literary Humanism (see following article). The literary Humanism of the Renaissance, which was essentially an attempt to emancipate thought and education from what it considered the narrow scholastic routine of the Middle Ages. This revivified and modernised the "human letters" (i.e. of classical, and more particularly Greek, literature), the texts of which are included in philosophic Humanism as one of its manifestations. The intellectual movement of the 5th cent. B.C. in Greece, which was initiated by the Sophists and continued by Socrates, is also to be cited as such an era of human revolt against the domination of pedantic, abstract, and sterile speculations in the case the systems of the metaphysical physiologers. In fact, modern Humanism is so largely and awesomely a conscious revival of the critical relativism of Protagoras and appeals so explicitly to his maxim that "man is the measure of all things" that it may without injustice be described as Neo-Protagoreanism. But, though Humanism is confessedly a relativism, and as such is a denial of the certainties of the world and the true, and is opposed to every form of Absolutism (whether in metaphysics or in epistemology) which ignores or destroys their relation to man, it denies on behalf both of itself and of its forerunners that its relativism is to be identified with scepticism. It holds, on the contrary, that the truth and reality for man with all men are also sufficient for man, and that scepticism is the inevitable outcome of Absolutism so soon as it is perceived that "absolute" truth and reality can only be so defined as to be (in fact) unattainable by man. Founding itself on the assumption of the inadequacy of human knowledge to human needs and in contenting itself with, in being critical, rather than dogmatistically disdaining, of metaphysics and, about all, in admitting every hypothesis as worth trying which has a human interest and appeals to any side of human nature. It is this open-mindedness that may bring it into conflict with Naturalism, as it may reconcile it even with Absolutism, in so far as the latter can be exhibited as really containing an answer to genuine human needs, and, above all, it is in dispute whether any "absolutist" doctrine of knowledge, truth, and reality can really establish any relation between its ideals and the human uses of these terms.

To Pragmatism (q.v.), Humanism is closely related. But Pragmatism, though it sends its roots down into a number of sciences, is intrinsically a theory of knowledge, while Humanism is a more general philosophic attitude. William James calls it "a ferment that has come to stay," and a "shifting in the philosophic perspective, manifest... appear as from a new centre of interest" (Meaning of Truth, p. 121). It may be regarded as a natural and logical development of the Pragmatic method of testing knowledge by its human value, and as a process of knowledge undermines the "independence" of the sciences and humanises them; their claim to absoluteness cannot survive the discovery of their man-made character and of the artificial and methodological nature of their principles, even when they seem most abstract and unhuman. Humanism, therefore, like Pragmatism, primarily the name for a method, and not for a system of philosophy; it is more particularly a protest against the dehumanising of logic which results from assuming a standard and absolute "truth," and purpose of judgments may be abstracted from in considering their cognitive purport. The humanist attitude implies also a critical method of estimating the value of the claims to truth put forward by the various systems of metaphysics. This necessarily renders it very destructive to what is called "metaphysics." For metaphysical systems have usually been put forward dogmatically, with claims resting on self-evident "intuitions" or an alleged completeness, and with pretensions to absolute and exclusive truth. To their humanist critic, however, no claims are valid merely as such; all must be validated by the value of the world and the true, and is opposed to every form of Absolute (whether in metaphysics or in epistemology) which ignores or destroys their relation to man, it denies on behalf both of itself and of its forerunners that its relativism is to be identified with scepticism. It holds, on the contrary, that the truth and reality for man with all men are also sufficient for man, and that scepticism is the inevitable outcome of Absolutism so soon as it is perceived that "absolute" truth and reality can only be so defined as to be (in fact) unattainable by man. Founding itself on the assumption of the inadequacy of human knowledge to human needs and in contenting itself with, in being critical, rather than dogmatistically disdaining, of metaphysics and, about all, in admitting every hypothesis as worth trying which has a human interest and appeals to any side of human nature. It is this open-mindedness that may bring it into conflict with Naturalism, as it may reconcile it even with Absolutism, in so far as the latter can be exhibited as really containing an answer to genuine human needs, and, above all, it is in dispute whether any "absolutist" doctrine of knowledge, truth, and reality can really establish any relation between its ideals and the human uses of these terms.
so to some extent different in each case. It follows that it is not so much the right to construct metaphysics that is called in question as the claim to infallibility of man. Thus Humanism makes for toleration and abolishes the right to personal inspiration, though it might apparently be held in an absolute and immutable truth which is the same for all, but substitutes for this the notion of a common truth which rests upon social agreement and is being continuously elaborated and improved in the growth of human knowledge. The general effect of this, again, is to diminish the philosophical importance of dialectical syllogisms which appear only to a few, and of merely intellectual reasoning as such, and to enhance that of the common-sense notions which have long ago been evolved by man for the guidance of his actions.

**Literature.**—Historically the philosophical usage of the word 'Humanism' is of very recent origin. It seems first to have been incidentally as a tentative descriptive term, equated to 'anthropocentric' and opposed to 'naturalistic' in A. Seth Friggas-Frisell's *Men's Place in the Cosmos*, London, 1907, p. 21; also in *Nord. Rev. For. Art.* (1908) 445, used by W. Child, of the University of Uppsala; and cf. *Athenaeum* (1908) 445. The present writer first propounded (in 1905) to appropriate it technically for the material and formal forms of the Renaissance. He had been led to William of Ockham and himself and expressed in James's *Will to Believe* New York and London, 1899, ed. Byrnes. In 1889, in his *Humanities* (London, 1905); cf. his *Studies in Humanism* (1899). This usage is especially to be found in James's *Will to Believe* (in *Human Sciences*, 1899, pp. 243-250), and in *Misc. Essays* (1907). *Literature and the Mediaeval* (1909). Cf. *Humanismus*, *Bibliotheca* (1909), *Recusant* (1907), *Recusant* (1907), *Recusant* (1907), vol. 1, pp. 71-7. The word has been used, in a too vague sense, merely congratulating interest in men, by J. R. MacKenzie in his *Humanismus*, *Bibliotheca* (1909), *Recusant* (1907), vol. 1, pp. 71-7. It is also used, in religious contexts, by ascetics as the opposite of 'supernaturalism.'

F. C. S. SCHILLER.

**HUMANISTS.**—I. **GENERAL.**—The transition from the medieval to the modern world seems one of the most abrupt in the pages of history. Certainly it did not take place even in the same century in the different lands—the harvest in Italy was over before the seed was sown in Scotland,—nor did the various fields of human life quicken to the new impulse with a simultaneous response, but the emergence of the new order followed hard on the thrill of expectation. The whole complex movement which wrought the transformation in the outlook of men we call the Renaissance (p. e.).

Humanism is the best term for the movement: in the Humanists we find its conscious pioneers and promoters.

The name 'Humanism' itself indicates the nature of the movement. Just as in the Scottish Universities the term 'Humanity' is still used as a designation for the Latin language and literature, and as in wider circles classical studies in general are summed up by 'humanism,' so the Humanism is the student of human letters, the languages and the literatures of Greece and Rome. The work of the Humanists was to disinter the buried classics, to restore a lost means of culture, to re-capture an ancient charm of style, and a broader humanity of spirit.

But the change was not so sudden as it seemed. There were signs of the approaching dissolution of Medievalism before the Renaissance proper began. From the 13th cent. there were traces of the dawn. A. Bartoli ( *Proceri del rinascimento*, Florence, 1877, p. 19) found traces of the reaction from terrorism which took place when the year 1000 passed and the world undestroyed. But both the preceding darkness and the succeeding light have to be seen in their historical place. There was also a partial revival of learning in the 13th cent., due in great measure to the extension of the University of Paris, but all trace had been lost; but, since Aristotle as understood or misunderstood was one of the great legacies of the Middle Ages, it is vain to seek any real connection. The 15th cent., however, certainly marks the close of the Renaissance, and then we may call, with but little over-estimation of their significance,
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Francesco Petrarca (1304–74) has been rightly acclaimed as the first of the Humanists. His great predecessor, Dante (1265–1321), is a citizen of two worlds, medieval and modern; Petrarca is the first true modern. It is noteworthy that the decisive change in their attitude is typified in the balsamic imitation of whom the Humanism of Italy, almost two centuries later, first showed the fatal symptoms of decay. He loved Cicero from his school-days and read him eagerly, not with a view to advancement in his profession of the law, but because of his delight in his majestic swing and balanced periods. It was the style that fascinated him from the beginning. Another impulse came from the sight of Rome (1336) deserted by the Popes, yet full of monuments eloquent of past grandeur. Cicero and the other ancient thinkers were to him the gateway into the understanding of this ruined splendour. So, despite many an early discouragement, he pursued his studies in the literature of Rome. In his correspondence and in most of his writings he used a Latin moulded on the Classics. He was prudent of his Africano and de Vitis Illustribris than of the Italian Boccaccio or Camões, on whom his fame now rests. To seek out MSS, particularly of Cicero, was perhaps his most absorbing pursuit. His letters are full of the loss, the desolation of the foreign lands. He never failed to urge young friends to acquire it. Along these lines lay the activity of the first of the Humanists, and, as J. A. Symonds says (Renaissance in Italy), when on ‘The Revival of Learning,’ new ed., London, 1892, p. 54)...

In this susceptibility to the melodies of rhetorical prose, in this special cult of Cicero, in the passion for collecting manuscripts, and in the intuition that the future of scholarship depended upon the resurrection of Greek studies, Petrarca initiated the four most important movements of the classical Renaissance.

Petrarch’s devotion to the Classics led to no breach with the Church. His criticism was not of its abuses, though belonging himself to its priesthood, and conspicuously avoiding all ecclesiastical duties. His learning did not tend to Paganism; the ancient culture was to him a handmaid to Christianity. Of the law and philosophy of his day, however, he spoke with open scorn. It was more empty sophistry, unfathomable mental gyrations. In these things, and in other less admirable respects—in his irritability under criticism, his prodigious appetite for flattery, his overweening desire for personal fame, and his invertebrate habit of posing—he foreshadowed the activities and failings of his successors. His labours served to inspire others with similar zeal and to find the atmosphere necessary for their development.

Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–75), a younger contemporary of Petrarca, was his most distinguished disciple. If Petrarca has the honour of being the first of the Humanists, to Boccaccio belongs that of being the first to acquire anything like a working knowledge of Greek. His teacher was the pretentious Leonzio Pilato, and the knowledge he acquired was not very profound, but still it was a beginning. Devoted to Petrarca, he followed his guidance, collected MSS, and a genuine reverence for every ancient writing, however unworthy. His main departure from the ideas of his contemporary and master was in his bitter hatred of the monks, as the opponents of learning, and hypocritical pretenders to sanctity. With Boccaccio, Florence becomes the headquarters of the Humanists. The brightest star in its spirit, antiquarian in Marsilio Ficino, and its interests, but sporadic in its manifestations, prepared the way for Petrarca.
time; and Coluccio Salutati (1380–1406), the Chancellor of State, whose official letters were copied at the expense of the city. Girolamo Buglione, a pupil of Galileo, was one of the most distinguished pupils, Leonato Bruni (1390–1444), no one in all Italy has beenmaster of Greek letters. "Chrysolora of Byzantium... brought to us Greek scholars. Among his stars were the teachers in Italy were George of Treviso, who taught in Venice and Rome as well as in Florence; Theodoric Cani, teacher in Ferrara (1411–50) and afterwards in Rome, whose Greek grammar, fuller and more scientific than that of Chrysolora, was used in his classes in England; John Argyropulos, in Florence (1466–71), afterwards in Rome, the teacher of Lorenzo de' Medici, Politian, and Roscellini; Demetrio Chalcondyles of Rome and Pisa; and John Lacon who, by his residence in Paris, left his mark on the Humanism of France. Greek learning was therefore not brought to Italy by scholars finding with their precious 8000 from Constantinople at the fall of the Eastern Empire; it was during the first century which preceded its fall that, on the earnest request of the Italian themsel- 

Europe. And it was his Heptapla, with its masterpiece seal for the Kabbala, that started Boccaccio on the study of Hebrew. The Florentine Academy was only one of many institutions of the kind. Of the others, the most significant were those of Rome, founded by Julius Pomponianus in 1472 and then about 1460, anticipatory in its interests, openly pagan in its tone; Naples, founded by Jerome Pomponianus and the remaining members of the Humanist protégé of Alfonso the Magnanimous, devoting itself to the cultivation of the arts; and Venice, the latest of all, which centered in the Aldine Press and the foundry, Aldus Manutius (1450–1515). The great manuscripts were conducted in Greece, and the most important ones were the choirs of books to be published and the accuracy of their texts.

The great patrons of learning ought not to be passed over without remark. Mention has already been made of Cosimo de' Medici; but his grandson, Lorenzo the Magnificent (1449–92), was the person of an even more brilliant circle, both in Florence again, Giovanni, as Pope Leo X. (from 1513 to 1521), conferred high ecclesiastical office on very unscrupulous Humanists. He was not the only Roman Pontiff, however, who took a deprecating view. Nicholas V. (elected 1447) was the first of them. A Humanist himself of the earlier type, he gathered round him a notable band of scholars. Under his Rome became a 'workshop of education.' Pius II. (1458–64), who as Pope had gained no mean reputation as a Humanist, vigorously dis- appointed his预约 friends. Artists, not scholars, won his patronage.

During the whole of the 16th century, the work of collection was zealously pursued by men like Pierre Nicole Nicereth (1510–1589), who, as secretary of the Musaeum to Florence, and Vespasiano da Bisticci (1421–88), multiplier of MSS, bookdealer, and biographer of his patrons; libraries had been formed; and in the latter half of the century, the Humanism of Italy reached its highest level in Angelo Ambrogini (Politian) (1464–94). Professor of Greek and Latin in Florence, he wrote poetry in three languages, showing an extraordinary facility in Latin verse. His aim was independence, not imitation, and in his bands Latin had all the flexibility of a living language. His influence was extensive and profound. Somewhat before his time, and somewhat beneath his level of attain- ment, but with the same spirit and ambitions was Francesco Filo (1386–1461). These two were the leading Humanist Professors in the high noon of Humanism.

A marked feature of the Humanist movement in Italy was the number and fecundity of its literary duels. The most brilliant of these duellists was Poggio Bracciolini (1360–1427), the explorer of neglected libraries. His controversies with Filo over the standing of Florence, with Guarino da Verona (1570–1459) upon the comparative merit of Sulpicius and Julius Caesar, and with Lorenzo Valla (1505–77), occasioned by some marginal annotations of one of Valla's pupils, and developing into an onslaught on each other's Latin, were conducted with an unparalleled scrupulousness, acuteness, and courtesy. Valla was a man of vast erudition, though decidedly more temperate, disfigured by the same kind of venomous invective. Some of Valla's other work was epoch-making, though the later part of his life from an extent of learning. His exposure of the 'Donation of Constantine,' and in his Politian's work of Letters, in which he and his friends identified the discrepancies between the Vulgate and the Greek first came to the light, helped materially the cause of the old version.

By the end of the 16th century, the Humanism of Italy had entered on its final stage. In Pietro Bembo (1470–1547) we see the old enthusiasm for letters, but, dominating everything, a conscious aping of the elegancies of Ciceroan diction. With the sack of Rome in 1527 and the compact between Emperor and Pope in 1530, the Italian revival of learning comes to an end. The age of Spanish tyranny succeeds, and the glowing fire burns low. By the middle of the 18th century, Greek was disappearing. Even to the erudite Caesar Baronius (1539–1607) it was an alien tongue. But the flame which had been thus quenched and nourished in Italy had already spread to other lands.

2. France.—Though there are early signs of the passage of the New Learning into France, it was long kept in the background through the prestige of the University of Paris and the School of the University of Paris and the School of Montpellier. The university of Montpellier, founded by Pope Pius V. (1554–1418), disciple of Petrarch and correspondent of Salutati, probably deserves the

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Alexander Hegius (1433–99), had Erasmus as a pupil, went to Rome in 1477, and entered into the service of Roger von Poblenz (1470–72) in Italy. It had its forerunners in men like Gregor von Heimbach (1410–72), who was half-fascinated and half repelled by the Italian Humanists. Through the German humanists the German universities, which had hitherto been the national Wanderlust across the Alps, through the great Councils, where the Humanist secretaries, all Italian by profession, impressed their German brethren, and through the frequent commercial intercourse, the revival spread. Corresponding to the Academies of Italy were informal associations in the towns and cities. In Erasmus's account of his German journeys there is frequent reference to reception and escort by the sodalitates or confraternities — the local group of scholars united in the comradeship of learning. The Humanist Universities were naturally centres of such fraternities. The circle in Erfurt was called 'the Mutianus host,' from Mutianus Rufus (1471–1538), one of the many who had come under the spell of Pico. The centre of the Heidelberg group was Rudolf Agricola (1435–85), 'the first,' Erasmus describes him 'as a man of the highest culture.' At Ingolstadt, Johann Eck (1446–1543), who became the opponent of Luther, and Urbanus Rhegius (1489–1541), who became a man of the highest culture. At Basel, Girolamo (1488–1563) ruled, save during the residence of Erasmus.

But in the centre of the Universities, the Humanists had their groups in the great cities. At Nuremberg they gathered round Wilhelm Pirkheimer (1470–1528), who combined in his own person the versatility of the Italian Renaissance and the more earnest spirit of his own land; at Augsburg round Conrad Peutinger (1465–1547), keeper of the city archives, diplomatist, and antiquary; at Strasbourg, round Jacob Wimpfeling (1450–1558), 'the schoolmaster of Germany,' and Sebastian Brant (1450–1521), satirist and author of the Narrenschiff.

Three names stand out from all the others in importance and significance. Johann Reuchlin (1450–1522), with attainments in Greek which gave cause for astonishment to Argyropoulos, was the effective promoter of Hebrew studies. Though Conrad Pelachius (1475–1556) had in 1504 published a creditable Hebrew Grammar, it was Reuchlin's Semina Hebraicae that became the foundation of Hebrew scholarship. Attacked as a traitor to the Church for opposing Ficino's proposition of a literal holocaust of Hebrew books, he was at first acquitted (1514 and 1516) and then condemned on appeal (1520). It was the stand which he made that united the forces of German Humanism. Ulrich von Hutten (1488–1528), the son of an impoverished Franconian noble, was designed for the Church, and sent at the age of 11 to the Monastery of Fulda. Finding there the study of the Reformation, he found time and opportunity to foster education and to furnish it himself with indispensable aids to classical study.

Placed by the founder of the school of the 'Brethren of the Common Life' (q.v.) Schools like Schleswig, where Reuchlin began his education, and Davenport, whose most famous master,
refused to join the Reformers when the actual breach came, it was their work that had prepared the way for it, and their pupils gathered round Luther and Zwingli. The main stream of German Humanism in the beginning been flowing steadily towards Reformation in some shape or form.

2. The New Learning. - Through his kinship of spirit with Petrarch, Chaucer (1340?-1400) has been hailed as the morning star of the Renaissance. But his kinship is not with the distinctively Humanist side of Petrarch's activity. Humphry, Duke of Gloucester (1381-1447), patron of scholars, collector, and correspondent of Italian Humanists, did much to hasten the new era. But it is with two friends, Thomas Linacre (1460?-1524) and William Grocyn (1440?-1519), who had studied in Italy under Politian, and on their return taught Greek in Oxford, that Humanism began really to establish itself in England. John Colet (1467?-1519) gave the movement its strongest impulse and its direction. He returned from Italy, well equipped in scholarship, and with a thorough contempt both for the whole scholastic dialectic and for the Neo-pagan Humanism. In his lectures in Oxford on St. Paul's Epistles he broke fresh ground. He was the first to apply the critical methods of the New Learning to discover the exact meaning of the books of the Holy Scriptures (T. M. Lindsay, A Briefe Discourse concerning Bishop Richey's Expostulation, 1653-55, i. 160). In 1510, Colet, now Dean of St. Paul's, devoted his patrony to the founding of St. Paul's school, where 'children should be taught good literature, both Latin and Greek,' Its first master, William Lilly (1460?-1529), gave his name to the Latin grammar prepared for the school, and subsequently widely used. In reality it was a compositor's grammar, but it was revised by Erasmus, Lilly, and others. Colet's friend, Sir Thomas More (1478-1535), was a hero-worshipper of Pico della Mirandola, whose life, which he translated, showed him the possibility of combining the new culture with a fervent yet undisturbed Christianitv. In his Utopia (1516) he gave evidence of his opencnowledged debt to all the better influences, not only of Humanism but of the whole Renaissance movement. Among other names worthy of mention are Sir Thomas Smith (1512-77) and Sir John Cheke (1514-67), through whom Greek studies were established in Cambridge; Roger Ascham (1515-68), Greek throughout, and the famous Richard Tylney (1484?-1536), who, from the preparatory school of Erasmus, passed into that of Luther.

The Humanism of England produced no prodigies of erudition, but it did produce great popularisers —translators of the Classics whose translations themselves became classics. North's Plutarch and Chapman's Homer are conspicuous examples. Through such translations, Humanism profoundly influenced and helped Elizabethan literature. And it must ever be remembered that in its springtime the Humanism of England had its own definite ideals to which Erasmus owed more than a little. These ideals find fit expression in the statutes of Colet's school: 'My intent is by this school specially to increase knowledge, and worshipping of God and Our Lord Jesus Christ, and good Christian life and manners' (F. Sebohn, The Oxford Reformers, London, 1884, p. 209 f.).

5. The other countries. - The New Learning passed across the channel by scholars who had been to Italy. Of these the foremost, though not the first, was Reginald Scot (1448?-1599). He spent ten years in Italy, taught in the Universities of Seville, Salamanca, and Alcala. The University of Alcalá was the headquarters of Spanish Humanism; Cardinal Ximenes (1436-1517) was its Maecenas, the Compendiose Polignol (1582) its outstanding product. The revival, short but brilliant, came to an end, like that of Italy, through the compact between Charles V. and Clement VII. in 1530.

To Scotland the New Learning came late. Passing over earlier students who came under its spell abroad, men like Patrick Hamilton (1504?-1529), who belong rather to the Reformers, the one outstanding name is that of George Buchanan (1500-92). Trained in France and a teacher there, he was one of the leaders in the ill-fated attempt to plant the New Learning in Portugal. His Latin paraphrases of the Psalms and his other Latin poetry had a tremendous vogue. Joseph Justus Scaliger declared that Latin literature had reached its climax in Buchanan's verse. To Andrew Melville (1546-1622) belongs the credit of re-organising Scottish University education on Humanist lines.

We have left to the last the greatest of the Humanists, Desiderius Erasmus. Born in Rotterdam in 1466 or 1467, he belongs by birth to 'the other countries.' In spirit he was a true cosmopolitan. He is to be found, first in France, then in England, France again, Italy, England again, and finally at Basel. And this list does not include the shorter visits of this born wanderer. He was the friend and correspondent of the contemporary leaders of Humanism in all the countries. He became almost a dictator of Learning in north of the Alps, without ever assuming the manner of the despot. In the field of classical studies his Adagia, de Copia Verborum, and Apo-stithemanemata were much-prized aids to study. The second went through sixty editions in his lifetime. In Greek he was perhaps second to Budens, but in Latin he had no real rival. Jealous Italians might call him 'Porvus Coel' (in his fondness for the word porvo), but, as his Cicero-nanus showed, his ideals were not theirs, and his Latin, if not so imitative of Cicero, was a much more flexible and powerful instrument. Works like the Encomium Moriae and the Colloquia showed the world the necessity of reform. His aim throughout was a Christian Renaissance, the source of which was not to be found in Plato, but in a return to the New Testament and the older Fathers of the Church. His Greek Testament of 1616, his numerous editions of the Fathers, and indeed the great bulk of his very numerous works were designed to help in such a Christian Renaissance. In the midst of his labours the Reformation came. He died at Basel in 1536, committed to neither party, but amid an admiring circle of friends who were all on the Reformed side.

Though his attempted neutrality in the decisive struggle and certain obvious faults in his character have caused him to be looked upon as a petty-minded man, he did more than any other to extend the influence of Humanism, and that of the very highest type, thereby earning fairly the name of the greatest of the Humanists. Half-hearted Reformer he may have been, but he was neither half-hearted Humanist nor half-hearted Christian.

III. RESULTS. - In dealing with the general results of the Humanist movement thus sketched, the difficulty is to disentangle it from the Renaissance of the whole. We are apt to ascribe to it influences which, strictly speaking, do not belong to it at all. The defects of the movement are evident—(1) in its tendency to exalt erudition above true intellectual development, and to degenerate into mere pedantry; (2) in its open recantation of the sincerity induced by a too exclusive devotion to style. Panegyric and abuse in some quarters became fine arts. The sale of encomiases by the Humanists was vastly compared to the sale of indulgences by the Church.
On the other hand, there were many distinct gains. (1) The buried Classics were disinterred and preserved; they were diffused by the printing-press; they were made available by Grammar and Lexicon. (2) Education was set free from narrow Scholastic limits and clerical monopoly. Culture was for the citizen as well as for the 'cleric.' (For men and methods, see EDUCATION, vol. v. p. 1799.) (3) The contact thus established with the great minds of antiquity led to the general revival of thought. The reaction from the fragmentary Aristotelian and his medieval commentators led at first to uncritical enthusiasm for even the wildest vagaries that could be called Platonic or even Neo-Platonic, but later, through controversy and study, to a reasoned understanding of both, thus preparing the way for modern philosophy. (4) Art and literature received a fresh impulse through the abundance of new material of which it did not fail to make extensive use. (5) Acquaintance with the literatures of Greece and Rome led to a rapid evolution of literary forms in the national languages. Most of the modern novels are founded on the uncouthness of their vernaculars. Petrarch's preference for his Latin writings, his regret that Dante had not written in Latin, and Boccaccio's confession that he did not think the German language a fit instrument of literature till he had seen Luther's use of it, are outstanding examples. The futile experiments which almost every nation tried in literature witnessed of torturing the vernacular into classical moulds had yet their result in a new variety of form, and a new vigor in language. (6) The critical methods of the Humanists swept away such obscurantisms as the four-fold sense, and, applied by Northern scholars to the Fathers and the Scriptures, gave a great impetus to the Reformation. The broad result is summed up by Jebb: 'The historical importance of the Classical Revival in Italy depended ultimately on the fact that it broadened out into this diffusion of a general capacity for liberal culture, taking various forms, and leading to the Reformation and the whole literary and political activity, once restored to the civilised world, became a part of the higher life of the race, an energy which, though it might be temporarily retarded here and there by reactionary forces, could not again be lost. Not in literature or in art alone, but in the whole social and intellectual activity, the Renaissance opened a new era for mankind' (Cambridge Modern History, i. 564).


HUMANITARIANISM.—Humanitarianism is the ethical sense—wholly distinct from the theoretical—is the deliberate and systematic study of human principles; the attempt to show that humaneness is an integral part, if not the actual basis, of morals. In estimating the value of compassion as a moral force, it is not necessary to discuss the different theories as to its origin, age, conditio, or the higher teaching—in the doctrines of Buddha, in

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the system of Pythagoras, in the practice of the
Essenes, in the pagan philosophy of Plutarch and
Porphyry, and with less consistency, perhaps, so
far as our data now go as the lower animals are
concerned, in the Christian Scriptures. For, though
the gospel of 'peace and goodwill' led its early fol-
lowers to believe in the sacredness of all human
life and the natural equality of men, and that belief
led in its turn to the abolition or curtailment of
many cruel practices, such as the gladiatorial shows,
there is also truth in the statement (A. Jameson,
Commonplace Book of Thoughts, Memories, and
Fancies, London, 1854, p. 206) that 'the primitive
Christians, by laying so much stress upon a future
life in contradistinction to this life, and placing the
lower creatures out of the pale of hope, placed them
at the same time out of the pale of sympathy, and
thus laid the foundation for this disregard of
animals in the light of our fellow creatures.

It is certain that during the Middle Ages, when
the Roman Catholic Church was dominant, there
was in this respect, little or no progress in humanit-
arian feeling, the indifference of Roman Catholicism
to the claims of animals being broken only by the
splendid example of St. Francis of Assisi, whose
profound sense of brotherhood and pain and
tenderest pity is the more remarkable owing to its contrast with
the general callousness of his contemporaries. It
was this last profound of sympathy which, surviving in large
measure even to modern times, caused Buddhists
to speak of Christendom as 'the hell of animals.'

When we come to the Renaissance, however, we
find, with the revival of learning, a revival also of
the humanitarian spirit, many humane sentiments,
for example, being observable in the writings of
More and Erasmus, Montaigne, Shakespeare, and
eastern Philosophy and poetry to the instinct of
compassion paved the way for that advanced 18th
sentiment which found its fullest expression in
the saying of Voltaire, that 'without humanity,
the virtue which comprehends all virtues, the name
of philosopher would be little deserved.'

Philosophers and poets vied with one another, through this
era of awakening, in a recognition of the claims
of common life on the heart of human-kind, and
the post-revolutionary writers have continued to
develop more and more the ethic of humaneness;
it is sufficient to mention such names as those of
Thomson, Pope, Goldsmith, Cowper, Burns, Shelley,
and Wordsworth, to show how largely our modern
poets have been influenced by this humanitarian
ethic. It is to the last hundred and fifty years, in
fact, that Western humanitarianism, in the sense in
which we use the word, owes its origin; and it is
of Western humanitarianism only that we have pro-
pose to speak.

The first point which needs to be emphasized is that
humaneness is based on the broad ground of universal sympathy, not
with mankind only, but with all sentient beings, such
sympathy being, of course, duly proportioned to the
sensibility of its object. Humanitarianism is
not to be confused with philanthropy—love of
mankind—on the one side, or with zoophily—
kindness to animals—on the other; it includes
and comprehends both.

'It is abundantly evident,' says Lockey (Europe's Morals,
London, 1800, p. 250), 'from history and from present
experience, that the instinctive, or natural feeling of dis-
gust, caused by the sight of the sufferings of men is not generi-
dally different from that which is caused by the sight of the
sufferings of animals. . . . At one time the benevolent affections
reinforce merely the family: soon the circle expanding includes
first a class, then a nation, then a coalition of nations, then
all mankind. Then the further influence is felt in the dealings
of man with the animal world.'

Humanitarianism, then, is the application of an
ever-widening circle of friendship and
broad brotherhood between all living creatures; and
a humanitarian is he who has substituted this wider
sympathy for the partial benevolence which is
restricted to the narrow circle of his own
countrymen or kin. 'The time will come,' wrote
Bentham (Principles of Penal Law, ch. 16), 'when
humanity will extend its mantle over everything
which breathes. We have begun by an attempt to
attend to the condition of slaves; we shall finish by
softening that of all the animals which assist our labours
or supply our wants.'

But, before we proceed further, it may be well
to clear away certain common misapprehensions
by a short statement not only of what humani-
tarianism is, but also of what it is not. For
example, it is not Brâhmanism. What it con-
demns is not the taking of life, as such; but the
unjustifiable or wanton taking of life through
callousness, ignorance, or force of habit; and
there is no point whatever in applying to humanit-
arianism the trite story of the Hindu whose
principles forbade him to drink water when the
microscope had revealed to him the infinitesimal
creatures that inhabit it.

Nor are humanitarian doctrines, as Nietzsche
and his school would have us believe, an offshoot of
Christianity; for, as has already been shown,
they go far beyond the Christian ethics in all that
relates to the lower animals. Not a number among
their professors many well-known names
that lie altogether outside the Christian sphere of
thought. Nor, again, is humanitarianism alto-
gether identical with 'altruism,' the due regard
for the interests of others, for it is to satisfy his
own needs and instincts—involved in those of the
sufferer—that the humanitarian takes action; it
is self-sacrifice rather than self-sacrifice that he
desires.

Finally, humanitarianism is not, as is often
assumed by its critics, a merely negative, prohibi-
tive, and ascetic view of life by which we are
constrained to desist from certain practices in
which we might otherwise take pleasure; on the
contrary, by discovering for us a freshness of
relation towards vast numbers of our fellow-
creatures, it opens out new fields of pleasurable
friendship which have hitherto been neglected,
and points the way to a fuller and better realiza-
tion of what is beautiful and true.

Contrast, for instance, the wholesale destruction of sea-
birds, fowl for their feathers, or for their perfume,
that disgraces many parts of our coast, with the
scene that may be daily witnessed in winter time
on the Thames Embankment — the feeding of
scores of gulls by their human friends and protec-
tors under terms of perfect amity and trustfulness.
Can it be doubted which of these two attitudes
between animals brings the greater pleasure to
mankind?

Dismissing, therefore, these false ideas of humani-
tarianism, we shall try to grasp its true purport
and significance as part of the modern democratic
movement; for there is no more essential mark of
democracy than the fostering of kinship and
understanding in place of division and distrust.

In holding that the difference between human and
sub-human is one of degree only, and not of kind,
the humanitarian has the support not of sentiment
alone, but of science. 'The trend of investigation,'
says Wesley Mills in his work on The Nature
and Development of Animal Intelligences (London,
1886, p. 21), 'thus far goes to show that at least
the germ of every human faculty does not lie in
some species of animal. . . . Formerly the line was
drawn at reason. It was said that the "brutes"
cannot reason. Only persons who do not them-

sew reason about the subject with fact before
them, can any longer occupy such a position.' In
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like manner E. P. Evans points out, in his Evolutional Ethics and Animal Psychology (London, 1895), p. 164. 'There is no man as truly a part and product of nature as any other animal, and the attempt to set him up as an isolated point outside of it is philosophically false and morally pernicious.' Thus the old 'anthropocentric' position is being more and more abandoned, and it is no longer possible to draw an absolute line of demarcation between men, as 'persons' and 'ends,' and animals, as 'more things,' such distinctions being a thoroughly unsound basis for any ethical structure, inasmuch as the more highly organized animals possess, though, of course, in a lower degree, the qualities of true personality. Even the expression 'man and the animals,' though unavoidable in common speech, is philosophically incorrect, for man is himself a part of the great animal kingdom, and cannot, therefore, claim the relationship. We have from science itself the clearest assurance that man is an animal, and that the great gulf which was supposed to exist between human and non-human has existed only in imagination.

For this reason humanitarianism claims for animals, as for men, a meaning of individuality and freedom, a space in which to lead their own lives—in a word, 'rights.' It is unnecessary here to enter into the wide field of discussion as to the meaning of this term; for, if objection be taken to it, it is possible to consider the question from the other, the correlative, side, and to arrive at the same conclusion merely by the use of the term 'duties.'

The essential part of the humanitarian contention is that there is no absolute difference between mankind and the animals; that, if man has reason, animals have the germ of reason; that, if man has 'rights,' animals have the same in due degree.

With regard to human rights, it is sometimes said that 'man can take care of himself.' This, however, is not always the case; for (to refer to two classes only, the pauper and the criminal) it is evident that the unfortunate inmates of workhouse and prison are not able to take care of themselves, but are as helpless in the hands of others as any animal could be. The rights of men are admitted in theory, but often violated in practice. We speak of all men as brothers; but, when it comes to giving practical proof of our brotherhood with paupers and criminals, we too frequently show our treatment of them that we really regard them as a wholly alien class. The same is true of the usage accorded to subject races, aborigines, and all who, in the aggrandisement of one nation at the expense of another, are liable to find themselves at the mercy of their brother man.

Again, when we turn to the protection of animals. Again, humanitarianism holds that we ought to help men first and animals afterwards. But, if the principle which prompts the humane treatment of men is the same essentially as that which prompts the humane treatment of animals, how can we successfully safeguard it in one direction while we violate it in another? By condoning cruelty to animals, we perpetuate the very spirit which condones cruelty to men. Humanitarians do not say that the lower forms of life must be treated in the same way as the higher forms, but that in education by example we must be careful to inflict no unnecessary, no avoidable, suffering. This is briefly expressed in the manifesto of the Humanitarian League, which enforces the principle that 'it is iniquitous to inflict avoidable suffering on any sentient being.'

Of the societies which work for humane purposes the one which directly concerns itself with this fuller principle—the immediate elevation of the status of the human and non-human animals is the Humanitarian League, which, while recognizing that there is need of concentration in effort of this kind, and the desirability that special cruelties should be dealt with by special organizations, is nevertheless designed to supplement these labours by showing that all such efforts, however, momentous in practice, spring in reality from a common source and convey a common object. It is well described by the words of its charter where there is now misunderstanding and strife. How wide a scope there is for humanitarian propaganda, even in this 19th century, may be judged from the number of various societies for the reformation of the use of the sword, the prevention of cruelty to animals, the amelioration of the suffering of poverty and disease, and the enforcement of the prevention of cruelty to animals, the reformation of the use of the sword, and the prevention of cruelty to animals, the amelioration of the suffering of poverty and disease, and the enforcement of the prevention of cruelty to animals.
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Given a race of so-called "brute-beasts" (and it is open to
question whether this hardness of the common-nonsense reacts
in its turn on the common treatment of animals), which are
sacrament to the doctrine of the last Judgment, it cannot be
conceivable, it is inevitable that they should be used or ill-used
in various ways according to the wishes and instincts of their
masters. Thus, regarded from the several standpoints of
the human temperament—the impulses of hunger, of recreation,
of curiosity, of the animal is cortexing to eat, something to
hunt, something to experiment on; and we are brought face to
face with the necessities of science, sport, and vivisection.

It does not, however, fall within the scope of
this article to do more than indicate the general
aspects of humanitarianism, and we pass on to
speak of some of the common objections that are
against humanitarian principles. The first
and most prevalent of these objections is that
drawn from the poet's picture of 'Nature red in
tooth and claw,' which represents humanitarianism
as in conflict with the stern facts of existence.
It is said that the animals themselves prey on
one another, and that the law of nature is founded on
intermediate conflict and sacrifice. But this, though
true in part, is not the whole truth; for, while
appealing to the law of competition, it leaves out of
sight the not less important law of 'mutual aid,'
and evades the fact that, while some animals are
predominantly, others are mainly social in
their nature, and that there is no reason why
man-kind, whose instincts are of the social order,
should violate its own nature in order to imitate the
fecundity of the prey. Nor is it true that an analogy
can be established between the suffering inflicted
in nature and the artificial and unjustifiable,
because unnecessary, cruelties of man; for the
best naturalists are of opinion that

'I Nature red in tooth and claw

is a picture the evil of which is read into it by our
imagination, the reality being made up of full
and happy lives, usually terminated by the quick-
est and least painful of deaths' (A. R. Wallace,
Darscitism, London, 1888, p. 40). All these
conditions are wanting in the unnatural cruelties against
which humanitarianism protests.

Then, again, we are confronted with the argu-
ment drawn from that much misapprehended term,
"consistency." Where will you draw the line?
It is a question frequently put to the humanitarian,
who is reminded that, if he be 'consistent,' he
will be precluded from defending his crops against the
ravages of wild animals, and even from cultivating
the ground, because of the injuries done by these
plough to earth-worms and to the lowest forms of
life. But here there is, of course, a complete per-
version of the humanitarian doctrine, which, as
has already been stated, asserts that rights are the
same in kind but not in degree, and that we owe
to all sentient creatures a universal, but not an
absolute, justice. We are not bound to starve
our own race by abstaining from agriculture on
account of the injury done to earth-worms, but we
may all remember what Cowper (The Task, bk. vi.)
says of the man 'who needlessly sets foot upon
a worm.' The true consistency is that which has
regard to the direction of one's course; and,
because the whole journey cannot be accomplished
at once, it does not follow that no step should
be taken.

Equally pointless is the cry that is raised against
the 'sentimentality' of humanitarians, 'sentim-
ent' being one of those vague, indefinite terms
which are used as a substitute for argument.
That there is much that is ultra-sentimental in
the humanitarian temper, for instance, as in the
partial benevolence and ill-adjusted 'charities'
—will not be denied; nor are humanitarians more
exempt from animal defects—danger of falling into excess in the advocacy of their views.
But, though the charge of sentimentality may be
fairly urged, e.g. against the anti-vivisectionist who,
while denouncing the cruel experiments of physi-
ologists, is himself an advocate of vivisecting con-
verts with the cato's nine-tails, it cannot lie against
the all-round humanitarian who pleads for the
adoption of some rational and comprehensive
principle. It is, in fact, not on mere sentiment-
ality, but on a wider and more philosophic view
of the subject, that humanitarianism relies. 'As
long as it has been said,' as certain favoured aspects
of humaneness are exclusively insisted on, as long
as pity is felt and expressed for this or that partic-
author form of human suffering, while others of
equal or greater importance are neglected or ridi-
culed; as long as the compassion which is claimed
for men is denied to animals, or extended only to
certain classes of animals—so long will it be diffi-
cult to appeal successfully from the narrow selfish
ness of personal interests to the higher and nobler
sentiment of universal brotherhood.'

Perhaps no more effective proof can be produced of
the inevitable further growth of humanitarian
principles than a consideration of the alternative
that must be faced by society if humanitarian-
ism is to be disowned. Whether wisely or unwis-
ly, we have now reached a certain transitional
stage of humane development, both in our manners
and in our laws, and those who would disavow us
from continued advance on the same lines are
bound to frame some other policy for our guidance.
If we are not to go forward, are we to turn back?
Or are we to remain at the precise point to which
we have now attained? It will hardly be lost on
the present very confused state of English law
and feeling on humanitarian subjects repre-
sents the golden mean which is necessary in order
improvement; it follows, then, that, if progress is
to be barred, we must henceforth return to that
'old brutality' which certain writers affect to
regret that we have 'allowed to die out too much.'

To state this alternative is sufficient to show that
the future lies with humanitarianism. It is ob-
vious that we shall continue to advance in the
same direction as in the past, and the gradually
expanding sense of sympathy and kinship will
bring with it a gradual but certain increase in the
humanity of the treatment which we shall accord
to every living creature.

Herein, then, lies the strength of the humani-
tarian position, that its principle is a consolidation
of the countless humane impulses which are
spreading everywhere in the human heart, and that on
an instinct so simple as to be intelligible to a child it
builds a progressive ethical code, not as
only the intellect of a philosopher. It is an amusing
comment on the prevalent ignorance of humani-
tarianism that those who hold a faith which so
profound a thinker as Socrates cherished as
the basis of morals' are often lightly dismissed
with the remark that 'their hearts are better than
their heads.' It is impossible, with strict regard
to truth, to return this compliment by saying that
the heads of such foolish jesters are better than
their hearts, for head and heart alike must be in
an evil case when the great duty of humanity does
not make itself respected. We have advisedly
spoken of this principle as a 'faith,' for it is indeed
the ethical belief of the future—the faith of un-
iversal kinship—and no infidelity can be so grievous
as that which hinders men from recognizing their
own kindred, and makes them deny that owners
in life which wisdom sees everywhere, and to
which folly is everywhere blind. 'The custom
has carried man from man,' says Edward Car-
penter (Cwizieshow, London, 1889, p. 196), 'yet,
when at last in the ever-branching series the
complete human being is produced, it knows at
once its kinship with all the other forms. More,
it knows its kinship with the animals. It sees
HUMAN SACRIFICE (Introductory and Primitive)

Introductory and Primitive (A. E. CRAWLEY), p. 159.

Arabian.—See 'Semitic.'

Babylonian.—See 'Semitic.'

Celtic.—See COMMUNICATION WITH DULLY (Celtic), and ETHICS AND MORALITY (Celtic).

Chinese (J. Dyer Ball), p. 845.

Greek.—See 'Semitic.'

Egyptian.—See 'Semitic.'

Hebrew.—See 'Semite.'


Irish (E. EDWARDS), p. 218.


Persian.—See 'Iranian.'

Roman (R. WUBER), p. 863.


Slav (L. LOEB), p. 865.

Teutonic (E. MOER), p. 865.

Greeks, and Italy, among the Celts, Teutons, and Slavs, the Semites and Egyptians, the early Japanese and others, and among some American tribes, and particularly the Mayas and Aztecs. Further, it was rarer in Vedas than in Brahmanica.

Among the Africans it has been observed that the power of the nation granger the sacrifice. The Aztecs themselves did not adopt the practice until the second, two hundred years before the conquest; the sacrifices, rare at first, became more frequent in the wider extent of their empire; till, at length, almost every festival was closed with this cruel abomination.

From the legal point of view every human sacrifice is a ceremonial murder. As such, cases which are technically sacrifices cannot be treated differently from those which are not. The tendency, not only in historical writing but in the thought and language of contemporary periods, is to class all sacrificial murder as sacrifices. Another qualification of human sacrifice is that, like the majority of all sacrificial acts, it is generally a collective undertaking; when an individual executes it, he is, as a rule, the representative of the community or at least of a class within it. This fact serves to throw into relief the close connection that is maintained from the earliest to the latest instances between human sacrifice and the reproductive functions of the community. Capital punishment in its simplest and most primitive form is a more or less unconscious act of social revenge. The essence of all punishment is the satisfaction of resentment. The principle of ratio is the result of the organization of this fundamental moral impulse. But before it is organized, and even in civilization on occasions when the crowd is master, and justice yields to mob-law or lynch-law, the passion of resentment is rarely satisfied by any atonement save that of death. There is such a phenomenon as a collective lust for blood, and, sociologically speaking, we have a right to class together the behaviour of the Commons in the Revolution of 1789, and of the Aztecs in their systematized orgies of human sacrifice.

Cases like these show moral resentment as a perversion, but there seems to be little distinction between them and the cases of primitive social revenge. Lastly, it was to be expected, and is

For instance, it was known in ancient India,

1 MYTH. 825. quoting authorities.


3 Westernmark enumerates the areas in which human sacrifice has been practised (I. 430 f.).

HUMAN SACRIFICE (Introductory and Primitive) 841

proved by the facts, that the history of society up to quite recent times is characterized by a special sense of collective responsibility. The belief that national or tribal disaster was due to national or tribal sin is very real. It is a question whether the sources of this powerful idea is to be found in the sum of individual selfishly or self-regarding impulses, the sum of individual desires to shirk individual responsibilities, or in the mutual imitation of elementary instincts of cooperation. However that may be, the whole history of human sacrifice is linked together by ideas of vicarious suffering, substitution, and representation, no less than by its form of collective murder.

Looking at this and the extensive and normal application of the biologicosocial law that the individual is inferior to the race, and, as against the race or community, has no rights; 'it is expedient that one man should die for the people' (Jn 11).

In that stage of culture when all social organization is religious, justice and worship are apt to be confused. Some cases, however, still show collective retribution. Von Kotzebue with great insight observes of the Sandwich Islanders that they 'sacrifice the sinner to avert the evil visitation sent to bring about the execution of justice.' The ancient Romans are said to have put corn-thieves to death as a sacrifice to Ceres. Among the Hebrews the ban, or kasher, was placed upon malesaectors as enemies of Jehovah. It was

protestation to Jehovah. . . . The person who was 'dedicated' generally by a solemn vow, to Jehovah, were put to death, frequently by fire, whereby the resemblance to an ordinary murder was rendered still more apparent; their dwellings and property were also consumed by fire; their bodies were usually put on the wheel; and the affair was, of course, attempted to inhibit the impulse, but this, being identical with the feeling of duty, is self-sufficient, whether in the individual or in the community.

The personal aspect of human sacrifice has been emphasized by the fact that semi-civilized and even civilized societies have, for various reasons, been in the habit of practicing a severity which far surpasses the rigour of the laws. To quite recent times the penalty of death was prescribed for the majority of offenses in all civilized communities. There can be no doubt that the spectacle of capital punishment offered to the public in England, for example, till the last century, afforded the same instincts as did the gladiatorial games of Rome and the sacrificial massacres of Mexico. This severity is connected with despotism or religion. In either case, acts which are regarded as semi-divine or divine beings are punished with more severity, because the community fears that the divine wrath may be turned against itself.

This has actually been made an argument for applying the death penalty to all offenses. Thus, the Peruvians held that 'a culprit was not punished for the delinquency he had committed, but for having broken the commandment of the Ynca, who was respected as God,' and that, therefore, the slightest offense deserved death. Every crime, in Hebrew theory, involves a breach of God's law, and no punishment is too severe for the ungodly. These ideas were adopted by the Christian Church and by Christian governments.

A link between the conception of the god and his offenders holiness and the personal aspect of human sacrifice may be found in the reason given for the sacrifice of criminals—that they are already hateful to the god. Any such convenient offender persons may, again, almost suggest the principle of preventive sacrifice or penalty on the Slave Coast.

1 The object of human sacrifice seems to be to gratify or saliate the malice of the gods at the expense of the criminal, but not instead of leaving it to chance—the victims are, in fact, slain for the benefit of the community at large.

A considerable proportion of sacrificial cases may be regarded as founded on a nervous collective 'sense of sin,' which should perhaps be explained as the sense of responsibility in the making of an

suggested, is on the normal lines of the evolution of the custom, and is the final development of the original inclusion of the social habit. It is not sacrifice, except in a large metaphorical sense, because it is

One might urge that, even after the administration of justice has become altogether separated from religion, there is no break of continuity—that in effect a new religion shows itself in the interval, and that capital punishment, or any punishment, is still a sacrifice to justice.

The difference is that no supersition ideal exists to ruin the destruction of the criminal life, and that the justice thus satisfied is not a personalized power. Westernmark's statement lays stress on the death of the victim as propitiating the deity. The deity thus being the personification of the moral feelings of the community repeats the moral, retributive impulses of the community. He requires not a sacrifice, but a just penalty. Westernmark notes that 'there can be no moral scruples in regard to a rite which involves a punishment regarded as just.' But it would be a mistake to assume that moral scruples are the early offerings of any form of human sacrifice. All religious acts, however horrible, are as hypothesi sincere, and therefore untouched by moral scruples as we are inclined to excuse them in Europe to justice. The ancient Romans are said to have put corn-thieves to death as a sacrifice to Ceres. Among the Hebrews the ban, or kasher, was placed upon malesaectors as enemies of Jehovah. It was

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the central feature in the pantheons of human sacrifice, and therefore require illustration.

The Chippewas, suffering from an epidemic, regarded it as a divine punishment for their wickedness. The most beautiful girl of the tribe was set adrift in the river and allowed to drown, as a means of staying the plague.1 Similarly the Bootians sacrificed a boy to stay a pestilence.2 Referring to the Hebrews, Philo of Byblius says:3

"It was the custom among the ancients, in case of great danger, that the rulers of a city or a nation, in order to avert universal destruction, should give the dearest of their children to be killed as a ransom offered to avenging demons."4

In the Nipmuc Country, a young woman is sacrificed to take away the inequalities of the land. As her body is dragged along in a merciless manner, as if the weight of all their wickedness was thus carried away.5 "Wickedness, wickedness!" She is drowned in the river.6 Another account speaks of two sacrifices, one for the land, the other for the river.

The two human beings were offered as sacrifices, to propitiate their heathen deities, thinking that they would thus alone for the individual sins of those who had broken God's laws during the past year. . . . Those who had fallen into gross sins during the past year, or as boozers, thieves, fornicators, sorcerers, sorceries, witches, wickedness, etc.—were expected to stay in twenty-eight years, or 63, 7, 64, as a fine; and this money was to be taken into the interior, to provide for the sickly persons, to be offered as a sacrifice for all these unclean-nesses. A sacrifice, in a sense, may be a substitute for his father's sins for his people; a criminal, similarly, represents the guilty soul of the community. Westernmarck has rightly said:7 "A representative of the community which has incurred the anger of the gods, and is accepted as a substitute for the principle of social solidarity."8

The Chukchi in 1814 sacrificed a respected chief to stay an epidemic which was destroying both men and reindeer. The sacrifice of every living creature born in the following spring, which constituted the ancient Italian rite of the Fer Sacrum, was performed in times of peril or pestilence.9 Human sacrifices in cases of drought and famine is frequent.8 When unseasonable weather threatened the crops, the Peruvians sacrificed children.10 The people of the Great Benin, in case of excessive rain, and the king:11 to make full, and sacrifice to the gods. Accordingly a woman was taken, a prayer made over her, and a message giving the Rain God power in her mouth; then she was clamped to death and put up in the execution tree so that the rain might shower. In his columns, there is too much blood, in the belief a danger of the crops spoiling. Overseas (the king) can sacrifice to the Sun God.12

This instance is instructive. It includes a plain connection with the penal aspect of sacrifice, and also the later notion that the slain person acts as a messenger to the god. The possibility of using sacrifice, not merely as an expiation, but as an expiation in advance—in other words, as a preventive measure was suggested. How such rites may come to be easily become positive is well shown by another case from Great Benin. Sir Richard Burton saw a young woman13 leaped on a scaffold upon the summit of a tall blasted tree, and being devoured by the turkeys-hawks. The people determined that "sacrifices" are the "right and proper thing to be done." Such agricultural sacrifices are common enough:14 they tend to become annual and seasonal. Westernmarck shows the reason for supposing that the victim is by no means always regarded as a representative of the corn-spirit, as is argued in Fraser's hypothesis.15

Ancient Greeks, Gauls, Semites, and Hindus sacrificed human beings in war, either to guard against ill-omens or to propitiate the divine being.16 D. Dorman, Primitivae Superstitiones, Philadelphia, 1881, p. 205.


21 "Vom. L. 58.

who had brought it about.1 Thus far the principle of sacrifice may be said to be illustrated by the Chukchi sacrifice of two hundred children, when the city was in the last stage of siege.2

The transition from the idea of securing the lives of the community by sacrificing the life of one man to the idea of propitiating a malignant supernatural power is naturally easy in such circumstances. The Hebrews, it is said, "and the high priest propitiated their god of battle by human sacrifice."

"On the eve of a battle, or when a new fort or even as an important victory is to be hailed or when danger or was to be averted, this sacrificial being may be propitiated with human sacrifices; or sacrifice was offered to the god of battle, human sacrifice."

Sacrifice after victory may, when the idea of sacrifice proper have fully coloured the rite, be regarded as a thank-offering. But revenge on the enemy, the fulfillment of a vow (itself connected with the impulse of resentment), or further, propitiation, may in many cases inspire the custom.3

An important feature of this vicarious stone-Member, whether expiatory or preventive, is that the victim is not chosen at random. He may be a worthless person, a criminal or outcast, a slave, or a foreigner. It is the child, for instance, who is the dearest of youth, or even the king of the people. The precise character of the person slain generally qualifies the meaning of the rite. The example of the child, for instance, a substitute for his father's sins for his people; a criminal, similarly, may be the guilty soul of the community. Westernmarck has rightly said:7 "is a representative of the community which has incurred the anger of the gods, and is accepted as a substitute for the principle of social solidarity."8

The stoning of Christ is conceived of as a sacrifice, and His personality as fully representative.9 According to the Western Church, Christ discharged the punishment due to the sins of mankind, and propitiated the justice of His Father, in His capacity as a representative of the human race, in the East, where it was maintained that the deity suffered (though he suffered through the human nature which he had made his own), the idea of substitution could hardly take root, since, as Harnack (Hist. of Dogmas, Ill. 812 f.) remarks, the dying God-man really represented no one. The Greek Church regarded the death of Christ as a sacrifice, and the Romans, again, as a ransom, often also accepted by the most important of the Western Fathers, although it daily contradicted their own theory of atonement.10

When men offer the lives of their fellow-men in sacrifices to their gods, they do so, as a rule, in the hope of thereby saving their own. Human sacrifices is essentially a method of insurance—alms, no doubt, according to our ideas, but not an act of war. Once practiced for the benefit of the community, or in a case of national disaster, it was often cruel than the inflection of capital punishment on the ground of the crime itself. It was used to symbolize the sacrifice of a life to the battle-field on behalf of the country. The custom of the human sacrifice exists at the present time. It is maintained that taken to save the lives of many, or that an individual individual is put to death for the purpose of preventing the death of somebody who has a higher right to live. Sometimes the chief is sacrificed in times of scarcity or pestilence, but then he is probably held responsible for bringing calamity. Frequently the victims are prisoners of war or other aliens, or slaves, or criminals, that is, persons whose death is little regret. And in many cases they are the only victims allowed by custom.11

The execution of heathens, as such, is a culmination of the social principle that the Godhead is deeply interested in the loyalty of the believing people. The asul do de 6 is a true human sacrifice of the penal species; it might readily take on the character of sacrifice proper, as it probably has done in the analogous cases of Hebrew extermination of the heathen and Mohammedan extermination of unbelievers, though in Europe this character has not been emphasized.

When the principle that the death of one may save the lives of the community has become part of

1 Casper, de Bell. God. vi. 16; Paussaneus, xiv. 4, 4, xiv. 1, 1; K s.; Herod. vii. 107; Diodor. xx. 14; N. Chorici, Ptolemaic, ii. 10; J. J. Campbell, Tribes of Ethipia, London, 1864, p. 82.


3 H. I. 80.

4 H. I. 601f.
the popular creed, voluntary sacrifice may be undertaken. Ancient Rome owed victories in battle to the deaths of heroes, such as Decius Mus. This devotional attitude towards death and an act, and had a prescribed ritual. The Sacerdii of the Japanese is certainly a sacrifice; when committed at the funeral, the dead man, or his person is it is the nature of an offering to the soul of the dead, in that form which ensures that the dead shall have companions and attendants. The Chukhi and Samoyeds are curiously addicted to suicide; in fact, there is a suicidal belt across Northern Asia, including the Japanese. The Samoye holds that the act is in itself pleasing to God, who looks upon it as a voluntary sacrifice, which deserves reward. The Chukhi sacrifices their own lives in times of national danger or epidemic. The ari of Hindu widows on the pyres of their dead husbands is repeated elsewhere, as in Uganda, the East Indies, Fiji, and the New Hebrides. Such sacrifices are analogous to acts of asceticism, and, like these, is often connected with the desire for betterment in the world beyond the grave.

Human sacrifice was performed, also, to save the life of some particular individual. The Guatemala's resort to it when no other means of curing a sick person failed. To-day in Morocco, if a child dies, the custom is to congratulate the parents—Your child took away your misfortune. The practice of sacrificing the first-born child seems to have been an article of ancient Semitic religion; the origin of the Pasover is most probably to be traced to it. The practice is found, more or less systematized, in Australia, China, America, Africa, and Russia. Infanticide, at a stage of culture when all social custom is religious, naturally assumes the character of a sacrifice. There may be various motives for the act, but only cases where there is a real substitution for the child another person can be included under human sacrifice. Substitutional sacrifice for individual benefit occurs in Central America, Peru, Tonga, Tahiti, the Philippines, India, the Dayak coast, West Africa, and Western Asia. It was frequent in ancient Italy, and both Nero and Hadrion were benefactors of the rite.

There is a curious practice, connected with the doctrine of the soul, of sacrificing an individual, generally a child, to remove barrenness from women. As Westernmark explains it, the failure to conceive is attributed to some god keeping back the children which would otherwise be born in the due course of nature. The victim is a substitute.

Certain cases of child-sacrifice seem to suggest that the child, being in a sense a duplicate of the father, places the life of the father in danger.

When the idea is arrived at that the person sacrificed is a gift to the deity, we are in the sphere of sacrifice proper. But this is clearly later than the penal conception and the substitutional conception of the rite. The gods of the Gold Coast require attendants:

'The gods of the human victims sacrificed to them are believed to pass into a condition of ghostly servitude to them, just as those sacrificed at the funerals of chiefs are believed to pass into a ghostly attendance.'

The belief is rare, but, as added to the service of the dead, is frequent. The type of it is the Hindu ari. Men require both wives and servants in the other world. India, probably even in Vedic times, and Central America are the chief areas of the practice of immolating wives and slaves or friends for the dead, but it is found all over the world. Blood-revenge in many cases is really a human sacrifice to the spirit of the murdered man. The completed revenge is frequently believed also to safeguard the avenger from the malignancy of the unavenged dead. Such ideas are merely superimposed upon a practice originally inspired by the impulse of resentment.

Other ideas, probably later than the institution of the rite, are the conception that the man sacrificed is a messenger to the gods; and he becomes, when sacrificed at or in a near time, a protecting demon of the place. Probably the original intention was to protect the living from the risks incurred by occupying a site belonging to supernatural powers. This is seen in the case of sacrifices made at the building of bridges (q.v.). Human sacrifices to the powers of water, seas, or river-demons, are common enough, and folklore is full of stories of them.

Cannibalism (q.v.) is probably not to be regarded, as Letourneur regards it, as the original sin of mankind.

'The cannibalism of modern savages,' Westernmark concludes, 'is not a survival from the first infancy of mankind, nor is it representative of a stage through which the whole human race has passed.'

But there can be little doubt that primitive peoples, like barbarous and even civilized nations on occasion, practised cannibalism as an infrequent habit. Now, according to one theory of sacrifice, the essence of this central act of worship is the presentation of a common meal for the god and his worshippers. A priori there is every reason to expect that the idea of cannibalism should be found in many cases of human sacrifice. The Central Americans, especially the Mexican, offered the blood and the heart of the victim to the god. The priest cut open the breast, tore out the heart. This was 'waved' as an offering to the Sun; frequently it was placed with a golden spoon in the mouth of the image. The Iroquois, the Khonds and Ooryals of India, the Fijians, and peoples of the Gold Coast, had similar ritual and belief. Cannibal meals, which possess a magical or religious character, satisfy the above definition of sacrifice, if the victim is slain for the purpose. The most inerterate followers of the cult of human sacrifice, as it may truly be called in this case—the Mexicans—ate portions of the human victims slain on their altars. The Mayas, Nicaraguans, and Peruvians did the same. In Nigeria, human sacrifice offered to appease the gods, or to avert misfortunes, is not considered to be complete unless either the priests or the people eat the bodies of the victims. In some parts of the flesh is distributed among the entire population. The practice is found in the Solomon Islands, Hawaii, and ancient India, always in connexion with a sacrifice. Two species of cannibalism are distinguished in Western Africa, the one a luxury, governmentally, the other sacrificial, and in the latter the priests are the chief partakers.'
HUMAN SACRIFICE (Introductory and Primitive)

"The sacrificial form of cannibalism," says Westermarck, "obviously springs from the idea that a victim offered to supernatural beings participates in his sacrifice and from the wish of the worshipper to inherit something of his benign virtue. So also the divine qualities of a man-god are transferred to the person who eats his flesh or drinks his blood. This was the idea of the early Christians concerning the Eucharist."

Similarly, the eating of human flesh is in various cases supposed to have a magical and supernatural effect. The circle of these ideas is completed by the remarkable belief, found in the majority of races, that the flesh and blood of executed offenders have magical power. The mere fact of a violent death, when imposed on a victim by corporate action, is always impressive. It is possible that we have here the psychological explanation of the magical virtues with which such human sacrifices are credited. They are the sign and seal of the sacred forces of the community in action.

Westermarck finds, in criticism of Fraser's hypothesis, "no instance of an expiatory sacrifice being connected with a ceremony of sin-transference." The merikà sacrifice of the Khonds is a notable example of human sacrifice. Its meaning is not clear. It is said to be the victim was a representative of the corn-spirit and was sacrificed in order to ensure good crops. On the principle chiefly of the resurrection of the spirit involved in the interpretation involves the assumption that the view of the merikà as a victim offered to deity, the Earth-goddess, Tari Pennu, is a superstition. Macpherson notes that the merikà was sacrificed "upon the occurrence of an extraordinary number of deaths by disease; or should many die in childbirth; or should the flocks or herds suffer largely from disease, or from wild beasts; or if the crops grown were divided by drought," also whenever any calamity occurred to the chiefs or their families.

From this and other evidence, Westermarck concludes that the theory of substitution accounts fully for the rite, and that the hypothesis of the identification with the corn-spirit is arbitrary.

See further, the 'Indian' article, § 4.

Magical efficacy is universally attributed to human blood, probably because it is human, that is, the blood of the lord of creation, who, as such, is not normally an article of food. Human sacrifice to the dead is sometimes for the purpose of supplying them with food. But this is obviously exceptional, just as the dead are themselves in an exceptional state. They are now supernatural, and supernatural (in the literal meaning) should be their sustenance. There is no relic of cannibalism in human sacrifice, but the principles of religious cannibalism are latent in it.

Ancestor-worship, it is possible, may often have led to the idea that a supernatural source of magical power may be acquired by eating ceremonially a human, or indeed any living, victim. If the dead are divine, new additions to the list of the divine can be made by death. The murderer has an option on the spirit of him he slays. Bloodthirsty priests and deports may at times have worked their murderous wills according to some such principle. It is necessary to insist on this, as also on the satisfaction of the social lust for blood. The latter certainly is to be seen in the merikà sacrifice; both the latter and the former are found in the Mexican holocausts as were they in the auto da fé.

The gods of Mexico were enswathed with horror; but the human sacrifices almost daily consummated by gluttony were appreciated by the congregation as intensely as the gladiatorial combats were by the populace of Rome. In some cases...
unfit for sacrifice, and therefore their flesh is not to be eaten. When the medaka entered the earth, the gods surrounded it to prevent its escape. There it was turned into rice, and therefore rice is now sacrified.

According to the Kalidā Purāṇa, slaying a sacrifice, even of a man, is ipso facto no murder. This seems to be an exaggeration, for the Kalidā Purāṇa speaks of the sacrifice of a man, not of a human being. The sacrifice of a man is prohibited by the Brahmans and the Kṣatriyas. The sacrifice of a human being is not sanctioned by the Veda.

With regard to the difficulty of representing the god, a case in point is given by the Tatttvāyā. For the purusa-mahā, human sacrifice, the Tatttvāyā enjoins that to a deity of the Brahmans, the Brahmans must be sacrificed; to a deity of the Kṣatriyas, the Kṣatriya. Possibly the clue to representation is in the practice of periodic self-sacrifice, and perhaps a kind of human sacrifice, being made by sacrifice into a deity, it is natural that his attributes should be repeated at the next sacrifice. Thus a particular god is represented. Then, later, in his incarnation, he is regarded as a victim, and the victim retains the character of the god. See, further, the 'Indian' article.

Often the choicest specimens of humanity are required for human sacrifice. 'The death of the righteous makes atonement,' and human sacrifice is required. The Kalidā Purāṇa enjoins that the victim must be free from physical defects and unstained by crime; nor may it be a female. The case of slaves, malefactors, and diseased persons has been noted.

Vicious atonement becomes vicious in a secondary sense, when another person is sacrificed instead of the original victim. In Eastern Africa, a freeman guilty of causing a congocilla close to the chosen abode of the deity is liable to be offered as a sacrifice to the god who has been annoyed, but he may redeem his life by giving up one of his slaves to be offered in his stead. Animals, again, certainly have figured largely as substitutes for human victims.

To the Jewish notion, Jehovah in his mercy permits the soul of the animal sacrificed to take the place of that of the murderer. No traces remain of this ceremony, which took place; the blood of the latter is cast, and remains so, as is evident from the fact that this blood is put upon the altar; it is a token of mercy on Jehovah's part, that he accepts it. Nor can it be asserted that the animal sacrificed and the murderer were ever remiss in the transgressor.

Effigies, lastly, may take the place even of bread and fruits of the earth as substitutes for the human victim. In Malaysia, dough models of human beings, actually called 'the substitutes,' are offered to the spirits. Such substitutes occur in all parts of the world, and in the majority of its organised religions.

HUMAN SACRIFICE (Chinese).—Unlike many nations of ancient or even modern times, such as the Aztecs, or Dahunams, the Chinese have had no regular system of human sacrifices, offered to the gods, and forming a part of their idolatrous worship. Their altars have never reeked with the blood of the brute creation, much less with that of their fellow-man. We have no record of holocausts of victims being offered up at the shrines of their deities. Flesh is no doubt offered in the rise of worship, but the animal or fowl is already slaughtered and dressed before being brought to the altar, and is offered as food might be to a man—it partakes of the character of an obligation, instead of that of a sacrifice. The type of deities, i.e. of deified human beings, is more that of mild or benevolent gods or goddesses. There is no equivalent of the Indian Kali; there is nothing like the ponderous car of Jaganath leaving mangled remains of crushed humanity in its course. The ferocity of the Chinese gods is developed in the destruction of the destruction of demons; they do not thirst for human blood and do not require to be appeased by the offering of it.

Notwithstanding all this, there are indications to be found in Chinese history of a feeling in the Chinese mind that High Heaven may be propitiated by the shedding of human blood; for several instances occur of human sacrifices being suggested at least. One of the most noteworthy was in the time of T'ang (766-755 B.C.), the founder of the Sung dynasty. We are told by the great historian Set ma Chi'en and by others that, in the land of Egypt in the time of Joseph, seven years of drought prevailed in the Empire, leading to a terrible famine. To such extremities did matters come that it was suggested that a human victim should be offered as a sacrifice to appease Heaven and bring down the showers of much-needed rain. The Emperor T'ang said: 'If a man must be a victim, I will be,' and prepared himself for the sacrifice. Ere the prayer he was offered was finished, the rain fell in heavy showers on the parched land for hundreds of miles.

The Scythian custom of slaying the wives and attendants of deceased chieftains and others high in rank or social position was in vogue in ancient China. A time-honoured custom of burning the dead and their goods—gold, silver, precious stones, silks and embroideries, etc.—with the deceased lasted long. Wives, concubines, and slaves were also looked upon as the property of their lords and masters, and shared the same fate as the other possessions thus interred; for, with the anthropological conceptions of the Chinese with regard to a future state of existence, the life beyond the grave was supposed to be almost a counterpart of this life; and, since such necessary and permanent for the happiness and comfort of the living, it was thought that they were equally necessary for the dead, and that those who had passed into another state of existence could be of service to the survivors and harbour resentment unless freely supplied with them. The drain upon the resources of the people, owing to the enormous expenses entailed by the grand funerals, was such that a gradual process ensued of substituting less costly articles for the rich wares and precious things, so that articles of no real value took the place of the original offerings in most cases; and, in the same way, the substituting of imitation men and women has replaced the imolation of human beings as the obsequies of the great and wealthy.

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human sacrifice (Chinese) them. These had springs which caused them to move, probably in imitation of the movements of men. Confucius was the first to practice the custom of burying living persons with the dead. Confucius sacrificed to the invention of the wooden images; but it is more probable that the human sacrifice to the dead was the original form. The wood and the straw and wooden images were substituted for the more cruel custom, as was the case in Japan, where clay images were substituted about the time of the Christian era for the human victims.

Images are now made of a bamboo framework and covered with colored paper to represent human beings, clothed in accordance with the station in life of those they are supposed to represent. These are carried, as in the case of the late Empress Dowager, in the funeral procession and burned. It is believed that they are thus transmitted to the spirit world and there wait upon their supposed lords and masters.

This practice of sacrificing living human beings to the spirits of the departed who occupied high positions when alive was common, as may be gathered from the occasional references to it in Chinese literature. The silence concerning it has also been considered as corroborative of the practice; for, being common, it is supposed that reference was made to it only under exceptional circumstances. Confucius appears to have been insidious among the Chinese and not imported from Tatar sources, as Boiot and even some Chinese have thought to be the case.

The Chinese Herodotus, Shih-na Ch'ien, mentions the first instance we have on record, when a ruler, Wu, of the Yen State made 66 people 'follow the dead' (Duke Ch'ing) into the next world. A nephew (Duke Mu) of this prince had sacrificed to his death. Among these were three brothers put into the grave with the coffin of the Duke. Their fate is depicted in the songs of the State included in the ancient Chinese Classic, the Shi King, or 'Book of Poetry.' This was in 620 B.C.

Hundreds perished at the royal funerals, and scores at those of officers and nobles, in antiquity. The philosopher Mencius, who lived about the 3rd cent. B.C., inveighed against extravagant funerals, informs us of this. At the death of the Great Ts’ao, Hwang, the builder of the Great Wall and the destroyer of the books, all the women in his harem who had borne him no sons were shut up in his tomb (309 B.C.). There is some reason for believing that human sacrifices occurred at the construction of the Great Wall.

In the Ch’aus, or ‘Spring and Autumn Annals,’ of Confucius and in the two Commentaries on them, the Tso Chuan and Ku Liang, mention is made of some cases. Two instances were in 639 and 526 B.C. in neither case was it at funeral rites that the immolation took place. In the first the Viscount of Tsang was sacrificed instead of an animal by the people of Chu, to save some wild birds in the east. The Minister of War inveighed against this sacrifice of a man, a ruler of a State, to an unlicensed and irregular spirit. In the second case the heir of the State of Ts’ao, after the destruction of that State, was carried by the victors to their own State of Ts’ao and sacrificed on a mountain—one would suppose as a thank-offering for the victory gained—again instead of an animal.

In the T’ang, Confucius is said to have sacrificed to save a son buried two daughters with the sovereign. Another, a servant, dreamed that he carried his ruler up to heaven and later in the day he lifted the dead body of this same ruler out of a privy and was buried with him (580 B.C.). Again, in 502 B.C. we read of five men being buried alive at the death of a ferdal ruler of the State of Ch’u. It is stated in the ‘Annals of Wu’ and Yushu that a crowd of men were, by a trick, pressed alive into the mausoleum of a princess in 510 B.C. In a number of cases these entombments were approved of by the people.

In another of the Chinese Classics, the Li Ki, or ‘Book of Rites,’ accounts are given of two proposals to bury the living with the dead. In one case the widow and steward of the deceased, a grandee of the State of Ts’ai, proposed that, to provide for the dead man when ill in the next world, some person should be sent to minister to him. His younger brother, who was a disciple of Confucius, said that it was not proper to do so, but suggested that a man should be done, the widow and steward should be the persons to be sent. This pronouncement settled the matter, and no one was sacrificed. It is supposed that the child of a son who was refused a grave buried his grave with him in the same coffin. There is a similar case where directions were given by a dying man that a favourite concubine should be buried with him. His son decreed that she should be married again. The son obeyed the better order. A Queen Dowager, who loved a minister, commanded that he should be buried with her; but, being reasoned with, yielded to persuasion and gave up the idea (309 B.C.). The Prince of Wu (514–496 B.C.) sacrificed a large number of men and women at the death of a favourite daughter in order that they might accompany her. In the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220), certain tombs of princes of the Wu State (324–228 B.C.) were opened. All a hundred dead bodies were found—all women with one exception—probably intended for the deceased's harem in the spirit world. In another grave two bodies were found. To come later down in history, we find that this practice was specially maintained by the Tatar Liao dynasty which ruled over Northern China (A.D. 907–1125). It will thus be seen that throughout Chinese history there are indications of the prevalence of this custom.

It may be supposed that the first Emperor of the After Chow dynasty (A.D. 901–960) gave orders for a simple funeral for himself, and on no account was any one to be injured in connection with it.

We find notices also of sacrifices to the spirits of Nature, as, for instance, in A.D. 1130–31 at the siege of a city in the North of China when the Khan invaders tore out the hearts of twelve prisoners and offered them as sacrifices for a change of
HUMAN SACRIFICE (Greek) 547

wind; or, again, we read of a maiden being sacrificed to a river-god.1

In the Yuan dynasty (A.D. 1280-1367), women were buried with the Mongols who ruled the empire then.2 In the Ming dynasty (A.D. 1368-1644) the custom was extensively practised during the first hundred years, the first, third, fourth, and fifth emperors being buried in this way with 38, 18, 4, and 7 victims respectively. It was also the rule in the case of princes. This went on until the Emperor Ying Teung (+ A.D. 1464) abolished it for his own funeral, though he sacrificed several women at his brother’s death.3

The late Manchu dynasty (A.D. 1644-1911) at first also practised human sacrifices, as small events during the reign of the first Emperor Shun Chi (A.D. 1644-91).

There is no evidence to show whether the later sovereigns sanctioned it.

It has been thought that the Chinese practice of placing figures of men in an avenue leading to the tomb, as at the Imperial tombs, had its origin in human sacrifices.4 Isolated cases occur in which the Chinese offer to the men of a man killed or murdered the killer or the murderer or a portion of his body.5 Human sacrifices are said to have been burnt in the time of Shih Kung and of silk-fabrication at Soochow.6 It also was and may still be the custom for new rich men in the province to be consecrated with the shedding of the blood of a youth and a maiden at the pontifice of the Tao Te Ching.7 It is supposed to prevent accidents or evil influences. One of the aboriginal tribes in Chinas would offer one of their number every year as a sacrifice to their dog-idol.8

Closely akin to the sacrifices of the living to the dead is a species of sati sometimes practised in China, when the widow publicly commits suicide to follow her dead husband to the grave.

Even in recent times, prisoners or slaves have been burnt under bridges, city-gates, and public buildings.9 These human sacrifices are said to be of great antiquity, and to have been celebrated at the time of the Yin dynasty.10

The rites were, of course, based upon the belief that the dead continues in the world of spirits to follow the same course of living as they have followed on earth; but, though the belief itself prevailed extensively the sacrifice of human victims was always kept up.

In the Homeric age, the proceeding of Achilles was such as to provoke from the poet the unusual comment, “evil was the deed that he contrived.” Some critics have laid it down that the Homeric religion was succeeded by a period of polytheistic superstition, in which aural offerings first became customary. Although there is some measure of truth in this view, it is equally possible to observe that, so far as human sacrifices are concerned, the Homeric poets stand upon the same level as the rest of Greek literature, which is representative of an advanced stage of ethical development, and consequently condemns as unworthy of Hellenic enlightenment the offering up of human lives to appease the wrath of an offended deity. The sacrifice of human victims on stated occasions is regarded as a barbarian practice (Soph. fr. 122), evidenced by the cruel exposure of Andromeda and Helen, those of the Greek heroes, and the savage rites of the Tartar priesthood (Eur. Iph. Taur. 465). The Phoenician Moloch, who was honoured by the sacrifice of children (Plut. de Sacr. v. 466), was regularly identified with Cronus, whose primitive tyranny was overthrown by the milder dominion of Zeus (M. Mayer, in Bonn. Jahrb. ii. 1361 f.). Another Moloch (Ag. 156) calls the sacrifice of Iphigenia lamentable; Pausania (viii. 19. 8) records that the Delphic oracle referred to the recurring sacrifices of a youth and a maiden at the time of Helen, who had been to Tricia and to Aulis on a foreign expedition.

J. DYER BALL.

HUMAN SACRIFICE (Greek).—It has often been observed that the Homeric poems contain hardly any allusions to human sacrifice. A remarkable exception occurs in II. xxiii. 175, where, after sacrificing four horses and two dogs on the funeral pyre of Patroclus, Achilles crowns the onions of the Trojan horses, doubtless to serve as the thralls of Patroclus in the world below, just as the horses and dogs were required to minister to other needs. The sacrifice in question is one of a class which is often represented in early civilizations (Tylor, PC i. 456 f.), and is best illustrated by the account in Herodotus (iv. 71) of the funeral of the Scythian kings, when cooks, groomers, butlers, and others of the royal household were strangled and buried in their master’s tomb. The rite was, of course, based upon the belief that the dead continues in the world of spirits to follow the same course of living as they have followed on earth; but, though the belief itself prevailed extensively to the ancient Greeks, the custom has been kept up, and the practice has been extended to the present day. Recent investigations support the conclusion that no single form is adequate to cover the various circumstances in which recourse was had to human sacrifice. Thus, the rites connected with the peregrination of evil, where the victim assumes the character of a scapegoat, have been traced to a single source; and it must be recognized that in many cases it is impossible to discover precisely how the worshippers believed that their offering would be gratifying. Yet the desire to appease an enraged deity or to prevent his jealousy by timely precautions, when there may be a risk of infringing his prerogatives, is frequently indicated as an impelling motive.

It might happen that the wrath of heaven was declared by some special manifestation of displeasure, such as the occurrence of a pestilence, or the interposition of some unusual obstacle to the successful issue of an undertaking. Thus the sacrifice of Iphigenia was demanded because the detention of the Greek fleet at Aulis by contrary winds was a sign of divine anger (Esch. Ag. 198 f.). Similarly, the sacrifice of Polyxena on the tomb of Achilles was urged by Neoptolemus as a means of obtaining favourable winds for the return from Troy (Eur. Hec. 538 f.). Both of these incidents belonged to the tradition of the

1 J. R. S. (N. Ch. Branch), new ser., xii. 16, note.
3 See quotation from Ma Tsan-in in de Groot, ii. 427 f.
4 See quotations from Chinese works cited by de Groot, ii. 783 f., also China Review, x. [1891-92] 73.
7 A Chinese story recently mentioned in one of the weekly papers. See also Giles, Chinese Bog. Dist. London, 1886, p. 556 (cd. 675), quoted in F. Faber, Hist. of China, App. iv.

The development story shows a consolidation of two practices: the duty of offering a preliminary sacrifice to a god (see art.
Epile Cycle, the sacrifice of Iphigeneia being related in the Cypris, and that of Polyxena in the Ilium.

... con

vinces us that these and similar legends are handed down from time immemorial, and testify to the primitive beliefs of the race. An echo of the legend of Aulis, possibly combined with an attempt to ascribe an Oriental character to the practice, is preserved in the story recorded by Herodotus (ii. 119), that Menelaus, when detained in Egypt by adverse weather-conditions, sacrificed two Egyptian boys as expiatory victims. Yet another incident may be found in the story of Sima (Verg. Aen. ii. 116 ff.), and an example taken from historical times shows how deeply-rooted was the superstition which required extraordinary sacrifices before a departure on an important voyage. Ageïsana, about to embark at Aulis on his expedition against Persia, dreamed that a human sacrifice was required from him; but, since such an act would have been abhorrent to the spirit of the times, he was content to offer up a rind in Ragonemnon’s sacrifice (Plat. Apol. 6). When the subjects of Athis, distressed by a drought, the king received information that an oracle required him to sacrifice his children Phrixus and Hele; and he was about to comply with this command when the children were miraculously rescued by their immortal mother Nephele, and dispatched on their famous journey over the sea on the back of the ram with the golden fleece (Apollod. i. 16). When attacked by famine and pestilence, the Athenians, in obedience to the command of an old oracle, slew the daughters of Telephus on the tomb of Heracles the Cypelle (Hdt. iii. 5. 8).

Usually, however, the danger which calls for so exceptional a remedy is an approaching conflict with a foreign power. In this instance of Penylla’s expedition (404 ff.), Demophon, preparing to resist an Argive invasion, after he had refused to surrender the children of Heracles, was warned by the soothsayers that it was essential for him to sacrifice to Persephone a maiden of noble birth. Similarly, when Threos was besieged by the army of Acrasides and Polybeus, Tiresias demanded of Creon that he should sacrifice his son Menoeceus in order to placate the hostility of Areus, which Cadmus had incurred by slaying the dragon (Eur. Phæ. 98 ff.) and whose waves are taken from the legendary history of Athens. Erechtheus, when at war with Eleusis, was promised success, if he would offer up one of his own children (Plut. Peric. vii. 4). A similar story was related concerning the three daughters of Lecus (Ellian, Var. Hist. xii. 28), and the devotion of King Codrus saved Athens when he learnt that his death was a necessary condition of the defeat of the Macedonian invaders (Lycurg. 84 ff.).

The general impression which we receive from Greek literature is that in historical times human sacrifice was obsolete, and it comes as a surprise to read in Plutarch that Themistocles, before the battle of Salamis, was driven by the pressure of public opinion to consent to the sacrifice of three Persian captives in honour of Dionysus Oments (Plat. Themist. 13). Grote, it is true, dismisses the story as a fiction (iv. 473), and it is obviously of such a kind as a later age might have invented by way of scandalous embellishment for a famous chapter in the annals of the past. But, whether it is credible or not, we are at least entitled to draw from it the inference that there were not wanting in the classical age those who still cherished a belief in the efficacy of human sacrifice, and were prepared to advocate a resort to it in seasons of supreme danger. The conclusion is in agreement with the other available evidence. Before the battle of Salamis, the oracles were said to have warned by a spirit in a vision to sacrifice a fair-haired maiden, if he wished for victory in the approaching conflict (Plut. Sal. 21). A sense of contemptuous amazement was born in the minds of the friends of enlightenment and those who would have him obey the warning. But a fortunate accident released the general from his dilemma; for a quick-witted seer, casting sight of a chestnut filly, which had separated from the herd and charged into the ranks of the army, cried out that here was the very victim which the infernal powers required. Equally characteristic is the account given by Pausanias (iv. 9. 3-10) of a similar incident in the First Macedonian War, which makes it clear that even at that early date Greek sentiment, while fearing to disobey the express injunction of an oracle, was only too ready to take advantage of any pretext for declaring that the sacred command had been fulfilled.

But there is incontrovertible evidence that, under stress of calamity, religious fears were too strong to be held entirely in check by the growing hatred of superstitious barbarities. Thus we read that, in the course of his famous purification of Athens, Epaminondas the Cretan caused one or two youth to be sacrificed (Athens. 608 C ; Diog. Laert. i. 110). Moreover, several authorities state (e.g. schol. Aristoph. Eq. 1130) that certain outcasts were massacred as a means of appeasing the gods, on the occasion of an extraordinary calamity, in order that, if a plague or a famine attacked the city, some of them might be sacrificed as scapegoats (οἰκονόμα, φαρμακαί). Without the consent of the people, the pollution might be removed. Nor was the practice confined to occasions of extraordinary calamity, for there are other examples, which establish that in certain cases human victims were sacrificed annually or at regular intervals. It has been inferred with reason from a statement of Pausanias (viii. 13. 7) that a rite of this kind was celebrated in honour of Zeus Lykeios on the summit of Mt. Lykeios in Arcadis as late as the 2nd cent. A.D. (cf. Forpbyr. de Aēsīs. ii. 27) (Plat. Meno, 216 C). At Halos in Themessal, Xeres informed that the eldest son of the royal stock, which traced its origin to Athis, was under a taboo to keep away from the town-hall, or, if he was once there, his name was taken from the legendary history of Athens. Erechtheus, when at war with Eleusis, was promised success, if he would offer up one of his own children (Plut. Peric. vii. 4). A similar story was related concerning the three daughters of Lecus (Ellian, Var. Hist. xii. 28), and the devotion of King Codrus saved Athens when he learnt that his death was a necessary condition of the defeat of the Macedonian invaders (Lycurg. 84 ff.).

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HUMAN SACRIFICE (Indian).

In this article the expression 'human sacrifice' is used to include not only propitiatory offerings to a god, but also all cases of the immolation of human beings, whether voluntary or otherwise, in furtherance of religious or supernatural purposes.

1. References to the subject in Hindu religious books.—The Astārṇya Brāhmaṇa to the Rigveda describes (vii. 13-15) how a certain king rejoiced that he would sacrifice his first-born to the water-god Varuṇa, if that deity would bless him with a son. One was born in due course, but the king hesitated to fulfill his vow until he saw that the child had grown up, when he ran away from home to escape the fate in store for him. The king was afflicted with drowsiness as a punishment for not sacrificing him. At last a Brahmin was sent on a mission to send the boy to a Brahmin as a sacrifice. This youth was tied to a stake, and was on the point of being immolated when his car, Varuṇa, was appeased by the pious acts of his son, wherein some other deities intervened, and he was released.

It has been argued, as the victim escaped, this story does not prove that the custom of human sacrifice existed, as it is supposed to be actual, and that the rite was merely symbolical. But the whole story loses its point unless a real sacrifice had been intended. It is, moreover, in accordance with a custom which was put up to by the British Government only a century ago in Bengal, where Hindu women were in the habit of consigning their first-born babes to the Ganges in fulfilment of similar vows.

The above story is an instance of the sacrifice of children in the fulfilment of vows. Another form of human sacrifice was the puruṣapāka, which was celebrated for the attainment of supremacy over all created beings, and at which eleven human beings and eleven barren cows were offered up. The ceremony is described in the White Yajur Veda, of which the Vajasaneya Samhita opens with verses intended to serve as mantras (charms or incantations) for offering of human sacrifices. Various gods are enumerated, with the kind of victim suitable for each, such as a priest for Brahma, a musician for the divinity of music, and a fisherman for the god of rivers. Other details are contained in the Taittirīya (iii. 4) and Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (xiii. 2), as well as in the Sādākhyaṇa (xvi. 10-16) and Vāstu śrauta Sūtras (xxvii. 1).

In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa it is stated that the victims are to be let loose after being consecrated; but this work is of much later date. The earlier records conclusively point to the actual slaughter of the victims; and the account of the rite given in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa itself can be explained on the hypothesis that it was a modification of a prior rite in which human beings were immolated.

The adiśeṣa, or horse-sacrifice, for the attainment of wealth, also required the immolation of a human being (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 3, 6, etc.; see Eggeling, SBE xiv. p. 221); and human sacrifice, though reprobated, is mentioned in the Mahābhārata (e.g., ii. 629 ff., 861 ff.).

The Purāṇas and Tantras, which were compiled in very early medieval times, contain many allusions to the immolation of human sacrifices. This was the naravatai, or human sacrifice to the goddess Chandikā, a dark, fierce, sanguinary divinity, who is represented in the most awful forms, garlanded with a string of

These passages are quoted at length by R. H. Jackson in his paper 'Human Sacrifice in Ancient India,' JASBS xiv. (1929) pt. i. p. 76.
human skulls, besmeared with human blood, and holding a skull in one hand and an up enot on the other.

In the Kalidā Purāṇa it is said that 'by a human sacrifice attended by the rises laid down, Dvīta the goddess, Līka' (Chandikā) of men, was gratified for a thousand years; and by the sacrifice of three men, one hundred thousand years. Thus the goddess Kāmākhyā's consort Bhrāvatra, who assumed my shape, remained pleased three thousand years. Blood consecrated immediately becomes ambrosial, and when the flesh and blood are gratifying, therefore should the head and flesh be offered as the worship of the goddess. The worship should add the flesh free from hair, among food offerings. Minute details are added regarding the in which the times, when, and the places where, the rites should be celebrated.

Having placed the victim before the goddess, the worshipper should adore her by offering flowers, sandal paste, and betel, formerly common. They were offered in the manner appropriate for sacrifices. Then, facing the north and placing the victim to face east, he should bow and repeat the prayer: 'O man, through my good fortune thou hast appeared as a victim; therefore I white thee; thou multiform and of the form of a victim. Through, by granting Chandikā, destroyest all evil incidents to the giver. Thou, a victim, who appeared as a sacrifice meet for the Vaipavā, bestow my salvation. Victims were created by the self-born himself for sacrificial rites: I shall slay thee, and death and sacrifice as a sacrifice is no murder.' Thus meditating on that human-formed victim, a flower should be thrown on the top of its head with the mantra: 'Om, Ahi, Brīhi, Bhīti; 'The thought of one's own wishes, and referring it to the victim should be sprinkled with the victim. Thereafter the sword should be consecrated with the mantra: 'O sword, thou art the tongue of Chandikā and bestower of the riches of the world. Slay and slaying the victim, thou art the last dreadful night of creation; born fierce, of bloody eyes and bounding with a bloody head; I salute thee.' Thus, having thus been consecrated, should be taken up while chanting the mantra: 'Ahi, purī, ahi, purī, the excellent victim sacrificed with it. Thereafter, carefully sprinkling on the blood of the victim, water, cool, sweet, honey, and sweetened flowers, and should be placed before the god, and the skull also, with a lamp burning over it, should be placed before her with the mantra: 'Om, Ahi, Brīhi, Bhīti, varākalya, and bespeaking thou art gratified with the blood.' Thus, having completed this, the worshipper attains the reward.

In the fifth act of the Mahābhārata, by the dramatist Bhāraviān, this is a vivid description of the attempts of an Archer (p. 390) to sacrifice the heroine to Chānudāma, a form of Kāli.

2. Former prevalence of sacrifices to Kāli.—These tīrthā sacrifices to Kāli or Chandikā were formerly common. They were freely offered in the days of Mahārāja rule; and in Western India there are many temples at which such sacrifices were common only a century ago. The victims were taken to the temple in the evening and sent up; and in the morning he was found dead, the dead goddess having shown her power by coming in the night and snatching his blood.

The great Śivas temple at Tānjore contains a shrine of Kāli where a human victim (a male child purchased for the purpose) was sacrificed every Thursday evening, until the advent of British rule led to the substitution of a sheep. There are other temples in Southern India where similar sacrifices were formerly common. At the famous shrine of Dāntēśvara in Bantār it is said that in A.D. 1830 upwards of twenty-five men were immolated by the Rājā on a single occasion. Simla, writing in his "History of India," says: a certain chief in the Central Provinces once a year sacrificed a Brāhma to the goddess. The Brāhmans of the Deccan used to sacrifice an old woman on the occasion of the Rājā of Bīrār's annual visit to the fort of Pātañjali. According to Sir John Malcolm, the Karāḷ Brāhmans annually sacrificed a young Brāhma at Bīrār. This class of Brāhmans long remained under the suspicion of being addicted to human sacrifices, using poison to effect their ends when an open sacrifice would have been too dangerous. In the "Medical Jurisprudence," written in 1854, it is said that there are in the villages under the subject was published by the Ascanians in the "Ariadne Research," 1774, 775 E. B. The Roman Law and Society in the "Lond., Lond., 1850, II, 321.

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buffaloes and goats—but some families, whose
ancestors offered human victims at the Durya and
Kali Puja, now sacrifice, in lieu of a living man,
a buffalo, about a foot long, made of dried milk
(khadi).

3. Sacrifices by aboriginal tribes in north-east
of India.—The gods whose favour it was desired
to obtain, were usually the ordinary gods, like
the Yoros, the gods of the plains, or the gods on
which many of the marriage ceremonies were
performed. The sacrifice was performed on the
verandah of the home, or in a clearing in the
forest. The victim was usually a male, aged 15
or 16, and was selected from the village. The
victim was usually a member of the clan. As in
other cases, persons who were deformed, or bare
any scar or blemish, were regarded as unfit to
be victims.

The offering of human sacrifices to Kesti Khati
was common also in Nowgong, where the victim
was usually some stranger who had come for
purposes of trade. He was killed in close custody
for about a fortnight, and was then led out, decked
with flowers and jewels, and decapitated. As
soon as this had been done, the spectators filed headlong
down the hill on which the shrine stood, to avoid
being devoured by the hungry gods and goddesses.

The sacrifice seems here to have been offered, not
in order to obtain some imaginary benefit for the
worshippers, but rather with a view to providing
food for the sanguinary goddess and so escaping her
unwelcome attentions themselves.

The same idea of gods requiring human blood is
found among the Khasis, who believe in the
existence of snake-gods called thlen. When a thlen
takes up its abode in a family, there is no means
for getting rid of it. So long as it is supplied at
intervals with its favourite food, the family prospers
and grows rich; but, when it feels the want of
blood, sickness breaks out and misfortune become
frequent. Some human being is then murdered,
and the hair, the tips of the fingers, and a little
blood from the nostrils are taken and offered to the
thlen. The belief is that the demon appears in
the form of a snake and devours the body of the victim,
which is materialized from the portions thus
offered. Murders due to the prevalence of this
superstition still occasionally occur.

This idea of a family-spirit that needs human blood and
affects the family with misfortune if its craving is not satis
tified exists also in other parts of India, and is believed to be
the cause of a murder committed in the year 1906 in Chota
Nagpur. The victim, a boy of 15, was found lying in his
throne out, and some grains of uncooked rice were seen in the
wound, showing that he, like animals destined for sacrifice, had
been made to swallow rice immediately before he was killed.
The murder had apparently been committed at a shrine of Kali,
where the body was found. If so, the case may illustrate a
stage between the entirely non-Aryan practices of the Khasis
and the rites laid down in the Edittas Parthas.

4. Sacrifices by Dravidian tribes.—Human
sacrifices were once very common among the
Dravidian tribes of the Chota Nagpur plateau.

With the Rhomu they were so frequent and
notorious in the early days of British rule that
officers were deputed by Government to investigate
the facts with a view to preventive action, and we
have in their reports a full account of the practices
so obtained among the members of this tribe.

Ruman offerings were made to them by Tari
Penu, the earth-goddess, to avert misfortune and
disease, to obtain success in war, and especially
to ensure good crops. The victim, or mordah, was
acceptable to the goddess only if he had been
purchased (usually from the Thane, a weaver and
criminal tribe, who procured children for the
purpose from the plains), or was the son of a victim,
or had been dedicated as a child by his father.

Rhumu in distress sometimes told his children
for victims, ‘considering the beatification of their
souls certain, and their death, for the beatification
of mankind, the most honourable possible.’

The victims were often kept for some time before
being sacrificed. They were regarded as consecrated
beings, and were treated with extreme affection
and deference. They were commonly sacrificed
about the time when the chief crop was sown. On
the day before the ceremony, the victim was dressed in a new garment and led with music and dancing to the sacred grove, where he was tied to a post, anointed with pitch, turmeric, and water, and adorned with flowers. "A species of reverence which it is not easy to distinguish from adoration" was observed throughout the day. The crowd danced round the post to music, and, addressing the earth, said: "O goddess, we offer this sacrifice to you; give us good crops, seasons, and health." The orgies were kept up till noon next day, when the victim was again anointed and taken in procession round the village. On this occasion, as on the previous day, there was a great struggle to get some relic from his person, such as a lock of his hair, a particle of the turmeric paste, or a drop of his spittle. He was then usually strangled in the clef of a great caracal, or a wooden elephant which was made to revolve. The officiating priest (a Khond) first wounded the victim slightly with an axe, and the crowd then tore him to pieces, and the flesh was carried off to different villages, where part was offered to the earth-goddess, buried, and a libation of water was poured over it, and the rest was divided among the householders. Each man buried his piece in his favourite field. The remains (head, bowels, and bones) were burned next day, with a sheep, on a funeral pyre. The ashes were scattered over the fields, laid as paste on the houses and granaries, or mixed with the new corn to preserve it from insects.

Our authorities represent the sacrifice as victims offered to propitiate the earth-goddess; but Fraser points out that the flesh and ashes of the victim were actually thought to be a divine or intrinsic power of making the crops to grow, quite independent of the indirect efficacy which it [the sacrifice] might have as an offering to secure the good-will of the deity.1

Practices very similar to those of the Khonds have been noticed by Davis and Needham among various Mongolid tribes in the Naga Hills and on the Plateau. Sometimes the flesh is buried in the fields to ensure good crops, and sometimes the victim is tied up and burnt to death in the jungle which is to be cleared for the next year's crops. The same tribes also regard a human sacrifice as very efficacious in warding off disease or ensuring victory in battle. The victim may be a slave, a prisoner of war, or some other person chosen for the purpose. Both sexes are equally suitable. In the North of the Upper Chindwin district in Burma it was formerly the custom to sacrifice boys and girls at a big festival in August in order to get good rice crops. The victims, who were usually small children, were chosen from the unadministered territory. A rope having been placed round his neck, the victim was taken to the outskirts of the village, and the relatives of the purchaser. At each house a finger joint was cut off, and all persons in the house were smeared with the blood. They also licked the joint and rubbed it on the cooking tripod. The victim was then tied to a post, and the head of the village and killed by repeated stones of a spear, the blood from each stab being caught in a hollow bamboo, to be used afterwards for smearing on the bodies of the purchaser's relatives. The entrails were then taken out and the flesh removed from the bones, and the whole was put in a basket and set on a platform near by as an offering to the god. After the blood had been smeared on the purchaser and his relatives, who danced and went meanwhile, the basket and its contents were thrown into the jungle.

Among other Dravidian tribes who immolated human beings may be mentioned the Bhumi, who kidnapped children and sacrificed them at the shrine of their goddess Rakeshi. The Bhuiyas had a goddess named Thakurani Mai, to whom similar sacrifices were offered; in 1869 an omnious official was slain by them, and his head offered to this deity. During the rising of the Munda in 1860 a constable was killed, and it is said that his head was cut off, and his brains offered as a sacrifice to the local demons. The Bhogas of Bhanurphur formerly offered up a human being, at stated intervals, to the bees which infest the rocks there, and to which supernatural powers are attributed. To this day the local aborigines will not pass the palace of a certain Raja at night, owing to the survival of the terror that travellers are liable to be caught for sacrifice. The Banjaras, or pack bullock drivers, were once much addicted to human sacrifice, and were said to have learnt to bury a child in the ground up to the shoulders, and then drive their bullocks over it. Sometimes, in order to cure an illness or obtain some desired end, they would arrange a vicissity in one stroke of a sword and sprinkled its blood over an idol.

5. Head-hunting.—Like the Dayaks of Borneo, the Gikos and many tribes of Nagas were formerly head-hunters; and they often made raids on each other solely in order to obtain heads, which were brought home in triumph to the village and hung up on a totem pole. Among the Wams in Nagaland a man was not allowed to put on the full insignia of a warrior until he had taken a life. It was not necessary for the victim to be a man killed in battle; a child or an old woman speared from an ambush served the purpose equally well. The practice has been put down in British territory, but it is still in vogue among the independent tribes, and there is little doubt that the belief that persons whose heads are taken become slaves of the captor in his future life.

The heads of the victims were offered to heads of enemies killed in or after a battle, or buried them under the steps of their king's palace. But in their case no religious motives appear to have been connected with them; it was merely a barbarous method of exulting over their defeated enemies.

6. Sacrifices to earth- and river-demons, etc.—There is a superstition current throughout India (and perhaps also among other countries) that the demons of the earth, and that it is most hazardous to search for or remove it unless the demons have first been mollified with blood. In Southern India human sacrifices are deemed most suitable for this purpose, and the demons are believed to have a special partiality for the blood of a pregnant woman, but nowadays they can be satisfied with that of a buffalo, a goat, or even a fowl. Rivers also are often thought to be inhabited by demons. It is commonly believed that a bridge over a big or fast-flowing river of not stand until the river spirit has been appeased by the offering of human blood. Captain Clive, writing in 1780, says that the Tana of Mawar, before crossing the Mahi river, invariably caused an individual from a particular tribe to be sacrificed, his throat being cut and his body thrown into the river. There is a wide-spread superstition that large buildings require the burial of human beings in the foundations to make them safe. When important public works are in progress, rumours are still frequently spread and widely believed that lives are needed for this purpose, and that persons found wandering abroad at night are in danger of being taken as victims. A few years ago a girl was killed under the orders of a local landholder, and buried under an embankment which had given way several times, in order to render it immune from further injury by gods or demons. About the year 1782, when the gates of the city of Tavoy in Burma were erected, a criminal was put into each post-hole, and the post was thrust down upon him, so that he was crushed at the sides. He was supposed to become a spirit that would hover about the place, inflicting evil on all who came near, thereby contributing to the defence of the town.

There is a very general belief in the efficacy of human blood to produce any desired result. In Sibesagar in 1854 a man decapitated the young son of a neighbour and drank his blood, in order to affect the recovery of his own child, who was ill.
with fever. A similar act was committed in Mianagar in the year 1894, by a woman, who hoped thereby to obtain a son. In the same year, at the instigation of a Hindu conjuror, a Musalman butcher, who had lost his child, killed a neighbour's child, and washed and buried it in order that her future children might be healthy. Three similar cases occurred in 1899, one in the United Provinces and two in the Nask district of Bombay.

Killing the king.—In The Golden Bough it is shown that primitive races in different parts of the world have a practice of killing their king. Among these races the king was regarded, and his subjects were endowed with supernatural powers, and their welfare was dependent on his preserving these powers unimpaired. It was therefore the custom to kill him, or make him commit suicide, so that his soul might be transferred to a vigorous successor before he grew feeble from old age. A custom of this kind once existed in Calicut, where the smeris, or king, was formerly obliged to cut his throat in public at the end of a twelve years' reign. But by the 17th century the rule had been modified. At the end of the twelve years a great feast was given, at which any guest who was not minded at liberty to endeavour to kill the king. If he succeeded, the crown would be his reward; but, as the king was surrounded by his guards, the chances of success were very small.

The old Hindu custom which required the king at his coronation to slay a man was possibly a survival of the same class of ideas which led the Ahsoms to bury their slaves alive in the tombs of their kings and great nobles, and the Khongi Nagas to decapitate a man and inter his head with that of the deceased chief. Certain Central India chiefs used to slay men at their predecessors' obsequies. In the southern kingdom of Vijayanagar royal funerals were the occasion for wholesale holocausts of women.

Religious suicide.—The idea of religious suicide, of sacrificing oneself by no means unknown to the Hindus. We have already seen how, in the north-east of India, people sometimes offered themselves as victims at the shrine of Kâli. This was a practice of the Central Provinces where annually, until 1894, devotees were induced to throw themselves from a height on to some rocks which were thought to be the burial place of Kâli Bhairava, the consort of Kâli Dêvi, who fed on human flesh. Expressions occur in various religious books which countenance the practice of suicide, and rules are laid down for the rite. It was still quite common in the early part of last century. It was resorted to mainly by persons who suffered from great poverty or painful and terminal diseases. The man drowned himself in a sacred river, such as the Ganges, especially at some peculiarly sacred spot, such as a ghat or a sacred island. He would thereby acquire merit that would redound to his advantage in his next birth. The rite used to be performed with much ceremony. The man who was tired of life made the prescribed abjurations and repeated certain mantras, and then sprang from a boat, or waded out of his depth, with earthen vessels tied to his limbs, which dragged him down when they filled with water. It was considered auspicious if a crocodile carried him off before he died from drowning. Another favourite method of ending life by throwing oneself beneath the wheels of the huge car on which the image Jâgannâth at Puri is dragged once a year from the temple in which it is usually kept to a garden house about a mile away. Sick people, if the astrologer has predicted their death, are often taken to die on the banks of a sacred river. In former times, if death was long in coming, they frequently strangled themselves, and, if at the last their resolution failed them, their relatives took care that they did not draw back.

9. Sati.—But the most common and best known form of religious suicide was the practice universally known as sati, of widows who allowed themselves to be burnt to death on the funeral pyres of their husbands. Such suicides were frequent among all the high castes, and were especially common in the families of Rajput chiefs. In many cases the act was entirely voluntary, but sometimes the unfortunate widow was subjected to a good deal of pressure before she could be induced to ascend the pyre. Sati was prohibited by law in British territory in the year 1859; and the example thus set was followed some years later by the rulers of the Native States. Isolated cases, however, still sometimes occur. In the year 1911 a Hindu lady, whose husband was on the point of death, soaked her clothes in kerosene oil and, setting light to them, burnt herself to death. Her act was applauded as that of a devoted wife by many Hindus, even among the educated classes. How this practice came into vogue it is difficult to say. There is no mention of it in the Vedas; but, from the belief that the wife who thus immolated herself accompanied her husband to the other world, it may have arisen from the same class of ideas which led the Ahsoms to bury their slaves alive in the tombs of their kings and great nobles, and the Khongi Nagas to decapitate a man and inter his head with that of the deceased chief. Certain Central India chiefs used to slay men at their predecessors' obsequies. In the southern kingdom of Vijayanagar; royal funerals were the occasion for wholesale holocausts of women.

10. Offering one's own blood.—In conclusion, mention may be made of the practice of offering one's own blood to Kâli. This is referred to in the Kalikâ Purâna as an acceptable way of propitiating the goddess, and it is still common among Hindu women. When a Hindu woman is dangerously ill, a vow is made that, on the recovery of the patient, the goddess will be propitiated with human blood. The vow is fulfilled either at the next Durgâ Puja, or at once in some temple of Kâli. The wife or mother, after performing certain ceremonies, draws a few drops of blood from her breast with a nail-cutter, and offers them to the goddess.


HUMAN SACRIFICE (Iranian).—1. Early Iranians and Avestan people.—The prevalence of the custom of sacrificing human beings to the gods is so fully and incontrovertibly attested among practically all the Indo-European peoples, as it is in the case of most ancient nations, that we are naturally predisposed to look for clear and unmistakable indications of its existence among the Iranians. In point of fact, however, these indications are so few and inconclusive that the practice of human sacrifice has been confidently declared never to have been in vogue among the Persians. Whether the prosecution of earlier records would have exhibited the Iranians in line

1 A New Account of the East Indies, by Captain Alex. H. Mitchell, R.N., Containing a Narrative of a Voyage Round the World, in His Majesty's Ship Pheonix, we are indebted to Pinkerton's Voyage and Travels (London, 1811), vol. ii. p. 112.

2 The Persians were perhaps the only nation in ancient times who did not indulge in human sacrifices. 'On Human Sacrifices in Ancient India,' J.ASBE xiv. (Calcutta, 1870) 68.

3 Several more similar cases have occurred since this article was written.
with the other Indo-European races in this matter is a question (that does not admit of a categorical answer). Schrader, speaking of the Aryans (i.e. Indo-Europeans) generally, says:

'If it is as little likely to be doubted, offerings were made to the gods as to be expected from the nation that has taken a prominent place amongst them.'

Others, with much historical justification, maintain that the general principle can be laid down in regard to the point of time and the order in which human and animal sacrifices occur in the religious development of nations (see art. ANIMALS SACRIFICE, vol. I. p. 496 f.; also art. 'Sacrifice', in E. R., by the same author). Moreover, among the Hindus, the nearest ethnological relations of the Iranians, the prevalence of human sacrifices is in inverse ratio to the antiquity of the period we may be considering.

Of its vogue in the earliest Vedic times we possess only the indications contained in the Svetatman hymns of the Rigveda (I. 26-30), which, in all probability, are to be regarded as pointing to a real and not a merely symbolic sacrifice (see Rajendralal Mitra, op. cit.). The Avesta, on the other hand—even its earliest portions—contains no suggestion of that custom as having been practised at any time. What little bearing on this subject the evidence of the Avesta possesses tends to confirm our previous conclusion that human sacrifices were unknown to the Avestan and pre-Avestan people of Iran.

The most usual victims in the human sacrifices of modern Persia are prisoners of war. But these, we have reason to believe, were treated with great clemency by the Avestan people.

As Geiger says:

'Captives taken in war were kept by their conquerors as servants and slaves. As much as they bestirred themselves to minister in the daily business of the house, the women themselves treated them kindly and humanely. And again, slaves were evidently regarded as members of the family, and their possession very highly valued.'

It should, perhaps, be remembered that the above is a description of the social life of the eastern Iranians in particular, whose practices as well as their customs may have differed somewhat from those of their more westerly kinsmen.

2. The Achemenians and the custom of human sacrifice.—Herodotus and some later writers attribute isolated instances of human sacrifice to at least three of the Achemenian kings. Each of these cases must be considered separately. In the time of Cambyses, when Sardis, the capital of the kingdom of Lydia, fell (in 546 B.C.) into the hands of the Persians, Cyrus, according to the account of Herodotus, issued orders to erect a great pyre and to place Cyrus, the captive king, with fourteen youths, on the pile to be burnt. Later, however, he relented, and a shower of rain extinguished the flames, and thus Cyrus was spared. This version of the story had always presented two great difficulties to its acceptance. The first and more formidable was that of reconciling this incident with Cyrus's otherwise justly enjoyed fame for clemency to his prisoners in war, and no adequate reason seemed to have been present for any departure on this occasion from his usual attitude and practice. Further, there was the less formidable, perhaps, yet real objection that Cyrus, as a Zoroastrian or true Persian, could not have ordered the burning of Cyrus. The light which recent researches have thrown upon Cyrus's religious attitude has tended to some extent to remove the latter difficulty. Nevertheless, the story as told by Herodotus did not easily commend itself to

3. Human sacrifice as practised by the Scythians.—Although all the other branches of the Iranian race, so far as our records show, were singularly free from the habit of sacrificing human beings, the Scythians, who were perhaps only mainly Iranian, practised that custom in very extreme forms. It was their custom to sacrifice one out of every hundred prisoners of war. The method of immolation, according to Herodotus, was as follows:

A large platform made of brushwork was erected, upon the top of which was set a sword or scimitar, the image of Ares. Libations of wine were poured over the victims' heads, after which they were slaughtered over a vessel. Then the blood was taken to the top of the pile and poured upon the scimitar. While this was proceeding at the top of the platform, below, by its sides, the right hands and arms of the slaughtered men were cut off and tossed up into the air, the whole being left to disintegrate and decay where they might chance to have fallen. Another
instance, in which, perhaps, the religious motive is more remote, is the method by which false diviners were immolated. A waggon is loaded with brushwood, and drawn by two pairs of horses. Two men, with their feet tied together, their hands bound behind their backs, and their mouths gagged, are placed on the wood. Finally the wood is ignited and the oxen are made to rush off with their burning load until they themselves are caught in the conflagration and all are consumed together.

The only other instance that need be mentioned here bears more clearly the character of a religious sacrifice, namely, the ceremonies associated with a king's funeral. After the long march of the procession from tribe to tribe, as described by Herodotus, and the arrival at the royal tombs, the body of the dead king, stretched on a matrass, is laid in the grave prepared for it. In the open space around the body of the king they bury one of his concubines, first killing her by strangling, and also his eunuch, his cook, his groom, his lacquey, his messenger, as well as some horses and other possessions. When a year is gone, further ceremonies take place. Fifty of the best of the late king's attendants, the native Scythians—are taken and strangled. Then as many of the king's finest horses are slain. After a somewhat barbarous preparation for their consumption, the strangled youths are mounted upon the slaughtered horses and arranged in a circle around the king's tomb. These are the most important instances of the forms of human sacrifice practised by the Scythians.

LEWIS.—The works dealing most fully and directly with the various parts of our subject have already been indicated. On the Croesus story, see also G. Frazer, Adonis, Attis, Osiris, London, 1897, pp. 141 E., 166 E.; see also p. 602 f. on the tomb of Croesus.

E. EDWARDS.

HUMAN SACRIFICE (Japanese and Korean).

1. Japanese.—The most ancient Japanese documents that have come down to us were written at a time (8th cent.) when the memory of human sacrifices was still green. One of the most important myths of the Ōkuninushi is conceived as follows:

"Having been expelled (from Heaven, after his crimes against the Sun-goddess), Susano-no-otono-mikoto (Ura-Swift-impudent-Male-Augustness, the god of the Ocean and the Storm, who appears here in the aspect of a human hero) descended to a place called Tatsuta on the head-waters of the River Hō in the land of Izumo. At this time some cephalopods came floating down the stream. His divine father, Inugami, thought that there must be people at the head-waters of the river, so went up in pursuit, when he met upon an old man and an old woman,—two of them,—who had a young girl, only seven years old, and were weeping. Then he asked: Who are ye? So the old man replied, saying: 'I am an old lady, daughter of Omiya-ume-no-mikoto (the Great-Mountain-Mountain God). I am called by the name of Amano-tani-chi, my wife is called by the name of Te-nakadachi, and my daughter is called by the name of Inugami [i.e., princess;] she has no doubt for Izuka, a place-name meaning 'water-god,' before the name. Her complexion is white and her hair black, she is very beautiful.' Thus saying he went on his way. Again he asked: "What is the cause of your crying." The old man answered, saying: "I had originally eight young girls as daughters. But the eight-headed serpent of Koshii (a name of the north-west district occupied by the Aman) has come every year and devoured one, and it now time to come, whereas we weep." Then he asked him: ‘What is its form like?’ The old man answered, saying: ‘Its eyes are like candlesafdes [the winter-cherry]; it has one body with eight heads and eight eyes. Moreover, on its body grows moss, and also chamaemelum and cryptomerias. It has length eighteen fingers, eight valley and eight hills, and if one looks at its belly, it is all covered by a fog. Moreover, Ura-Swift-impudent-Male-Augustness said to the old man: ‘If this be the case, I shall make a sacrifice of your daughter; but long may your daughter live!’ "With reverence, but I know thou art Augustness. Then he made a sacrifice of your daughter, making it Great-August, Great-August." So we have now descended from Heaven. Then he asked them, saying: ‘Woe to them, who come to this world, who cause the river to be dyed in blood; that ye, who have arisen in this world, that ye, who have come into this world, who cause the world of men to be dyed in blood!" So he said, that he so, with reverence will we offer her to thee. So Ura-Swift-impudent-Male-Augustness, at once taking and changing the form of your daughter, he seized her, and then he struck into his august hair-brush, said to the Deities Augustness, and immediately dipped a head into each vessel, and drank the liquor. Thereupon he was intoxicated with drinking, and all the heads lay down and slept. Then Ura-Swift-impudent-Male-Augustness drew the two-tined mace from his hand, and put it on him, and cut the serpent in pieces, so that the River Hō changed into a river of blood. So when he cut the middle tail, the edge of his august sword broke. Herein thinking it strange, he thrust into and split the flesh with the point of his august sword and looked; and there was a great sword within. So he took this great sword, and thinking it strange thing, he respectfully informed the Heaven Deities. ‘Is it Great-August-Deity.' This is the Kusaguni-no-ta-chi (Herb-Quelling-Great-August-Sword) (Kōshi, tr. Chamberlain, Real and Traditional Japan, pp. 71-72; cf. Notes on crochet: a translation and note, London, 1832, l. 63-68). This is clearly analogous to the legend of Perseus rescuing Andromeda from her sea-monster, which was about to devour her. It seems to have lost, at the time of its redaction, what was probably its original meaning, and, before becoming a simple epic narrative, to have been meant to allude to the imitations of human sacrifices offered to theriomorphic deities, especially water-spirits conceived in animal form (see E. S. Hartland, LP ii. ch. xviii.; Mallinder, in KHE xxxiv. (1896) 401 f.). The description now of the monster of Koshii, in fact, seems, as already observed by Aston (Asiatic, London, 1900, p. 103), to be really a poetical representation of the Temari, of the Temari itself, with its serpentine course, its numerous tributaries, its wooded banks, and its deep waters, devourers of human beings. Even to-day popular superstition believes in the existence of monsters called kappa which haunt the mouths of rivers by preference, and keep human beings, just as the inhabitants of the thick mountain-forests fear the wakashū (legend of a boy who believes in women and children). It was much more natural for such ideas to be prevalent among the primitive Japanese, who, like so many other nations, perhaps, see Waits - Gerland, Anthropologie der Naturvolker, Leipzig, 1850-71, iii. 198; A. Réville, Religions des peuples non-civilisés, Paris, 1888, 175 f., 225, 247, etc., endow the spirit of the water with serpent form, serpents often having aquatic habits, and attributed to its poisonous breath the deadly influence manifested in certain epidemics. Hence the conception of the mako-ō, 'water-spirit,' i.e., 'water-god,' of which the terrible dragon of Koshii is only a representation enlarged upon by the imagination of myth-makers.

Another story helps to confirm this interpretation by giving us a positive example of these sacrifices to the river-deities. It is telling of an event which happened, according to the Nihon-shoki, in the year A.D. 923:

"In order to prevent the overflowing of the Northern river, the Mamusa embankment was constructed. At this time there were two parts of the construction which gave way and could not be stopped up. Then the Emperor had his head drawn, in which he was admonished by a god, saying: 'There is a man of Mamusa named Kusa-kubi and a man of Koshii named Koromo-no-kubi, the Mamusa. Let these two men be sacrificed to the River-God, and thou wilt surely be enabled to close the gap.' So he sought for these two men, and, having found them, sacrificed them to the River-God. Hereupon Kusa-kubi went and lamented, and plunged into the river, died. So that embankment was completed. Koromo-no-kubi, however, took two whole calves, and, standing over the water which could not be damned, plunged the two calves into the mid-stream and prayed, saying: '0 thou River-God, who hast sent me to remove what is diabolical; be it a sacrifice; be it a sacrifice!" This was not sufficient for the Kusa-kubi. Then shall I know that thou art a true God, and will enter the water of my own accord. But thou canst not sink the calves; I shall, if of course, know that thou art a false God, for whom why should I spend my life in vain? "Nevertheless, he plunged at once into the pool and suddenly which drew with it the calves and tried to submerge them in the water. But the calves, dancing on the waves, would not sink, and floated far away over the wide waters. In this way that embankment was completed, although Koromo-no-kubi did not die. And Kusa-kubi's cleverness saved his life. Therefore the men of that time gave a name to these two places, calling Kusa-kubi's pool 'Kusa-kubi's Gap' and 'Koromo-no-kubi's Gap' (Nihon-shoki, 1. 323 f.)."

1 Herod. iv. 66.
2 iv. 71.
What is the significance of the calabashes employed here? Is it a simple test, cleverly based on the idea that the drinker would surely notice the light floating glands? Or may we have at the same time the idea of the magic virtue attributed to calabashes, which were used in ancient India as an antidote to serpent-bites? (see V. Henry, *Le Magici dans l'Inde ancienne*, Paris, 1904, p. 263; and cf. the willow-tree gourds used as amulets in China (J. J. M. de Groot, *Les Fêtes annuelles à Émon*, Paris, 1887, p. 328 f.)). Whatever may be the answer to those questions, we have in this story a case of human sacrifice, fully accomplished for one of the victims, and escaped by the other only through his personal ingenuity. With this story we may connect the following, given under A.D. 798 by the Nihongi:

"This year, at a fork of the River Kashiwazumi, in the central division of the Province of Kiï, there was a great water-snake which harassed the people. Now when travellers were passing on the river, having entered the water, the snake would give chase. And having found the way into the water, the snake would take the place of the person. The rest of the people, then, would fall into the river. So the water-snake changed itself into a deer, and drew to draw down the hunter and the boat in which the hunter was sailing. The neighboring nobles would not sink. So with upraised sword he entered the water and slew the water-snake. He further sought out the water-snake's lair. Now the tribe of all the water-snakes filled a cave in the bottom of the pool. He slew them one by one, and the water of the river became clear. The next year, therefore, the place was called "The Pool of Aga-mori." (Nihongi, i. 296 f.)"

These two stories, which the Nihongi places right or wrongly, in the 4th cent., but which in any case are of a much later date than the myth of the serpent of Koshi, already display a certain scepticism in regard to the river-gods and the utility of appeasing them by the sacrifice of human life. They establish, nevertheless, the early existence of the custom of whose abolition the legend of the Japanese Persians gives us a symbolism account—a custom probably replaced later by animal sacrifices and finally falling into complete disuse under the influence of Buddhism. A later text, referring to A.D. 642, when there was a great drought, says:

"The Ministers conversed with one another, saying: "In accordance with the teachings of the village howari ["sacrificers," priests of an inferior grade], there have been in some places horses and cattle sacrificed to the Gods of the water of the various streams, in others... prayers to the River-Deity. None of these has brought any advantage. Let us therefore, in the name of Gods, sacrifice a maiden to the Obo-osato, in order to receive no harm from the Elephants.""

The substitution of animal victims for human victims is confirmed by a curious myth in a work of the beginning of the 14th cent., the *Uji-Sekai Monogatari* ('Tales forming a sequel to the Uji Collection,' a similar collection which appeared in the 12th century). Here we find a local survival, in the circuit of San'yodó (on the Inland Sea), of a serpent-god and a monkey-god to whom a maiden was sacrificed every year; then, thanks to the mythical intervention of a noble hero, 'the Knight of Arama,' the suppression of this custom, and the decision made by the priests of the temple that in future they would sacrifice only boars and deer (see the Uji Tales from the Uji Shui Monogatari, in TAJSI xviii. [1900] 41-45). Similar substitutions might be cited among other peoples, from the time of ancient Greece, where the annual immolation of a youth by Dionysus was reported by the sacrifice of a goat at the request of the inhabitants of Potamos (Pausanias, ix. 8, 1), to the 13th cent. when the British Government intervened to substitute a goat for the child immolated every year by the Khonds; cf. also the pretended, and very characteristic, immolation, in Sweden, of a man clothed in boar's skin (see Goblet d'Alviella, "Les Rites de la momie," in *BRB* xxviii. [1868] 340). In Japan likewise in the time when the actual *hostia animale* (e.g. in the temple of Shawayo-jin, in Shizunao, frequent offerings of goats were made). On the other hand, the old human sacrifices kept up in the form of a ritual imitation (e.g. in the temple of Sakato-yo-jin, in Kazusa, after drawing lots among the faithful, the chosen victim is placed on a large stall, and the priest, armed with a great chopping-knife, makes a pretence of cutting him up with three blows; see Kato Setsōzō, in the *Chûo Kitoro* [Japanes Magazin] for 4th July 1872). In one of the stories from the Nihongi (i. 281) we have seen human sacrifice employed to expedite the construction of an embankment. More are sometimes buried alive in the foundations of a castle, a bridge, or an artificial island. They were called *Asi-bashira* ("human pillars"). But the most interesting example of this order of customs is the burying alive of human beings into the graves of Emperors and princes—a custom which took its rise according to the Nihongi (i. 218), after the funeral of Prince Naka-mikoto, which is certainly more ancient and becomes particularly connected with this funeral only, as Motoori very plausibly observes, from the custom of dressing the head of certain number of victims which brought this abuse to a head, and led to its suppression at subsequent Imperial funerals. This important custom, its significance, and its abolition are treated in an ancient *Ancientworship* (Japanese). As far as we know at the present day, the *hostias* (clay rings), circles of offerings which were made when the account to the Nihongi (i. 178 f.), took the place round the tomb of the row of men and horses originally buried alive, seem to have originated in Japan. The archeological discoveries of recent years have revealed them also in China (cf. Chinese art., in tombs of the Han dynasty [E. Chavannes, *Mission archéologique dans la Chine septentrionale*, Paris, 1910]), and, in a similar way, in tombs in Manchuria and the neighbourhood of Port Arthur (see art. by Hamada Kosak and Torii Ryuusuke, in *Kôka*), Tokyo, 1910, 1911). It may be asked, then, Are the Japanese effigies not of continental origin, and has not the Nihongi, as often happens, borrowed its account from some Chinese or Tibetan source? But it must not lose sight of the fact that the account of the Nihongi agrees with a passage of the Kojiki which is certainly genuine and authentic, saying that in the time of the Great Emperor Ei Augustus Princess Hiibun (the same empress whose funeral, according to the Nihongi, put an end to human sacrifices) and the *Kógi* (Effigy Makers) were established, and also the Hambushi (Earthenware Masters' Clan) was established* (Kojiki, 1947). The fact that human sacrifices, which had been suppressed, according to the Nihongi, in A.D. 3, must have been revived, according to a Chinese work (see TAJSI xvi. [1888] pt. i. p. 59), at the death of the Empress Himako in A.D. 437, only exemplifies the well-known inaccuracy of the connected chronology of the Nihongi, and does not prove that the reform was never accomplished—the redactors of the Nihongi simply, but very early, as is the invariable custom of the Easterners, more concerned as they are with antiquity that with truth. Moreover, it is difficult to see from what Chinese custom the custom of the Chinese Dionysus work is reported, the account of a transformation which is exactly opposite of the Chinese conception in this connection, viz. that the offering of straw or wooden effigies at funerals led to the substitution of living victims (J. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, Hongkong, 1861-72, "Memoirs," p. 9). On the other hand, the
account of the Nikongi is in entire agreement with all that we have noticed in Japan as regards the substitution of effigies for actual victims.

These substitutions occur in various forms. Sometimes, as we have seen above, animal victims take the place of human victims; sometimes, instead of statuettes (okimono) or flowers (chūten-riyō) in the tombs, there are other effigies of human form, such as the kane-hito-gata ('metal-human-form'), often mentioned in the Engishiki (10th cent.) among the regular offerings of Shintoism, and especially offered to river-gods (misumari, 'gods of water distribution')—a fact which goes to support a historical substitution of these effigies for actual victims, the occurrence of which is proved by a positive text of the Nikongi (i. 281). Similar human effigies, gilded or silvered, also took the place of offerings in the ceremonies of the Great Purification (Okosōraiki). The hereditary Corporation of scholars of Yamato and Kōzuki, who pronounced an invocation before this ceremony (nureto 11), offered a silver and gold sword, or rather of gilded wood, to the gods, in order that all kinds of calamity might be warded off from the Emperor, and that he might enjoy a long reign. The gilded sword (called karahori-tsuba, 'sword of purification') first received the breath of the Emperor; he blew over it in order to communicate his own uncleanliness to it. The sword was then bound to disappear along with the object to which it was thus attached. The silver man was also employed as an asa-mono ('ransom-thing'), i.e. as a means of expiating ritual uncleanness.

These human effigies substituted for victims persisted down to modern times. As witness of this there is a curious custom related by Astón (Shinto, 220) from the Shinto Mōmokō (1869):

"At the festival of Naroyé, held at the shrine of Kōken in the province of Owari on the 11th day of the 1st month, the Shinto priests go out to the highway with banners and noise and call the deity. They wash and purify him, and make him put on pure clothing. He is then brought before the god. A blank, a wooden butcher's knife, and cake for fasting are provided. Separately a figure is made to represent the captive. It is placed on the block with the captured man beside it, and both are kept there until the sacrifice is offered for that night. The next morning the priests come and remove the man and the figure. Then they take clay, and, making it into the shape of a rice-cake, place it on the captive's back, hang a string of copper rings about his neck, and drive him away. As he runs off, he is sure to fall down in a faint. But he soon comes to his senses. A mound is erected at the place where he falls down, and the clay rice-cake deposited on it with ceremonies which are kept a profound mystery by the private householders. The custom is an old one, it is said, and there are no passers-by. Therefore the priests go to a neighbouring village and seize a man. If they catch nobody on the 11th, they repeat the same.

Aston (p. 231) thinks that 'there is some difficulty in applying the principle of substitution for a human sacrifice where this sacrifice was made for a dead child, which has been in force so recently.' But, if we have seen offerings of live animals, as substitutes for human victims, continuing even to our own day (as observed in 1909, and quoted above), why should offerings of dead effigies not have had, with the same evolution, the same permanence? This would be in complete accord with the profoundly traditionalistic spirit of the religious customs of Japan.

There is one other custom that deserves notice in the domain of human sacrifices, if we regard live animals as primary victims, viz. the offerings of slaves (kami-tsu-ko) sometimes made formerly for service in the temples. Even in the mythological period we see the famous hero Yamato no Takeru, the Brave of Japan, hanging over some Emishi (i.e. Ainus), whom he had taken captive, for service in a temple (Nikongi, i. 209). Male victims of the same kind could be quoted from the historical period, e.g. in the year 625 (Nikongi, ii. 82 f.).

Human sacrifice properly so called exists, even in our own day, under the form of voluntary death in order to follow a master or a husband into the other world. The voluntary sacrifice, which is in evidence even in the earliest documents (see Kojiki, 285, 384; Nikongi, i. 351, H. 183, 234, 365), and which the Emperor Adze (668) endeavoured to suppress, from the Emperor Kōken in 468 (Nikongi, ii. 220) to the great shōgun Yeyasa in the 17th cent., has continued down to the 20th century. Cases might be cited during the Revolution of 1868, and again during the China-Japanese War, when, in 1895, the wife of an officer, Lieutenant Aasada, hearing of her husband's death in China, made it her duty to cut her throat in cold blood before her husband's portraits, with a dagger which, in anticipation of some such situation as this, had been one of her husband's presents. The modern Japanese admired this suicide, exactly as the ancient admired that of the Imperial Princess Yamanobe, who, in 686, when her young husband had been accused of treason and executed, 'hastened thither with her hair dishevelled and her feet bare, and joined him in death,' so that, adds the narrator, 'all who witnessed sighed and sobbed (Nikongi, ii. 284).

A recent example shows the extent to which these ideas still survive—the suicide of General Tōgō, Count Nogi, the hero of the Sino-Japanese War of Sept. 1915, at the very time of the funeral of the Emperor Mutsu-Hito, put himself to death so that he might follow his sovereign to the other world. Countess Nogi also killed herself in order to accompany her husband; and thus we see united in a single example, the two chief kinds of voluntary suicide mentioned above. On this occasion Japanese opinion was by no means unanimous with regard to the social utility of this act, which, though putting a harmonious completion to the life of a warrior of the old school, deeply imbued with the ancient traditions of loyalty, deprived the Japanese nation of a man of experience on whose services it could have depended should new dangers arise from outside. The policy of Tokyo, however, had to take measures to prevent this suicide being imitated by contagion; and even in the United States, in a house at Grand Junction, Colorado, two Japanese had to be arrested who had met to decide by drawing lots which of them should perform karakuri. Thus, just as General Nogi's will, offering his body to the Faculty of Medicine, with the reservation that his teeth, hair, and nails should be buried, shows the survival in him of a conception belonging to primitive magic (see M. Rayon, Le Chamanisme, Paris, 1927, pp. 30, 70, 256), similarly his dramatic suicide takes us back to the ancient belief in the virtue of human sacrifice, though indeed, makes no distinction between forced and voluntary sacrifice, as is clearly indicated by the fact that the one word fun-sha, i.e. 'following in death,' is used to denote the two indiscriminately.

2. Korean.—In Korea we may observe an analogous evolution to that which occurred in Japan, to this extent that the custom of human sacrifices, forced or voluntary, died hard and only by the personal efforts of reasonable rulers. In Japan, a humane Emperor (Shinnin, according to Nikongi, i. 178), already showing that progressiveness which is so common to the Japanese, said to his ministers: 'Though it be an ancient custom, why follow it, if it is bad?' Similarly in Korea, when a king of the country of Kuruy, who had died, his successor forbade his admirers to kill themselves on his tomb, saying that it was not a becoming custom; but still many perished in following their master in death (Tōgō, ill. 50). In the same way, in 502, several men and women had
already been sacrificed at the tomb of a king of Silla, when the custom of burying live victims was prohibited in this kingdom (46. v. 0).
Lemm. 492, cit. is cited to the author's extensive list of references.

MICHEL REVON.

HUMAN SACRIFICE (Roman).—Human sacrifice implies the killing of a human being as a mark of honour of a deity, as an act prescribed by religion and performed with due ceremonial. The religious requirement is based upon the idea that an enraged deity craves for human life. The anger of the deity, accordine to the beliefs of many peoples, is to be quenched in his sending war or pestilence in long years of life, thus the pestilence in the Greek camp before Troy was caused by the arrows of Apollo (Il. i. 51). In such cases the community in ancient times tried to save itself by sacrificing one or more human beings (Verg. Aene. v. 815: "unum pro multis dabitur caput"), and thus propitiating the divine wrath (propitiatory sacrifice). In the case where a particular individual was known to have sinned against, and thus to have brought upon himself the resentment of a deity, he was sacrificed as an atonement, so that the deity's wrath should not fall upon others (expitiatory sacrifice); thus the plague in Thebes was stayed as soon as the murderer of Leius was banished (Soph. Ed. Res. 90 ff.). At a later stage we meet with more merciful rites, usually spoken of as commutations of human sacrifice; the community, partly because it stands in need of men, and partly because it has become more humane in sentiment, endeavours to avoid the killing of men by changing either the mode or the victim of the oblation; it allows the victim to live, but exiles him (Eclipsus), or, instead of making the offering originally demanded, it offers figures of men or animals; thus animals were sacrificed by the Greeks to Apollo (II. I. 447 f.). When in the expiatory sacrifice the act of killing is still retained, it loses its religious character, and becomes capital punishment in the secular sense. Thus human sacrifice may at length entirely disappear from the practice of a religion, and, as we must not summarily assign to all religions the same course of development, the modern investigator is confronted with the question whether a religion from which human sacrifice is absent may formerly have had the practice or not.

This doubt affects also the Roman religion. G. Wissowa in the "Kultur der Römer" (420 ff.) denies that the Roman religion ever required human sacrifice, while others (cited by Wissowa, loc. cit.) assert that it did. It is certainly true that in the State religion, so far as history attests it to have been officially Roman, there is no evidence of the practice. From Cicero, pro Font. 31, and Cesar, de B. Gall. vi. 18, human sacrifice is referred to as something repulsive or abnormal, we may infer that it did not exist in the 1st cent. B.C., and the words of Livy (xxii. 1. 6), 'hostis humanus, minus Romano sacrum,' point in the same direction. Livy's reference certainly seems to clash with the fact, according to a number of Christian writers in the imperial period (Tatian, Or. ad Graecos, 129; Minucius Felix, 30, 4; and others; cf. J. Marquart, Röm. Staatsverwaltung, iii, Leipzig, 1855, p. 297), that a man ('bestarius,' 'Tert. Apol.' 9) was sacrificed to Jupiter Latiaris at the festival of the latter. W. Warde Fowler in "The Religious Experience of the Roman People," London, 1911, p. 112, 311) is of opinion that this points to a practice of sacrificing Herculaneum ('Tatian, 1. 18, 4) up under the influence of Oriental immolation and of the brutalizing slaughter in the arena. But, as the reference is an isolated one, it rather arouses suspicion, the more so because profane writers make no mention of the incident; J. Geffen (Zwei)

Greek. Apologen, Leipzig and Berlin, 1907, p. 65) and Wissowa (op. cit. 124) reject it as apocryphal. But it would be a mistake to regard it simply as a biased fabrication of Christian apologetic spirit. The present writer is inclined rather to suppose that the celebrations of the Latiaris festival included a practice that of offering up human beings as a form of sacrifice. The lictors' cords are now lost, and they were described as the hands of a destitute, as sacrifices to Jupiter; and that the Christian writers mentioned above did not unwillingly accept the statement as fact.

The alleged human sacrifice at the Latiaris festival must, therefore, not be appealed to as proving the existence of the practice of human immolation in the Roman religion. But, on the other hand, the references of Cicero, Cesar, and Livy, as cited above, furnish no evidence as to primitive times; and, in order to decide the question in relation to that earlier age, such rites and beliefs as may possibly be survivals of an ancient practice of human sacrifice (Wissowa, op. cit. 420) must be examined in detail.

The Compitonia are a theme of particularly vigorous discussion, in Acta x. (1897), pp. 161, 167; Wissowa, op. cit. 167; the present writer's own view will be given in what follows. It was the custom at that festival to hang up in the chapels of the Lares many human figures and as many birds respectively as there were slaves and slaves present—'ut vivas parcerent [Lares]' (Paul. Fest. 239). Even if we regard the purpose of the ceremony as being correctly indicated in that ancient phrase, yet it would not be pertinent to apply the term 'commuted human sacrifice' to the rite. For this would imply that originally the whole house- hold were actually sacrificed—an idea that cannot be entertained. All that the custom in question has in common with human sacrifice is its basis, viz., the belief that the gods have a desire for human life. Men seek to satisfy that desire in the easiest possible way; they present the deity with objects of no great value, which, nevertheless, on some ground or other, are regarded as salient to a man's life, e.g., his image (which primitive belief identified with the original; cf. O. Weinreich, Antikes Heilungsgenürgen [as Balginsaesch. Versuche u. Vorarbeiten, viili, 11), Giessen, 1909, p. 144), or a ball (a crude representation of the head, the seat of life). By a similar gift, viz., beans (on the presentation of which to human gods, cf. R. Wünsch, Das Frühstück der Insel Malta, Leipzig, 1905, p. 31), the paterfamilias, at the festival of the Lemuria, purchased deliverance from the attacks of the spirits of the dead (Ovid, Fasti, v. 438: 'his regimo neque mesaque faba'). In the ceremony of the Compititia, therefore, the essential element of human sacrifice is referred to as something repulsive or abnormal, we may infer that it did not exist in the 1st cent. B.C., and the words of Livy (xxii. 57. 6), 'hostis humanus, minus Romano sacrum,' point in the same direction. Livy's reference certainly seems to clash with the fact, according to a number of Christian writers in the imperial period (Tatian, Or. ad Graecos, 129; Minucius Felix, 30, 4; and others), that a man ('bestarius,' 'Tert. Apol.' 9) was sacrificed to Jupiter Latiaris at the festival of the latter. W. Warde Fowler in "The Religious Experience of the Roman People," London, 1911, p. 112, 311) is of opinion that this points to a practice of sacrificing Herculaneum ('Tatian, 1. 18, 4) up under the influence of Oriental immolation and of the brutalizing slaughter in the arena. But, as the reference is an isolated one, it rather arouses suspicion, the more so because profane writers make no mention of the incident; J. Geffen (Zwei
Pythagoriae, Berlin, 1906, p. 19). These two were vicarious gifts, and do not imply an ancient practice of human sacrifice.

The custom of the Caterva, again, has been connected by H. Usener (Kleine Schriften, iv. [Leipzig and Berlin, 1913] 222) with cannibalistic human sacrifice. 'Caterva' was the name given to a fate of death to which a child was exposed at birth and which was considered by the Romans as a penalty for the two crimes of infanticide and murder (Parl.-Festus, 379)—a view rejected by Wissowa (p. 450, 5), who says: 'This expulsion or abandonment is rather the recognized method of performing the consecration of living beings'; and he refers to Suet. Clem. 81, where he finds an instance corroborative of his opinion. The passage in question, however, merely shows that the consecration of the living through the prevalence in later times; it was not the natural form, else the Romans would have availed themselves of it in the Fer sacrum as well (Samter, loc. cit. 379). We must rather assume that originally, as the vow was a unity, so its fulfillment was also uniform. Originally, that is to say, human beings and animals alike were either sacrificed or else expelled from the country. But, as in the ritual of blood-offerings the tendency is usually towards a mitigation rather than towards an intensification of their severity (E. Moseley, 457 xii. (1909) 605), we must regard the immolation of human beings (as of other creatures) as the primordial form; and it was, therefore, probably in this form that the Romans observed the general practice of Italic tribes in ancient times. We cannot, indeed, trace the observance of the sacred Spring in Rome before 217 B.C.; nevertheless, it is possible that about that time the Romans received it from their neighbours as something out of the common (it was settled after consulting the Sibyl's Books (Livy, xxii. 9). 8), and once modified it to suit their own circumstances.

In any case, it is attested by other data that the fundamental idea of propitiatory sacrifices—'unam pro multis dubitans capit'; formula, 'acer esto,' as, e.g., in Festus, 33, and Serv. Ast. vi. 690. Wissowa (op. cit. 368 f.) is of opinion that at first the state simply delivered this judgment, and left the transgressor to the vengeance of the deity, and that the law itself administered the actual penalty only in later times; in which case, of course, the penalty would have no connection with human sacrifice. But it seems to the present writer—and it is also Mommsen's view (Mommsen, 1889, p. 900 ff.); more literal, perhaps, is the statement of Procopius (Wars. 22), who says that the penalty is old, and implies a sacrifice. No one would venture to kill a creature which had become the property of the state. Wissowa's objection that the sacrificial object must be without blemish—as an offender, of course, could not be applied to the expiatory, but only to the propitiatory, sacrifice; nor, indeed, does it imply everywhere even to the latter, for we find that the Greeks offered criminals in propitiatory sacrifice (Samter, loc. cit. 375; A. Thomson, AEB vi. 1). A survival of human sacrifice among the Romans has also been found, and in all probability rightly, in the Fer sacrum. Like other Italian peoples, as, e.g., the Etruscans (ibid. 315 f.), so the Rutuli (Serv. Ast. vii. 786), in times of great distress, the Romans, when at war with Hannibal, sought to procure a happy deliverance from trouble by promising to a deity all the downed enemy in a single spring (Livy, xxii. 9. 7 ff., xxxiv. 44. 1, 3xiv. 44. 1), and these were then duly sacrificed in the Fer sacrum which, as we thus learn, obtained among the Romans was not the most ancient form.

Originally the dedication embraced also the human progeny; the children were allowed to grow up, and were then driven beyond the limits of the country (Strabo, loc. cit.; Festus, 321; Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. i. 18). The ancients themselves interpreted this act of banishment as a mitigated form of the older practice of imperial sacrifice (Parl.-Festus, 379)—a view rejected by Wissowa (p. 450, 5), who says: 'This expulsion or abandonment is rather the recognized method of performing the consecration of living beings'; and he refers to Suet. Clem. 81, where he finds an instance corroborative of his opinion. The passage in question, however, merely shows that the consecration of the living through the prevalence in later times; it was not the natural form, else the Romans would have availed themselves of it in the Fer sacrum as well (Samter, loc. cit. 379). We must rather assume that originally, as the vow was a unity, so its fulfillment was also uniform. Originally, that is to say, human beings and animals alike were either sacrificed or else expelled from the country. But, as in the ritual of blood-offerings the tendency is usually towards a mitigation rather than towards an intensification of their severity (E. Moseley, 457 xii. (1909) 605), we must regard the immolation of human beings (as of other creatures) as the primordial form; and it was, therefore, probably in this form that the Romans observed the general practice of Italic tribes in ancient times. We cannot, indeed, trace the observance of the sacred Spring in Rome before 217 B.C.; nevertheless, it is possible that about that time the Romas received it from their neighbours as something out of the common (it was settled after consulting the Sibyl's Books (Livy, xxii. 9). 8), and once modified it to suit their own circumstances.

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HUMAN SACRIFICE (Roman)

fact that the *deo votio* involved the sacrifice of the general who faced death by fire; for his people, the enemy would share his doom.

But the general, in thus offering his own person, really proceeded upon the same motives as actuated M. Crassus. Hence, the idea which gave rise to human sacrifice operates here too; even the religious form is not wanting—

the *deo votio* as given by Livy (viii. 10. 11). But here the image serves as a substitute for the living man (Deubner, loc. cit. 81).

This substitution may have been allowed even when the custom of devoting a legionary was first introduced; certainly that custom seems to be of later origin than the *deo votio* of the general (see above), so that it is not necessary to assume that originally the legionary was ever actually sacrificed at all.

Thus the *Arpi sacravit* and the death-penalty seemed to indicate that human sacrifice had a place in the primitive Roman religion, while the *deo votio* shows that self-immolation was not unknown in it. But apart from such national institutions, we find in Roman actual cases of human sacrifice—or of indubitable substitutes therefor—only in so far as they had been introduced under foreign influences. These, moreover, are so numerous that we can hardly help thinking that the practice could never have gained so firm a footing if it had been radically obnoxious to Roman sentiment.

The assumption that the ceremony was derived from *Greek ideas*, the participation of the Roman priest—certainly strikes us as strange. We may perhaps suppose that the gild of bridge-builders, the Pontifices, were in reality performing expiations for the observance of a foreign rite at the *Pons sublicius*, which was under their charge, and that in these, they associated with themselves the Vestal Virgins and the Flaminiae—unless, indeed, the ceremony was originally a Roman festival upon which the *Gracianus rite* was subsequently grafted (Deubner, A.W.B. xxiv. [1911] 301).

With the *Arpi sacravit* learned men of antiquity associated a *Roman propitiatory prayer* (cf. waggers). The expression refers to this in one instance (p. 254), the house of which we fill up with certainty:

Sagarnatus (de ponat omnibus), gnes, causae Manilum lance referit, quod ad *Arpi sacrificium* inscribitur (primi Abertiocis, aliquo hamesem, sungaulat (necasque qui post, incolumis) Dii Patrii et Matris, magisque (torquetur) / sacrif.)... This sacrifice, he says, was subsequently charged by Herode to the Semites; *Arpi sacravit* is also used (cf. also Ovid, Fasti, i. 329; de Otto, Sprachwissenschaft. Leipzig, 1906, p. 836). Varro (ap. Num. 3. 5 Lysias) gives different explanations, asserts that the old Semites, when no longer allowed to vote in public assemblies, were summoned to this old practice to abound the power of the *Arpi sacravit*... but this cannot be the true explanation, as it does not accord with what we know of the relations of the Romans to Semitic nations (Krommer, Alte Staatswesen, Leipzig, 1906, I. 206). We must therefore assume that the power's points to an ancient custom of throwing people from the bridge. Nevertheless, this cannot be regarded as human sacrifice; it was in reality a secular rite of doing away with burdensome old people who would no longer maintain (R. Scholz. 'Der Semitismus in der griechischen Religion. Leipzig, 1903. p. 527). It is certainly probable that the Romans of primitive times trusted the aged in this harsh way; thus, when the Senate of the Gauls, they left their old people behind them without means of self-defence—it was only in later writings that old people were sent to have remained because of their age (Livy, v. 41). Viewing the matter purely by itself, we might think that the Romans would be willing enough to sacrifice the aged as *Arpi* by throwing them from the bridge. But the case is not so clear. For example: Wards Fowler (The Roman Festivals, 110): rightly says that the incidental killing of an individual could not enter into the annual practice of putting considerable numbers to death. What we have in the case of the *Arpi sacravit* is then
fore a secular act of dispatching them on grounds of public utility. We have an exactly similar case in the slaying of the Ras Numan, and this likewise was not a human sacrifice, a practice allowed nor condoned by the Jewish law, by killing the priest of Diana of Nemi. He assumed the position of god himself, and yet he might be a little taken in the hands of another fugitive (Nero, 289). This is in line with a practice found among many peoples; they kill their king or priest before the embryo of an enemy, who is dependent upon his remaining strong. They appoint another man as his successor, who then discloses his strength by overthrowing the man whose place be taken (Frasier, OP, II, B. Dying God, 1910, p. 143 ff.).

With the sacrifice of Argive enemies, however, it is probably correct to associate the rite of burying alive a man and a woman belonging to a hostile nation (Wissowa, 421). In 216 B.C.—the most trying period of the war with Hannibal—Livy (xxii. 57. 6) informs us that 'ex fatalibus libris sacrificiis simul atque simul sacrificantibus inter quattuor Gallus et Galla, Graeco et Graeco in foro bavarico sub terris vivis demisi sunt in locum saeco consuetum, iam ante hostia humanarum . . . imbutam.' The Subsine Books (Plut. Marc. 3, Quaest. Rom. 83), that is to say, preserved at that juncture special means of allaying the anger of the gods, among these means being the previously tried expedient of burying the man and a woman of the enemy's people. The strict rule was evidently that the two victims should belong to the nation against which the war was then actually or at least was considered as then actually at war at the time (Pliny, BN xxvii. 12: 'generum cum quibus tum res esset'). Now the hostile peoples had one at that time been the Greeks and the Gauls, and both of these races, by an erroneous conservatism, were sacrificed also during the war with Carthage (Diels, 85 ff.). That this custom was suggested by Greek oracular writings is shown by the fact that the prescribed prayers were uttered by the president of the Quindecimviri (Pliny, loc. cit.), whose principal function was to guard the Libri Subsilini. The import of the rite was that of a sacrifice to the gods, who thus received the life of a man and a woman as pars pro toto; with the lives of the two victims the lives of all the men and women of the same tribe were magically bound up ('obligamentum magnum,' Orosius, iv. 13. 4); and, if the gods accepted the one pair, the rest of the nation would necessarily follow them. Pliny indicates that he had himself witnessed a sacrifice of this kind ('etiam nostra actas vidit')—'in the vicarious ceremony,' says Wissowa (433); and present writer is not certain as to the latter point, as the Emperor Aurelian (see Vite Hist. Aug. 20), when organizing the consultation of the Subsine Books, ordered 'oraculabia gentis capitis' to be reserved for sacrifice in case of need.

Finally, in the reign of Augustus, another innovation, and producing into a new type of human sacrifice, viz. a devoto. Dio Cassius (liii. 20) states that S. Pucvinus consecrated himself to Augustus in the manner of the Iberians (cf. Val. Max. ii. 6. 11). This clearly means that the tribune, invoking the gods, vowed that, if they demanded the life of the Emperor, they should take his instead. Vows of this kind are met with also in later times. When the Emperor Caligula was sick (Suet. Cal. 27; Dio Cass. lix. 8; Bouché-Leclercq, loc. cit. 119), two Romulian Worthies promised that they by the Emperor might recover; and the latter took them at their word. The devoto on the Emperor's behalf is mentioned also by Fronto, p. 6 (Nabers). This example indicates that outside the official religion of Rome the idea of human sacrifice was very powerful in private circles. How far the persons concerned were influenced by conceptions inherited from ancient Roman life, or by foreign ideas, or were actuated by their own thoughts, is in most cases difficult to decide.

The most outstanding instances may be briefly indicated as follows (cf. v. Lassalot, Studien d. klassischen Alterthums, Breslau, 1890). Those who took part in the consecration of Carthage are said to have drunk the blood of a slain man mixed with wine (Plut. Secr. 25), and to have bound themselves by dreadful oaths, believing that the war was already classed among human sacrifices by Minucius Felix (30. 5). In 48 B.C., Caesar, as a penalty for mutiny, caused two soldiers to be sacrificed in the Campus Martius by the priest of Mars (Dio Cass. xlii. 24), evidently in the belief that that god, who had been reused to anger by the mutiny, would be propitiated by the oblation. S. Pompeius threw men into the sea, doubting as an offering to Poseidon (ib. xlvii. 48). In 41 B.C., on the ideas of March (Suet. Aug. 16), Octavian is reported to have sacrificed three hundred men at the altar of the Divus Julius (trig. trig., Dio Cass. xlviii. 14), his intention being to propitiate the manes of the murdered dictator. Perhaps Vergili, when speaking of the captives 'quos mitigere umbros inferi/' (Aen. xi. 81), had this sacrifice in his mind; in other words he certainly creates ancient precedents for the religious and human sacrifice. In a time of threatened calamity, Nero consulted his astrologers, and received the response: 'sola reges tali service exspectari oportet' (Suet. Nero, 30). This was probably a notion of Eastern origin, and such an Oriental superstition explains also the self-immolation of Antinous on Hadrian's behalf (Dio Cass. lxxxix. 14); cf. art. HEROES AND HERO-GODS [Egyp.], p. 651). The Emperor Commodus put a man to death in the worship of Mithra (Vita Hist. Aug. 9); but the fact that this action is spoken of shows that the records of habitual human sacrifices by the priests of Mithra are false (F. Cumont, Textes et monuments relatifs aux mysteres de Mithra, Brussels, 1899, i. 60). Particularly in the practice of magic, which prevailed widely in the Imperial period—a period profoundly affected by Oriental superstition (Pliny N.H. 8)—human beings were frequently put to death, either because the bodily parts of men were believed to be peculiarly potent, or because—what specially concerns us here—the spirits of the under world would not give their aid unless they received a human being in sacrifice. It is not always easy to say which of these two motives prompted the killing of men in this connexion. The best-known source of information regarding the practice is Horace's poem Consilia (Epod. 5). Cicero (in Fatin. 14) charges Vatinius with the crime 'inferorum animas elicere, puereorum exitis deos manes maeract.' Didius Julianus sacrificed children in order to learn the future (Dio Cass. lxxiii. 18), and the word 'alow children and practised magic' (ib. lxxxix. 11).

These numerous instances of human sacrifice in the non-official religious sphere explain why the laws, the Senate, and the more human Emperors frequently made a stand against the practice. Pliny (BN xxx. 12 ff.) refers to a servitioconsultum of 97 B.C. directed against it, and to the injunction by which Tiberius prohibited the immolations of the Druids. Tiberius also forbade the sacrifice of human beings in the worship of Saturn in Africa (Tert. Apol. 9), Claudius reprimanded the Druids (Suet. Claud. 25), and Hadrian put an end to human sacrifice in the cult of the Cyprian Jupiter (Lact. Inst. i. 21. 1; Wissowa, 85). The jurist Paulus to this effect (Cod. 16. 16) writes: 'qui hominem imolaverint ex eis sanguine litariverunt, farnum templumque polluturint, bestias obiciabant, vel, si homines fint, capite puniuntur' (cf. Monumass, Strafrecht, 639 ff.).

We may sum up our investigation as follows. The primitive ideas which underlie the practice of
HUMAN SACRIFICE (Semitic)—The discussion of this subject falls naturally into two parts: (1) a marshalling of the evidence for the existence of the rite, and (2) an attempt to deduce the purposes and ideas underlying it.

I. EVIDENCE FOR THE EXISTENCE OF SEMITIC HUMAN SACRIFICE.—1. Egypt.—That the Egyptians were an offshoot from the original Semitic stock, separated from it in early times of historic period, is a favoured theory of their origin (see, e.g., G. A. Barton, Semitic Origins, London, 1902, where the theory is well worked out). They are, therefore, naturally to be included in an analysis of the evidence on the subject. It should not be forgotten that in any case the civilization of the Egyptians from the rest of the Semitic family must have taken place at a date so remote that the existence of the rite of human sacrifice among them in common with the Semites proper does not necessarily prove its existence in the primeval times before the Egyptian accession. It might have developed in Egypt independently, or under the influence of the ideas and practices of later surrounding tribes.

The existence of human sacrifices among the Egyptians has often been denied (E. Meyer, Gesch. der alten Ägypter, Berlin, 1875, p. 43; denies the evidence from native documents, while admitting the possibility of the Classical testimony being founded on true traditions; see also Dillmann, Handb. der AT Theol., Leipzig, 1895, p. 96). But the testimony of certain Greek and Latin authors, based apparently on tradition, and corroborated by objects discovered in certain Egyptian writings and by scenes represented in tomb wall-paintings, seems to indicate that this practice was observed, at least in a modified or symbolical form, down to later historic times.

Thus, Diodorus Siculus (1. 88) speaks of the king of Egypt as having formerly sacrificed men of red color—the colour of Set or Typhon—at the grave of Osiris; and he adds the important detail that, as red men were rare in Egypt, the victims were always foreigners. Manetho (Ap. Porphyrius, ed. Muller, P.G. ii. 616, no. 86) speaks of human sacrifices to Hera in Heliopolis, and of the modification of the rite by Amosis, who substituted waxen images for the victims. From another fragment (P. 616, no. 84) it appears that certain similar sacrifices the victims were ’Typhonic’ (red men), and were burnt alive; that the sacrifices took place in the dog days, and were therefore probably polyphylactic against drought or pestilence; and that the ashes of the victims were collected and scattered against the wind. Procopius (de Bell. Pers. i. 19) states that in the temple of Philae the Blemmyes offered human victims to the sun. Philo of Alexandria (De adoratione Dei ad Iustitiam, 23) records that an incident occurred in the temple of Serapis at Alexandria when they had burned the heads of infants with live coals, and glided away. He mentions also that a young artist has written a book treated of the subject (Gen. 32, 24) referred to in the text. It is an interesting fact that the Egyptians had a cult of Asklepios, and that his temple at Epidaurus was dedicated to Osiris. On the other hand, Herodotus (i. 40) states that the existence of the practice in Egyptian religion; but that intelligent tourist reports only what his ‘dragomans’ thought fit to tell him, and his evidence on a subject which necessarily belongs to the oracles of religion is therefore not conclusive.

Besides these ritual sacrifices, there is evidence for foundation sacrifices, modified, after the primitive period, by the influence of a new religion. There are numerous instances of such a practice (see Lefebre, ’Rites égyptiens,’ in Publications de l’Ecole des lettres d’Alger, 1880, pp. 4, 10, 38), and further, the special circumstances of Egypt, dependent for its life on the Nile inundations, demanded a Nile sacrifice, which the Arab historian Murtada describes as lasting down to the Muslim occupation of Egypt (A.D. 648).—A young girl being about to cast into the river to ensure a sufficient rise in the water (Eng. tr., 1672, p. 143). A survival of this custom is described by E. W. Lane (“Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians,” 1830, ch. xxvii.). A conical pillar of earth was erected in front of the dam at Cairo, and sown with millet. It was called ‘orizma’ (‘bride’), and no doubt represented the trunk from which the Nile sprang. It is not to be expected that the native Egyptian monuments themselves should necessarily corroborate these statements of the Classical writers, even if the latter be strictly trustworthy. For, in general, the native is not so likely to record facts and practices which for him are commonplaces as is the foreigner to whom they are less familiar. But some passages in inscriptions and some pictures have been collected, which appear to show that the statements quoted are at any rate not altogether without foundation. It is the appearance of the statues of the king in the procession from his expedition to Syria, clubbed seven of his chief captives before the god Amon (see E. Naville, The Old Egypt, Faith, Eng. tr., 1909, p. 290). In the inscription on the tomb of Seti i. (II. p. 296) the tale is told of the attempt of men to revolt against the sovereignty of Râ; of the revolt in the land of the human race; of the partial carrying out of this resolve by Hathor; of the appeasement of the wrath of Râ by a draught mixed with human blood; and of his resolve to substitute animal for human sacrifice in the future. Some such substitution is perhaps hinted at in the dark saying of the Book of the Dead (The Derveni Papyrus).

“When the fiends of Set come and change themselves into beasts, the great sovereign princes, on the festival of the breaking and turning up of the earth in Buto (Bubastis), they arise in the presence of the gods therein, and their blood flows among them as they are slain down.”

This seems to refer to a ploughing festival, wherein the ‘Typhonic men’ of the Classical writers were replaced by animals.

Among scenes on Egyptian monuments suggestive of human sacrifice, the memorial of Mentheherhepesef (Maspero, in Mem, de la mission archéol. française en Coït, v. [1899] 435) has an important place. One of the scenes in this tomb represents a person called a tekenu, dragged face downwards on a sledge; another shows the (fictitious) strangulation of a child at the sacrifice. It is not clear whether the sacrifice, on the whole, implies an actual sacrifice in an earlier age.

2. Babylonia and Assyria.—If traces of human sacrifice are obscure and ambiguous in Egypt, we are yet more so in the remains of the civilization of Mesopotamia. This is surprising, for people
with a highly developed pantheon and a complex ritual system, and notoriously ferocious in warfare, might be expected to reveal sacrifice among their regular religious practices. A bilingual text (4., Rawl. 20, no. 6) directing that 'the father shall give the life of his child for the sin of his life, the head of his child for his own head,' and so forth, would certainly be a proof of the existence of vicarious human sacrifice if the translation were sound; but, according to the Zimmermann (KAT. 1902, p. 597) and Jerome (A.D. in Lichtes des alt. Orientes, Leipzig, 1806, p. 566), the word rendered 'child' should properly be translated 'slave' or 'another obscure description' (i.e., Rawl. 61) contains a passage which has been rendered 'the son is burnt on the high places' (when the crops fail), but it seems more probably to mean 'the grain [of a certain species] is burnt in the heat of the sun.'

Less questionable evidence, however, is not wanting. The first occurs from that most important chapter 2 K 17, which describes the practices of the departed tribes which were substituted for the captivity Israelites. There (v.10) the Sepharvites (apparently the people of Sippah) are stated to have burnt their children in the fire to Adrammelech and Anammelech, the gods of Sepharvaim (= Adar-Malik; cf. Adrammelech, the name of Sennacherib's captive son, 2 K 18:6) and Asam-Malik. This rite obviously was carried by the Sepharvites from their old to their new home; and if we can retain anything of the men of Sippah, then such sacrifices must have taken place in the town of Sippah. The chief god of Sippah was Samas, the sun, who was also called Asar. It is interesting that Cod. A of the LXX in this passage presents the form 'Asaramas'. A human sacrifice seems to be actually figured in a seal published by Ball (JPSA xi. 1882) 149, where the god, a seated figure, with the list of the names of his labours, holds in his right hand the following figures are represented: (1) a priest standing, holding a sceptre in both hands, facing (2) a divinity, standing on the top of a stūra, and holding in his right hand a curved sword, in his left a sceptre. Flames burst from his shoulders; behind him is an altar, with vegetable offerings upon it. (3) Behind the divinity are two standing figures, clothed in leopard skins, with their right arms raised in the attitude of striking. Between them is (4) a kneeling man, wearing only a loin-cloth and a head-dress. Above him is a representation of flames, and flying towards him is a bird of prey. One of the standing men clasps the neck of the kneeling one and pulls aside his head, as though to expose his throat conveniently for the sacrificial blow.

Less certain evidence is the prescription that a son or a daughter shall be burnt on the altar of a divinity as a penalty for a breach of contract (Johns, Assyr. Deeds, Cambridge, 1888-1901, ill. 245), which may simply be a penal provision; and such passages as 'I burnt their boys and girls in the fire,' in Assurbanipal's triumphal inscriptions over conquered cities, which merely record a barbarity consonant with the rest of the acts of that abominable savage. There is, however, a magical text (quoted in Zimmermann, KAT, 599) which mentions the sacrifice of a slave along with an ox or a sheep.

The practice of human sacrifice in the religion of the Semitic predecessors of the Hebrews is amply proved by certain OT passages (Dt 19:10; 18:20; and by inference in such prohibitions as Lv 18:21), and has been corroborated by the results of recent excavations. In the High Place at Gezer, and in connection with the altar at Taanach, the skeletons of new-born infants have been found buried in jars. Similar discoveries were made in the corners of houses, under or close to the foundation. Two burnt skeletons of children about six years of age were found in the Gezer sanctuary, and near it was a cistern which had apparently been adapted as a receptacle for the refuse of sacrifices. Large numbers of animal bones, and many human bones of both sexes and all ages, were found in it. The excavator at Gezer was careful to get an expert medical opinion that some at least of the infants found buried actually lived a separate existence, and that they were not merely still-born or untermied births thus disposed of (with or without the recondite notions of inducing a re-birth and second chance of life, as suggested in Fraser, Adonis, Attis, Osiris, London, 1907, p. 83). At Tell Mutesellim (Megiddo) a girl of about fifteen had been slaughtered at the foundation of a large building, and her skeleton had been built into the wall. In two cases at Gezer the skeletons of young persons (a youth about eighteen, and a girl of about twenty-one) were found, which had evidently been sown in two. There was nothing to indicate clearly the circumstances under which so exceptional a form of execution had been adopted.

4. Arab tribes, ancient and modern.—Under we include the various tribes of the Transjordania provinces, the Sinaiic peninsula, and North Arabia.—Known as the Midianites, Ammonites, Moabites, etc.—as well as the Arabs before they adopted the teaching of Muhammad. These tribes were all so closely related that it is difficult to separate many of the practices under discussion among one or two will probably be sufficient proof of its prevalence among them all. Direct evidence is afforded by the incident of the sacrifice of Mezlah, who insulted his heir to Chemosh, when hard pressed by the Israelites (2 K 3:27)—an act which seems to have struck terror into the victors, who fled from the wrath of Chemosh when they encountered him. Wellhausen (Rechte arabs. Heidentums, Berlin, 1897, pp. 42, 43, 115) and other scholars have collected the indications of human sacrifice which remain among the Arabs, in spite of the efforts of post-Islamic authors and copyists to efface the traces of the rites and beliefs of the times of ignorance. These show clearly that the Arabs offered prisoners of war to the stellar and other divinities, and also sacrificed boys to Dusares and al-'Uzz, the morning star. The best-known example is that related by Nilus (Narrawa, vi.) of his own son Theodorus, who narrowly escaped being a victim. He was stolen by the Saracens, c. a.D. 600, and was to have been sacrificed. The ritual time for the offering lay between the appearance of Venus above the horizon and her disappearance in the rays of the rising sun. In answer to the boy's prayer, his captors overheard, and the time had already passed when they awoke; he therefore brought instead to the slave-market of Elusa, of which place he lived to become bishop.

5. Hebrews.—This member of the Semitic family was no less prone than the rest to human sacrifice, and required the special instruction of lawyers and prophets to eradicate the practice. Their great ancestor was moved to offer his son Isaac (Gen 22). Japhethah offered his daughter (Jg 11:23) under circumstances differing only in detail from the case of Mezlah—in the one the vow preceded, and the act followed, the victory; in the other the act itself was prior to the issue of the battle. The underlying ideas, however, were identical, and, notwithstanding all attempts to prove that in some parts of Egypt unworthy births are buried in the corners of the house, the son of God did not die in a graveyard of the village. This may conceivably be a survival of the practice of immolating a child or childless woman when a foundation of a house, and laying the corner-stones on the body.
explain away or to modify the Hebrew instances, there can be no reasonable doubt that it involved the death of the victim. Samuel 'hewed Agag in pieces before the Lord' (1 S 15:33), but this is a doubtful rendering of the Hebrew expression. (See Pless and Henderson, 'The Intention to Sacrifice.' 1912, p. 221.) Hiel re-built Jericho 'upon' two of his sons (1 K 16:34), i.e. sacrificed them at certain stages of the work, as we have seen to have been done at Megiddo and elsewhere. After the partition of the kingdom, the northern branch (2 K 17:17) as well as the southern, especially under Ahas (18:16) resorting (21:1), sacrificed children in fire; by the time of Jeremiah a special place, the Be Baal Hinnom, had been set aside especially for this rite. On the other hand, Isaiah (58:7), Micah (6:6), Jeremiah (19'), and Ezekiel (20:29) added their denunciations to the direct prohibitions of Leviticus (18:21) and other passages in the law of the Pentateuch. It does not fall within the scope of this article to discuss the question to what deity these various sacrifices were offered, or to inquire into the relationship between Jehovah and Moloch (see ERE i. 290). The legal cases quoted above are sufficient to prove the existence of human sacrifices among the Hebrews, without calling in more doubtful instances, such as the murder of Abel (Gen 4), the death of Uriah (2 S 6), the massacre of the priests of Baal (1 K 18), and other events, where critics have traced ritual acts with more or less improbability.

6. Phoenicians and Carthaginians. — Here, as in the case of the Egyptians, we have to trust very largely to the testimony of Classical writers. Of the Phoenicians, who loomed so largely in the works of the antiquarian charlatans of a hundred years ago, we really know next to nothing; and the usual inscriptions of Carthage are non-illuminating. Three or four Numidian votive tablets have been supposed to state that A has offered his son B, but neither reading nor interpretation can be considered trustworthy (see Gesenius, 'Scripturis lingue Phoen. monumenta,' 1849, pp. 446 ff., 453; these inscriptions are not yet included in CIS). Eusebius, however (Prop. Ewng. iv. 16), following Sanchamathion (apud Philo), speaks of the Phoenicians offering their dearest to Kronos; and other writers ascribe the same custom to the Phoenician colonies of Cyprus, Carthage, and Massilia.

For Cyprus, see Reuss, loc. cit.; for Carthage, Porphyrus (de Abel. ii. 46), Diodorus Siculus (xx. 14), and Pliny (HM xxxviii. 4); for Asia Minor, Servius (in Aen. xvi. 107); for Egypt, Servius (in Aen. iii. 67). 7. Southern Semites. — The Semitic-speaking people of Abyssinia appear to have been originally a colony from S. Arabia, and presumably carried with them from the former home all the rites of their religion, including that of which this article treats. No direct evidence, however, bearing on the subject is to be found in the unsatisfactory literature relating to that little known country.

II. THE PURPOSE OF HUMAN SACRIFICE. — Human sacrifice is the offering of a human individual to a divine power. It is generally understood to involve the slaughter of the victim, but that is not absolutely necessary; the life of a medieval anchorite, walled up in a narrow cell, was sacrificed no less literally than was that of the son of Methuselah. But in the Semitic world, with some exceptions and modifications presently to be noted, the victim was actually put to death. It is of the highest importance to distinguish the cases of sacrifice from the following acts, which are sometimes confused with them: (1) murder for political or criminal causes, such as the satisfaction of private grudge or greed; (2) execution of criminals and prisoners of war; (3) blood-revenge; (4) infanticide, as organized among the Arab tribes; (5) slaughter for medical purposes, e.g. to procure the baths of children's blood supposed to cure leprosy (on which see Pliny, HN vii. 42); (6) sacrifice, in the sense of offering to a god, of the first three of these, all of which have been called 'sacrifices,' are the stories of Abel (Gen 4), Agag (1 S 15:33), and Jabin (Judg. 5:21). It is interesting to note that none of these cannot have been a sacrifice in any case, as the victims were 'killed' (see De 21), and cf. the executions in Nu 25, which have also been erroneously taken as a sacrifice. The fourth, on which see the gruesome 'Additional Note C' in W. R. Smith's 'Onish and Marriage,' London, 1903, p. 291 ff. is merely a practical device to reduce the non-combatant members of a tribe.

In a true human sacrifice, the victim may be (a) a young infant, the first-born of the family; (b) a criminal or prisoner of war; or (c) a person of special importance in the eyes of the person or tribe offering the sacrifice. In the first case we have, in the majority of instances, a sacrifice of primacy, whereby the firstfruits of the field, of domestic animals, and of the human family were sacrificed to the deity. In the second case the victim has offered against a divine majesty, either by his crimes or by fighting against the people of the divinity; the god has triumphed over his enemies, and their blood is poured out before his feet. In the third case is rather different: the god has to be appeased by his own people; a calamity or plague has to be averted, or some such prize as victory in battle has to be obtained; the most probable gift that the tribe can offer has, therefore, to be presented in payment for the boon; the king's eldest son must be offered as a burnt-offering that there may be 'great wrath' against his enemies (2 K 3:26).

By way of appendix to this article, two points must be considered briefly: (a) the modifications and substitutes offered for human sacrifices; and (b) the strange superstition, not yet wholly extinguished, that the medieval Jews practised a form of ritual murder.

(a) Modifications and substitutes for human sacrifices. — Although, as the notorious case of the Aztecs shows, the practice of human sacrifice is not inconsistent with a high standard of culture, it is natural that the advance of civilization should develop a repugnance against the rite in its crudest form, and that various devices should be invented to satisfy the demands of the gods without actually taking life. There are four such devices that call for mention. (1) The substitution of a model of wax or straw, as we have already seen, was early introduced into Egypt. Small figures of men cut from laminates of bronze and silver were found under the foundation of a house at Gezer, evidently representing the occasional cases of the sacrifice of viles, worthless, or crippled members of the community may also in a sense be a substitution for lives more valuable. Although the dogmatic statements of folk-lorists on such a point cannot be accepted without reserve, it is possible that some children's games (see ERE ii. 395) are the pale reflexion of rites that once involved the human victim. (2) By redemption the eldest son of the Hebrew family was rescued from the doom that doubtless was literally carried out upon them; the cases of sacrificial mutilation and similar irreparable injuries — especially those involving the loss of male virility or female chastity — were devices to preserve life while sacrificing the lower detect. They were also performed, in which all semblance of the victim disappeared. Thus, under the foundations of many houses in Palestinian excavations have been discovered groups of lamps and bowls (usually
HUMAN SACRIFICE (Slavio).—The Baltic Slavs were fanatics and sacrificed Christians to their gods. Every year a Christian was chosen by lot and offered to the god Svarog in his temple (Helmold, Chronicos Slavorum, Frankfort, 1881, p. 316). The head of Bishop John of Mecklenburg was fixed on a lance and offered to the god Veilen (66). In Russia the so-called Chronicle of Nestor, under the year 988, i.e. a short time before Vladimir's conversion to Christianity, tells that this prince sacrificed human victims to the gods. The list of those victims included: a Christian Varag, who refused to give him up. The Russians forced an entrance into his house and slaughtered him and all his family.

HUMAN SACRIFICE (Teutonio).—What Caesar says regarding human sacrifice among the Gauls (de Bell. Gall. vi. 18; 104 pro vita hominis nisi hominis vita reddat, non posses aliter deorum immortu numen placuit arbitratu, publicosque studium generis habent: instituta sacrila') holds good also in the case of the Teutons. As late as the historical period, the latter people, when their own lives were imperilled, or when some threatened disaster was to be averted, offered human beings in sacrifice. They believed that the demons and gods who had a desire for human lives would be satisfied, or their anger appeased, by such immola tions. The human victims of these rites were not as a rule fully privileged members of the particular community; they were prisoners of war, slaves, convicts, or children under age. As times went on, when the community had no such persons at its disposal, and, in particular, in military campaigns or expeditions by sea, the victims were selected by lot. Like all other sacrifices among the Teutons, human sacrifices were regulated by the principle of ad adon. Either they were of a prophylactic character—and from this class sprang the periodic immolations of human lives—or they were performed in fulfilment of vows. They were offered to the demons who caused death, or to the gods of the souls of the departed, or to the gods of the realm of the dead; sometimes, however, the sacrifice was paid to the god of war, as also to the deities of fruitfulness, who were to be thus induced to prevent failure of crops and consequent famine. In process of time human sacrifice was superseded by the sacrifices of animals, or of objects regarded as substitutes for human life.

According to Tacitus (Ierm. 9), all the German tribes offered human sacrifices to Woden-Mercury on certain days. These immolations, however, were accorded not to Woden as the supreme god, but to Woden as the god of death, and were designed to avert a wholesale loss of life. Thus from other references of Tacitus we learn that the Hermundurs, after their victory over the Chatti, offered human lives to the god of death and Mars, the god of war (Ann. xiii. 67). This is confirmed by the Norse record. When King Ann of Upasnl was growing old, he sacrificed nine of his sons to Odin in order that his own life might be prolonged in return (Helmold, op. cit. ed. F. Jonassen, Copenhagen, 1890, I. 45 f.). In the same way, according to the Víkara Saga, Odin bestowed upon his protege, Starkard, a life of three human generations only on condition that Starkard should sacrifice King Vikar to him, and the god himself put into Starkard's hand the spear with which he was to slay the king (Saxo Grammaticus, I. 276). While these examples belong to the sphere of myth, yet they witness to the people's belief that Odin accepted life in exchange for life.

Death holds his harvest in time of war. Hence the Teutons immolated the lives of enemies, especially after a victory. The South Teutonic sources do not usually indicate to whom such sacrifices were offered. Thus, e.g., after the battle of the Cumbrics, after a victory, sacrificed four captives (Strabo, vi. 2. 3); after the battle of Arausio (105 B.C.) the captured Romans were hanged upon trees (Orosius, Hist. vi. 18); the Ten Tribes of West Germany treated their prisoners in the same way after the battle in the Tenbottor Forest (Tac.
HUMAN SACRIFICE (Teutonic)

Ann. i. 81) and similar sacrifices were performed by the Heruli (Procop. de Bell. Got. i. 14), the army of Ariovistus (Cæs. de Bell. Gall. i. 53) and others. Sometimes we find that a vow of human sacrifice was made before a battle. Thus Ruda Pristina, the leader of the Teutons, on the occasion of his expedition into Italy, took a vow that, if he conquered, he would sacrifice the captured Christians (Oros. i. 3. 77). In the Northern seas of life, the gods had announced by lot that he desired such an expiation (Ael. Vita Willibrordi, c. 10; Fries. de saeculis, ed. von Richthofen, Berlin, 1840, p. 323). These immolations were performed upon the seashore; and as far as is known, the Teutons regarded the king as the god who had announced by lot that he desired such an expiation. 

When Jarl Elmar of Orek conquered Harald, he made him choose a sacrifice to Odin in return for his victory (Icelandic Sagas, p. 8: 'gaf hann Ófinn til sigra ær'). When a Norse general came face to face with the enemy, he cried out: 'Ófinn á ytr aila' ('Odin has you all').

But Odin was at the same time the leader, and thus also the god, of the dead, and his dominion was increased by the addition of fallen warriors (sælar) to the company of the Binkarjar. Hence he not seldom selected his own victims. He sent forth his battle tc the Vanir, the Valkyra, to lead, from his kingdom, the heroes who fell in the field of battle. We sometimes even meet with the belief that Odin himself took part in the battle, and secured his destined victims. Thus, e.g., he was present at the great battle of Bravalla, in which King Harald of Denmark fought against Hring of Sweden, and the god himself struck King Harald down (Saxo Gram. i. 390; Nornadassægur, i. 380 f.). Or he gives the adversary of his destined victim a spear with which to slay the latter (Gudbrands Sæg, ed. Ransjö, p. 168 f.). Sometimes, again, men devoted their own lives to the gods. When Eirikr the Victorious, King of Sweden, met his nephew Styrbjorn in battle near Fryxelvall, he dedicated this land to Odin, with the consent of his executory. When Jarl Hakon of Norway joined battle with the Jomsvikings in the bay of Hjorungav (396), and the victory inclined to the side of the latter, he sacrificed his youngest son, Erling, to his protective goddess Thorgerd Holgabréd, and so won the day (Jomsvikingsæg, note Am. 510, p. 38 f.).

Besides war, expeditions at sea were another great source of danger to life. In the sea there lived a mischievous demon whom the North Teutons called Rán ('robber'). Rán, with her nine daughters—personifications of the waves—laid hold of her victims in storms at sea. Those who were drowned passed into her kingdom, and were there regaled with lobster and fish. Hence dwellers by the North Sea, or the ocean, before setting out upon a voyage, offered a human sacrifice, hoping thereby to protect themselves against the rapacity of the sea-demon. The heathen Saxons, before taking ship for home after their marriage and prosperity, slaughtered a tenth of all their captives upon the beach, in order that a safe voyage might be granted to them (C. von Richthofen, Zur Lateinwissenschaft, Berlin, 1865, p. 304). Likewise the Norwegians, when embarking upon their Viking raids by sea, sacrificed human beings to the sea-god (Mém. de la société des antiqu. de la Normandie, xxii. (1869) 129 f.). These sacrifices were performed with the sea-farers who were responsible for a safe voyage, and brought into connexion with the violation of his sanctuary only after he had become the supreme object of worship.

But human sacrifices connected with seafaring were not so decidedly of a prophylactic character as those connected with failure of crops. Failure of crops and the loss of life is not the same thing: but we may have the explanation of the human sacrifices performed in times of threatened scarcity. Thus, during a famine, King Halfric of Denmark, Hearing that the king of Sweden had atoned for having slain his own son, upon whom the lot had fallen, sacrificed King Harald of Fjordgøta and his Retinue (Herusor Sæg, ed. S. Büges, Christiania, 1866, p. 227 f.). Like other races, the Teutons regarded the king as the god responsible for a bad harvest. It is recorded that the Swedes attributed both abundances and scarcity of crops to their kings (Reiskaér, i. 78: 'Svarar eru vanir at kenna konungu bessi ór ok halleri'). Even as late as 1597, we find Gustavus Vasa, at the parliament of Westerka, complaining that the people blamed the king for the lack of crops. It is no wonder that he was regarded with some respect (E. G. Geijer, Svenska Folkteor Hist., Örebro, 1837, i. 71). From heathen times comes the statement that the Swedes sacrificed to the sun god 'pro frugum frugum demors' (Mém. Hist. Nor., Christiania, 1890, p. 98), when neither the immolation of animals nor that of ordinary men had been able to arrest the blight (Reiskaér, i. 207). When the immolation of kings, which among the Teutons gradually disappeared within historic times, was at length finally abandoned, the king who was held accountable for famine was dethroned, or even expelled from the country, as was the practice, e.g., among the Burgundians (Amm. Marcell. xxviii. 5).

The practice of periodical human sacrifice, offered in spring to the deities of fertility, arose from the dread of possible dearth. Such a periodical rite was the sacrifice at the festival of Neowens, which was celebrated every spring by seven tribes on the Baltic Sea (Teut. Germ. 40). At this festival the priest drove the cow of Neurhus—the divine Toru Moter—through the various cantons of the confederacy, in order to secure the fertility of the whole country. Then, when the procession was over, the slaves who had accompanied the cow were sacrificed to the goddess in her sacred lake. Another immolation on a large scale took place every ninth year in the ancient and highly venerated samian, where the residence of the Danish kings was also situated. At this festival likewise the members of the confederacy assembled for a joint-celebration in order that the gods might, along with the sea-farers who were responsible for a good voyage, be assured of a great immolation in which ninety-nine human beings, and an equal number of horses, dogs, and cocks, respectively, were sacrificed. This celebra-
tion took place in winter—the season in which elsewhere the ancient Teston festival of the dead was held—and was designed to benefit the souls of the deceased, and to look after their welfare in the other world. It is not noted in our sources, but was in all probability the early spring. The sacrifice was offered to the god of vegetation. The ancient structures, formed by the Saxo Grammaticus (i, 190), with his euhemeristic mode of explanation, says it was instituted. As in the festival of Nerthus, there was a procession here also, the image of Frey being borne through the district by a young priestess (Platejärnön, i. 327 ff.). Frey, too, received human sacrifices, at least in the later period of heathenism. These sacrifices, like the great immolation at Lethra, were performed every nine years, and were offered in the sacred grove at Upsala, their object being to propitiate the god, i.e. to secure his favour for the people, and fertility for the land. The victims here were not only human beings, but also horses and dogs, nine of each kind being sacrificed. The bodies of the human victims were burnt upon trees in the sacred grove, and the informant of Adam of Bremen (iv. 26-27) says that he had seen seventy-two bodies suspended there.

The ancient immolations with a view to protecting human life and keeping malignant demons at bay. They had a similar purpose in the sacred grove, a practice met with among all races. It is true that the ancient sources supply no evidence of this observance among the Teutons, but the discovery of skeletons in the sacred grove of the Teutons as found by the informants of Adam of Bremen (iv. 26-27) is not without foundation. The Teutons practiced those immolations with a view to protecting human life and keeping malignant demons at bay. They had a similar purpose in the sacred grove, a practice met with among all races.

As a rule the victims in these cases were children. In this particular sacrifice, however, the place of human beings was at an early date supplied by animals (especially cats), or by certain parts of animals (heads of horses, oxen, etc.), and at length by inanimate things (images, coins, etc.). The modern practice of putting in certain objects at the laying of foundation stones is a survival of the ancient rite. In the ancient sacrifice the victims were placed under the threshold of buildings, and under the gateways of city walls, and under the pillars of bridges. Then the dike upon the seacoast, as being specially exposed to the waves, were also protected by human sacrifices. In Oldenburg, children are said to have been thus inhumed as far down as the 17th cent., by way of making the dike secure. L. Strack, Aeglepsia aus dem Hortusvum Oldenburg, Oldenburg, 1806, i. 127 ff.). And even at the present day we meet in many districts with the popular belief that certain structures of huge size could never have come into existence at all unless the builder had buried a human being under their supports. Cf. art. BRIDGES.

FOUNDATION.

Hume. Life.—David Hume, best known for his philosophical writings, was a student of history and economics also. He was born in Edinburgh on 26th April 1711. As his friends tell us in his autobiography, he came of a family of distinction but of small estate. He was the youngest of three children, who were early left fatherless, and had to bear the care of a devoted mother, whose little girl was known in his early education. He entered the University of Edinburgh in 1723. His philosophical and literary bent showed itself early in life, and gave him a triumphing in the end over all other interests. He tried business, but found it unsuitable. In 1734 he went to Paris, and there wrote his T. Treatise of Human Nature, the first and second volumes of which were published in 1739, when he was only twenty-eight years old. He expected much from this his first work, but suffered a great disappointment. It 'fell dead-born from the press.' He was not discouraged, however, but proceeded to write in a more popular form. In 1741 the first volume of his Essays appeared, and gained for him almost immediately the notice he courted. A second volume of Essays followed the next year. In 1744 he had hopes of securing the chair of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, but failed. He then secured the post of tutor to the Marquis of Annandale. In 1748 he became secretary to General St. Clair, with whom he remained, with a slight interruption, for two years, continuing his writing. After some time spent at Ninewells, in Berwickshire, he returned to Edinburgh in 1751, where he remained for twelve years. These were the years of his greatest literary activity, in which most of his political, economic, and religious studies were written, together with his History of England. In 1763, in company with Lord Kames, he visited Paris, and was received there with gratifying distinction. He was under-secretary to General Conway in 1767, and spent two years in London. He returned to Edinburgh in 1769, and remained for the rest of his life, enjoying a wide reputation and a substantial income. He died on 26th August 1776. His own description of himself as 'a man of mild dispositions, of command of temper, of an open, social, and cheerful humour, capable of attachment, but little susceptible of ennui, and of great moderation in all my passions,' is likewise the description of him given by those who knew him well. His friendship for Rousseau, which was poorly requited, was characteristic of him. There was in his disposition a mixture of kindliness, a scepticism, half serious and half playful, which prevented for a time a just estimate of his ability. But his reputation has grown with the years, and he ranks among the most acute and penetrating students of human nature.

2. Writings.—


1741-42, Essays Moral and Political, do.


1745, An Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals, do.

1756-61, Four Dissertations: 'Of the Natural History of Religion'; 'Of the Passions'; 'Of Tragedy'; 'Of the Standard of Taste,' do.

1777, My Own Life, London.

1785, Dialogues concerning Natural Religion, do.

3. Philosophy.—Hume's philosophy is usually regarded as the culmination of the line of thought begun by Locke and continued by Berkeley. There is no doubt that he wrote with the ideas of these predecessors in mind, and fully conscious that he was carrying them forward to their ultimate issue. His philosophy, however, is much more than a development of this issue. The turn given to the result, the conception of human nature, is in the development of it and the consequent
method of conducting inquiry are the really significant things in the work of this Socrataman, who dedicated himself a sceptic. His scepticism is not only a suspicion of his predecessors' philosophy; it is also the recommendation of a positive attitude towards life.

In logical relation to the philosophy of Locke and Berkeley, the philosophy of Hume appears to be the natural and inevitable conclusion of the position they defended in regard to the objects and method of knowledge. Locke (p. 2) had reduced his inquiry into the 'original, certainty, and extent of human knowledge' to three fundamental tenets which he stated as follows: (1) the only immediate objects of knowledge are ideas; (2) all ideas are acquired; and (3) knowledge is a synthesis of ideas, 'the perception of the agreement or disagreement' of them as they are compared and related. Ideas, with Locke, were definitely distinguished from things, on the one hand, and from the mind, on the other hand; they constituted a series of intermediate existences between the mind and the things to which knowledge is supposed to refer. Berkeley (p. e.) had questioned the validity of the distinction between ideas and things; if Locke's fundamental theses are to be maintained. If, that is, knowledge is concerned immediately with ideas, their comparisons and relations; if in both object and method it never passes beyond them, then the distinction between ideas and things becomes unintelligible. Knowledge deals directly with its objects; and, if it is a perception of them and their relations, it is evident that objects are what they are in perception; their esse is percipi. Hume pushes this analysis of Locke's position still further, attacking the distinction between ideas and the mind, just as Berkeley had attacked the distinction between ideas and things. Nothing is given in perception, he urges, except what is perceived, and perception is a mind of them from perception is not given; it is not a datum of experience, an object to be identified among the sum-total of objects perceived. At best it is a group or 'bundle of perceptions' which expands or contracts as perceptions are added or subtracted. In other words, Hume contends that, if we take Locke's fundamental positions rigorously, then we must admit that perceptions—that is, the content immediately given in perception—are our only objects, and knowledge can deal only with relations between objects. This results in the idea that if we pass beyond the perception, either to the objects which they are supposed to represent or to a mind which is supposed to perceive them, it is to take a step which experience does not warrant. Knowledge, as knowledge, is thus rigorously limited to the immediate data of experience, and that means, with Hume, to our perceptions. These data of experience Hume divides into two classes—impressions and ideas—and redes the distinction between them squarely on experience. The clearest statement of the distinction is found in the second section of the 'Enquiry concerning Human Understanding,' entitled, 'Of the Origin of Ideas.'

By the term impression, I mean all our more lively perceptions, when we hear, see, feel, or love, or hate, or will. And impressions are distinguished from ideas, which are the less lively perceptions, of which we are conscious, when we reflect on any of those sensations or movements above mentioned.

Furthermore, all ideas are derived from impressions, but impressions are themselves originals without any discoverable derivation. Ideas are copies, faint reproductions of impressions; and this fact gives us a rule by which to test the soundness of our ideas.

When we entertain any suspicion that a philosophical term is employed to describe a meaning or idea (as is but too frequent), we need but enquire, from what impression is that supposed idea derived? And if it be impossible to assign any, this will serve to confirm our suspicion. By bringing us in a clearer light we may reasonably hope to remove all disputes, which may arise, concerning their nature and reality (ib.)

To this extent Hume subjects such preposterous philosophical ideas as those of space, time, cause, necessary connexion, substance, mind, to find in each case that there is no single distinct impression as the source of the idea. Such ideas must be referred to the grouping of impressions or ideas, or to the passage from one impression to another, or from one idea to another. For instance, the idea of substance is not derived from any distinct impression, but 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 recall, either to ourselves or others, that collection (ib., bk. I. pt. iv. sec. i.).

The idea of necessary connexion is not derived from any necessary connexion discoverable among our impressions, but from the feeling attending 'the customary repetition of the imagination from one object to its usual attendant.' And the idea of cause and effect is to be understood, not in terms of any discoverable power by which one thing works a change in some other thing, but in terms of the persistent habit of human nature to expect similar facts to be followed by similar experience.

Thus Hume attempted to abolish the leading ideas of the philosophy of the proposition that by pushing to the extreme the doctrine that, so far as knowledge is concerned, we deal only with perceptions and not with objects, there is no power, no necessary connexion, no substance in which qualities inheres, and no mind which itself perceives, but only perceptions, impressions, and the ideas derived from them, we must interpret mind, power, substance, and necessary connexion solely in terms of impressions and ideas. When so interpreted, they lose the force and significance usually assigned to them. They cease to be principles applicable to things, and become rather principles for the grouping and associating of ideas. Thus Hume gave a great impetus to the scientific psychology, to the view that knowledge is concerned only with original mental elements and their associations.

The result thus reached by Hume he presents to the reader as a recommendation for scepticism. He points out that we naturally tend to reposit faith in our senses and to believe that we perceive external objects, whereas philosophy teaches us that we perceive only perceptions which we suppose to refer to objects or represent them. Of this supposition, we have no proof; our perceptions being perceptions and nothing more, never give any indication of external objects. Confined thus to our perceptions, reason can never pass beyond them, and we are forced to doubt the soundness of any conclusions which attempt to carry us beyond (see Human Nature, bk. I. pt. iv., particularly sections i., ii., vi., and vii.).

Hume's reasoning here is so manifestly based upon the assumption that perceptions are not objects—one of Locke's fundamental assumptions, which he has himself declared to be really unintelligible—that it is difficult to follow him seriously. He appears to be playing with the issue to which he has reduced the philosophy of his predecessors. But in another connexion he gives the most serious and important turn to his scepticism, namely, in his doctrine of belief. 'We may well ask,' he states, 'What causes induce us to believe in the existence of body,' but 'it is vain to ask, Whether there be body or not?' (ib., bk. I. pt. iv. sec. ii.). This statement may be generalised to indicate how with Hume the problem of belief is more important than the problem of knowledge.

To his mind philosophers had busied themselves,
too much with the question whether the things in which we naturally believe, such as an external world, power, God, providence, exist—a question which cannot be answered, because, in order to answer it, we should have to pass beyond the limitations which experience puts upon the problem of existence. There is no way of proving that that which we take for granted is not mere delusion. It is, therefore, idle to try. But, since we believe in spite of this fact, the grounds of our belief may be investigated. In every case, Hume reduces belief to some principle of human nature, to some habit or propensity of mind, just as he reduces the belief in necessary connection to the feeling attending the inseparable union of similar consequences from similar events. He defines belief generally as 'a lively idea related to or associated with a present impression.' His comment on this definition is not only a clarification of it, but a good illustration of his philosophical position generally.

'When we infer the existence of an object from that of others, some object must always be present either to the memory or sense, in order to be the foundation of our reasoning; since the farther we go from the objects of this present moment, either by time or space, we are not determin'd by reason, but by custom or a principle of association.' A belief is somewhat mystified in this passage. It is not a particular manner of forming an idea. And as the same idea can be formed by a variation of the degrees of force and vivacity; it follows upon the whole, that belief is a lively idea produced by a relation to a present impression, according to the foregoing definition (6. bk. 1, pt. 3, sec. 1v).

Then there is a kind of inevitableness about belief; it is the necessary result of putting the mind in certain natural postures. 'It is not a problem of scepticism, although it triumphs over reason and every attempt to establish by reason the objects of belief, is relatively impotent in the face of belief itself.' No. He means here Hume means genuine human nature—'will always maintain her rights, and prevail in the end over any abstract reasoning whatsoever.'

'The natural history of human nature rather than on proved conclusions of reason, however, was for Hume not the end of philosophy. It suggested to him a science of human nature which should set forth a detail the ways in which men act and in which they come to believe in any matter of fact. Such things are with him the proper objects of philosophical inquiry. Only the means are necessary to them should be carefully noted. The sub-title to his Treatise of Human Nature indicated what he conceived that method to be: an attempt to state the experiments, the method of reasoning into moral subjects. That is, problems concerning man's beliefs and conduct are to be handled by observing how men behave under given conditions, and what actuates and moves them. Above all, the effects of probable conclusions based on observed uniformities, sequences, and expectations are to be emphasized. For probability rather than certain conclusions is the great guide in human life. This method has already been illustrated in the foregoing exposition. A further and significant illustration of it is found in Hume's theory of morals.'

'Those who affirm,' he says, 'that virtue is nothing but a convention to prevent us from doing the unnatural, and what is the same to every rational being that considers them; that the immutable measures of right and wrong impose an obligation, not only on human creatures, but also on the Deity itself: All these systems concur in the opinion, that morality, like truth, is discovered virtually by ideas, and by their just position and comparison. In order, therefore, to determine these systems, we need only consider, whether it is possible, from reason alone, to distinguish between moral good and evil, or whether the moral consciousness or other principles to enable us to make that distinction' (6. bk. 3, pt. 1, sec. 1v).

His own opinion is that, tested by experience, it is not reason alone that enables us to make the distinctions. Morals are not produced by reason or prevent actions. Reason of itself is utterly impotent in this particular. The rules of morality, therefore, are not the conclusions of our reason. They are conclusions from feeling and sentiment. 'Morality is more properly felt than judged of.'

Again: 'Virtue is distinguished by the pleasure, and vice by the pain, that any action, sentiment, or character gives rise to. There is no particular view and contemplation. This decision is very commodious; because it reduces us to this simple principle, which is the common or sentiment upon the general view or survey gives a certain satisfaction or unsatisfaction, in order to show the origin of the moral rectitude or depravity, without looking for any incomprehensible relations and qualities, which never did exist in nature, nor even in our imagination, by any clear and distinct conception. I flatter myself I have executed a great part of my present design by a statement of the question, which appears to me so free from ambiguity and obscurity' (6. bk. 3, pt. 1, sec. 2v).

Thus we are brought to look for the springs of moral action, not in reason, but in a natural quality or disposition of human nature—the disposition to approve or disapprove actions as they affect us with a favourable or unfavourable view of the person acting, as they lead us to sympathetic with him and his motives. Hume's theory of morals is thus neither hocus-pocus nor egotism primarily. It is not essentially utilitarian, although considerations of utility are important for him. It is rather an attempt to show that moral actions are pre-rational, finding their origin in the emotions rather than in calculation. His theory is introduced by an elaborate and interesting study of the emotions themselves.

Hume's method of dealing with religion is the same as his method of dealing with morals. His Natural History of Religion opens with these words: 'As every enquiry, which regards religion, is of the utmost importance, there are two questions in particular, which challenge our attention, to wit, that concerning its foundation in general; and that concerning its origin in human nature. Here, again, is the sharp contrast between reason and human nature. Hume, indeed, admits that there is rational ground for the primary principles of genuine theism, such as an intelligent author of the whole frame of Nature, but insists that what the majority of men believe about God is not founded on reason. The latter has a natural history which he attempts, with very insufficient data, to trace. Religion, according to him, began, as polytheism, and arose 'not from a contemplation of the works of nature, but from a concern with regard to the events of life, and from the incessant hopes and fears which animate the human mind.' These hopes and fears have led men to the worship of many corresponding deities. The passage from polytheism to theism was brought about, not so much by any train of philosophical reasoning, as by a tendency to idealize the conception of Deity. There results a 'kind of flux and reflux in the human mind,' and 'men have a natural tendency to rise from idolatry to theism, and to sink again from theism into idolatry.' If religion had its origin in reason, such a flux and reflux would be impossible. Throughout this discussion of the natural history of religion, Hume lays little stress on the validity of religious belief. It is with him a characteristic belief of human nature, like belief in causation or in an external world.

The problem of validity is, however, discussed in his Dialogues concerning Natural Religion. A supernaturalist, a deist, and a sceptic are the protagonists in the discussion. The arguments of each are stated with much acuteness. The principal point in dispute is not the existence of God, but how far we can, by reasoning from the character of the world, the events of history, the good and evil fortunes of men, reach sound conclusions about God's nature and attributes. Are we entitled to infer any greater good from the conduct of the author of the world than we find exhibited in the
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world? Can we infer a providential guidance of the course of events, in the face of the fact that a special care for one man's good is bound up with another man's evil? The outcome is inconclusive, bedeviling doubts, the literary demands of the dialogue rather than illustrating Hume's own convictions. He does not hesitate, however, to betray his own preference for the sceptic's position. The subject passes the power of human reason to decide. Arguments balance one another. His closing statement is perhaps the expression of his own attitude:

'If the whole of Natural Theology, as some people seem to maintain, resolves itself into one simple, though somewhat ambiguous, at least undefined proposition, That the cause or causes of order in the universe probably bear some remote analogy to the operation of a design, this proposition be not impugned. The extension, variation, or more particular application: If it affords no inference that affects human life, or can be the source of any action or forbearance: And if the analogy, imperfect as it is, can be carried no farther than to the human intelligence; and cannot be transferred, with any appearance of probability, to the qualities of the mind: If this really be the case, what can be the most inspective, contemplative, and religious man do more than give a plain, philosophical assent to the proposition, as often as it occurs; and believe that the arguments, on which it is grounded, exceed the objections, which lie against it? Some astonishment indeed will naturally arise from the greatness of the distinction between the man and his reasoning: some contempt of human reason, that it can give no solution more satisfying than to an extraordinary and marvellous question. But believes me, Cavendish, the most natural sentiment of the just-disposed mind will tend on this occasion to a longing desire and expectation, that heaven would be pleased to dispel it; at least alleviate this profound ignorance, by affording man, through a particular revelation, and manifest, and miraculous discoveries of the nature, attributes, and operations of the Deity, to which he himself bats. A person, seasoned with just sense of the imperfections of natural reason, will fly to revealed truth with the greatest avidity; While the haughty Dugdale, persuaded that he can erect a complete system of Theology by the mere help of philosophy, disdain any further aid, and rejects this advensions instructor. To be a philosopher sceptic is, in a man of letters, the first and most essential step towards being a sound, believing Christian; a proposition which I would willingly recommend to the attention of Philosophers and Churchmen. A speculative Christian will forgive me for interpreting so far in the education and instruction of his pupil.'

It should be noted, in conclusion, that Hume wrote also many essays on socio-political topics, which, however, have little historical importance. His History of England was a partisan document, based on an inadequate knowledge of the facts. It is significant, however, for its emphasis upon the social and literary interests of the nation as of equal importance with its political affairs.

HUMILITY.—The Greek word ἦμιλτην is one of those which, like ἀρεσκεία, have been rescued and ennobled by Christian ethics (see Trench, Synonymes of Bart., Camb., 1854, p. 321.; T. K. Abbott, in ICC [Edin. 1897] on Eph 4; cf. art. 'Humility,' in HDB).

Humility is an essential Christian grace, and divides the religion of Christ from that of paganism. For Christians to walk 'worthily' of their vocation is to walk 'in lowliness and meekness' (Eph 4:2).

Paganism was not humble, because to paganism the true God was but a name. The whole life and thought of the pagans was materialism, which was more naturally based on facts. In literature, its governments, its religious institutions, its social organization and hierarchy, its doctrines about human life and human destiny—truths were based on the principle of a boundless self-assertion (Liddon, Ec., p. 600).

In the later Stoicism, self-reliance reaches its climax in 'the deification of human virtue, the total absence of all sense of sin, the proud stabtom will that deemed humiliation the worst of stains' (Lecky, Hist. of Europ. Morals, London, 1879, i. 325; cf. Aristotle, Rhet. i. 17; where humility appears as a consciousness of weaknes, disqualifying a man for the higher spiritual rank). It is true that even in Aristotle's conception of the soul there may possibly be discerned some elements of good: truthfulness of character and speech, magnanimity in overlooking offences, self-respect and independence to death (Et. Nic. i. 4, § 24 ff.). But it remains true on the whole that the highest and most inclusive type of human virtue is essentially an exalted form of self-esteem, implying contempt of others. The ἐκμυσθήσθαι is & μάρτυρα υπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ ἐγνόει & in. In the classical conception of virtue there is, in fact, 'an element of worldly wisdom which does not exclude self-righteousness.' To a heathen the only check upon pride was the prudential consideration that the gods were envious of undue prosperity and hostile to inverte (δογματικοὶ) and self-effacement. This is, of course, a commonplace of the Greek tragedians. A Greek might have assented to the maxim laid down by St. Paul in Ro 12:3 (αὐτοκρατορία καὶ δικαιοσύνη), but he later succumbed to a real confusion of mind, a real ignorance, as to the actual condition and true possibilities of human nature. In the gospel, humility is the natural fruit of the deepened insight into the true life, discovered through the contemplation of God, and of the personal example exhibited in the incarnate life. 'The spirit of God's majesty,' says Harnack, 'is the spirit of lowliness and meekness, an actual participation in the Spirit of Jesus Christ, not in the pomp of arrogance or pride, though He might have done so, but in lowliness of mind (ρεκλησίας). Here we have the true key to the change which Christianity produced in man's estimate of himself. It may be added that 'magnanimity' ranks as a genuine Christian virtue; it is, however, identical with humility, though quite compatible with it. Aquinas regards it as a species of fortitude (Som. ii. 2. qu. xxix. art. 1).

In the NT, humility seems to be considered under two main aspects.

(1) As a personal virtue.—From this point of view humility is that fundamental quality which places man in the only right relation to God. Humility, says Aquinas, 'strictly speaking, implies the reverence whereby man subjects himself to God as his creator and redeemer; it is the recognition that humility is the victory of truth in character; that just self-estimate which, while not depreciating personal gifts or excellence, always refers them to God as their true and only source. This just self-estimate includes both the sense of creaturely limitations and the consciousness of personal weakness and sinfulness. Humilitas fuit quod homo se tammet eum, se secundum conditionem suam proprio defectus' (Som. ii. 2. qu. xxix. art. 3 ad 4).

Humility is thus the initial grace of the Christian life. Its fundamental place in character is taught by Christ in the first Beatitudes (Mt 5:3); and also in the injunction of Mt 6, Mk 10, Lk 18. It implies the 'acknowledgment of God' and of what man really is in His sight, and thus includes: (a) the spirit of creaturely dependence and service. Our Lord's great humility was manifested in his assumption of the 'form of a servant,' as contrasted with the glory and sovereignty of His original and essential state as Son of God (Phil 2); see Corn. and lap. ad loc. and cf. Joh. Domas and orth. Fd. iii. 21). Further, in virtue of the union of His human nature with Deity, He who is one
with the Author and Giver of all spiritual blessings became Himself a receiver, inferior to the Father 'as touching his manhood' and dependent upon Him for all that was needed to sustain His manhood, to equip it for its redemptive work, and to advance its condition (see Hooker, Eccl. Pol., ch. viii. § 14, note). The unique characteristic of the Christian faith is the mystery of this self-humiliation; the fact that the pattern of humility is nothing lower or less than the incarnate life of the Son of God. Humility, then, in its primary sense is the spirit of perfect dependence on God.

3. Humility is the spirit which, apart from any pride or puerile vanity, is the root of the man who wants God. Nor can beatitude have any other beginning (Serm. Dom. in sancta, i. 5). Pride or self-assertion is the root of sin; the beginning of wisdom is the fear which springs from the sense of personal unworthiness. Thus Bernard calls self-knowledge the key-stone of the Church (Ep. 1xvi. 13, 14). He here produces a 'mater salutis' (in Cant. xxxvii. 1). Humility is the essence of a true conversion; it is the indispensable act of spiritual growth (see Ps. 50:3); it is the gate by which the grace already bestowed on the soul may be lost by pride.

This has never been more forcibly expressed than in a famous passage of Augustine (Conf. x, 17) where he describes himself as one who did not wish to be found among the multitude who submit himself wholly and without reserve to the yoke of Christ, and who, no other road to the attainment of truth than that which was trodden by Him who, as God, saw the infirmity of our steps. And that road is first humility, secondly humility, thirdly humility, and so on as often as I was asked about the proper beginning, I was wont to advise that one should choose to answer nothing else but "Humility," though perhaps it would not compel me to say other things." (b) Holy fear or the sense of sin. —'The poor in spirit,' says Augustine, 'are the humble and those who fear God. Nor can beatitude have any other beginning (Serm. Dom. in sancta, i. 5). Pride or self-assertion is the root of sin; the beginning of wisdom is the fear which springs from the sense of personal unworthiness. Thus Bernard calls self-knowledge the key-stone of the Church (Ep. 1xvi. 13, 14). He here produces a 'mater salutis' (in Cant. xxxvii. 1). Humility is the essence of a true conversion; it is the indispensable act of spiritual growth (see Ps. 50:3); it is the gate by which the grace already bestowed on the soul may be lost by pride.

On the other hand, humility is commended in the NT as a social virtue, as, for instance, in Ph 2:11. Humility is a form of moderation (cf. Sum. ii. 2, q. cixi. art. 4). The point enforced by Christ's example in Ph 2 is that He did not insist upon rights which He might in strict justice have claimed. St. Paul implies that the desire for superiority, vainglory, and the spirit of partisanship are foreign to the well-being of the community (Ro 15:5; Eph 4:1, 2; 2:9). It excludes the envy which springs from comparing self with others (2 Cor 10:12); it encourages the spirit of contentment and self-denial. The humble man will constantly recognize that any gift which gives him superiority over his fellows is a measure due to the good influence of others—parents, friends, teachers, even enemies who have dealt candidly with his defects; and, further, 'so far from wishing to keep his virtues to himself he will that they were common as the air of heaven, that all the Lord's people were prophets.' Thus humility is a social virtue and may be regarded as an aspect of benevolence (Bashall, The Theory of Good and Evil, 1. 206). Hence in the interests of peace, whether in the family or the Church, the NT frequently insists on the duty of mutual subjection. Ph 2:15 further, as one great secret of effective social service is patient study of the conditions of each problem that needs solution, the teachable or humble temper, as it is termed, is the spirit which is willing to learn and observe before taking action. Bernard's observation is here in point, that the Church reserves its reservoirs rather than pipes (Canons hodis in Ezech. multo hominibus, conchas vero perennis). 'Men,' he complains, 'are nowa-days so full of charity that they wish to pour out before they are full; they are more ready to speak than to hear, and eager to teach what they have not learned' (cs. cit. xxviii. 23). For the spirit needed in dealing with modern social problems is a spirit of humility, willing to put itself to school with facts, and not to pride itself even in its most obvious success (artus inventendi cum inventis adolescentes pozas).

2. The acts or offices of humility must necessarily vary with the particular states and conditions of men. The Benedictine rule, with its 'seven grades' of humility, is briefly discussed by Aquinas (Sum. ii. 2, q. cli. art. 6; see also the last book of Cæsarius, Inst., de Superbia). In ordinary life the grace of humility takes such forms as are described by Jeremy Taylor (Holy Living, ch. ii. § 4). It is specially tested in a man's life with his equals.

The hardest trial of humility must be not towards a person to whom you are superior, and who acknowledges that superiority, but towards a person with whom you are on equal footing of composition. . . . The relation to equals is thus the more real trial of humility than the relations to inferiors (Moles' Univ. Serm., London, 1714, i. 'Our Duty to Equals,' p. 220).

3. It may be noticed, in conclusion, that some clear principles connected with our subject emerge in our Lord's teaching and produce human experience. —(1) Docility or receptiveness—The temper of the child is a necessary condition of spiritual growth as of mental growth (see 1 Th 4:1).

(2) The spirit of dependence is the condition of spiritual fruitfulness (Jn 15:5). The Christian ideal is not self-reliance, but unlimited confidence in the goodwill and co-operating grace of God at every stage of moral and spiritual progress. The Christian echoes St. Paul's confession: I can do all things through Christ who strengthens me (Phil 4:13).

(3) Humility is the key of exaltation (Lk 18:14).

This is a saying of very wide scope. The supreme illustration of its meaning is seen in the Passion and Resurrection of Christ Himself. The consciousness of all real excellence is a just estimate by man of his own capacity, and of the greatness of the object at which he aims. The condition of acquiring the capacity to rule is service (Mt 20:28). The hope of progress lies in that self-satisfaction and habit of separation which is the negation of pride (Ro 12:3). Christianity, in fact, is the opposite of self-satisfaction (Penet. pt. ii. art. 4), combines what had hitherto seemed contrary: greatness of character and humility. —(4) The principle implied in Lk 16:15 and in 1 Cor 4:6—the principle that seeks a man is in God's sight, that and nothing else he is. Humility implies a constant sense of the possible reversal of all human judgment. Hence humility is closely allied to Christian simplicity or single-mindedness, which aims simply at pleasing God (Ro 8:5, 1 Cor 7:31, 1 Th 4:4), which strikes after a goodness such as God can accept (2 Cor 9:9), and which recognizes everywhere the presence of an unseen Lord who searches the heart. So Augustine describes the ideal righteous man as being one who 'Deum tentat et peccat;'—one who seeks God and sins in his search for him. 1

1 Cf. Husserl's maxim: 'Science seems to me to teach in the highest and strongest manner the great truth which is embodied in the Christian conception of eternal succor and the realization of God. Sit down before facts as a little child, follow humbly, and never make haste, or you shall learn nothing' (Letter to C. Klages, Life and Letters, ed. L. Husserl, London, 1893, p. 129).
Humour.—The quality of humour shares in the mystery which attaches to all forms of human emotion. In its genuine manifestations it is, as spontaneous as laughter, and as ineluctable. It mocks all attempts at definition. We can see it, possess it, and enjoy it, but cannot say with definiteness what it is.

The word itself has had a changeful history. Starting with the significance of moisture or fluid, it was employed in pre-scientific medicine to describe what were regarded as the four principal humours or fluids of the human body, viz. blood, choler, phlegm, and melancholy. It then came to denote a passing disposition, a transient mood or temper, because these were supposed to originate from the condition of the humours. When the mood was permanent or characteristic, it indicated what we call an eccentricity. To Dr. Johnson a humorist was 'a man with odd conceits,' and to Goldsmith 'an eccentric fellow.' In modern usage, humour is generally restricted to the sense of the ludicrous, or that power in man which enables him to see and enjoy what is amusing. (There are some grounds for suspecting that some of the dumb animals are not entirely destitute of it.)

The common opinion among modern psychologists is that the perception of the incongruous and the inconsistent, is the cause or source of humour. It is, in part, a reaction to the shock of surprise and the world's first knowledge of the absurd, and a protest against the outraged sense of proportion and of the faculties of quick observation and comparison. It involves a certain detachment from or superiority to the disturbing experiences of life. It appreciates the whimsicalities and contradictions of life, recognises the existence of what is unexpected and absurd, and extracts joy out of what might be a cause of sadness. It acts as a check to one-sided views of life, and champions the ideas of 'common sense' against the visionary aims of the idealist. It is counter to its character. It is 'essentially the gift of rising above the interest with which we (and others) may be engaged and reducing it to its limited importance, or even to its proper insignificance, in the great whole of things in which it is a part' (E. Caird, CR liii. [1886] 818). Again, it sometimes exaggerates one special feature, or characteristic (as in caricature), so that it appears absurd, because out of relation to the whole to which it belongs; or it creates amusement by bringing into a temporary union ideas and things which do not belong to the same category. Bergson finds the source of the incongruity in the rigidity, automatism, or distraction to which we are liable, and which hinders us from adapting ourselves quickly to different situations, or from moulding our actions in swift accordance with the varying demands of changeful life. The contrast between the ideal and the real, between the apparent dignity of man and the situations in which he sometimes finds himself, between the high aims which he sets before him and the poor measure of his attainment, the linking together of things and ideas which are essentially different—these are the perennial fountains of humour. The humourist, perceiving in the world's life, and the more sudden the perception of it, the more intense is the emotion which is produced. Humour then relieves itself in an explosion of laughter. The element of surprise is an almost necessary adjunct of humour. Not infrequently the contrast involves some incongruity. It is this fact that places humour as a weapon in the hands of the reformer.

Humour and wit are closely allied. In general they find their subjects in the same sphere, but they use them differently. Humour is kindly, and in its genuine forms includes the quality of sympathy; wit is sharper and more sarcastic. Wit is a flash, humour is a genial glow; wit is intense, humour is relaxing. Qualities of feeling predominated in humour, in wit qualities of intellect. The boundaries of the two are somewhat indeterminate. The pleasure which humour evokes is more genial than that to which wit gives rise.

Humour assumes many forms: verbal humour, the humour of the situation, the banter, the practical joke, satiric humour, sardonic humour, and so on.

The sense of humour is universally desired, and is highly valued. No one will readily acknowledge that he does not have it. Without it man is scarcely human. It is a means of self-criticism, and saves from the folly of self-importance and the sin of self-righteousness. Personal vanity or pride cannot survive the possession of this self-corrector. It is a protection against excess; it fosters humility, and yet lessens the bitterness of failure and blundering. It softens the angularities of individual character and social life, and compounds our errors and our judgments. It carries with it a tolerance which makes it a foundation of good fellowship. It is essentially a social quality, and postulates an absorbing interest in life. The cynic may live alone; the humorist delights in company. The cynic may be a pessimist, but pessimism is impossible to the humorist. In spite of his tendency to poke fun at the ridiculous, he never laughs at himself, and laugh at failure, he yet believes in the ideal. Humour tends to keep the heart young. As a criticism of social life and character it is invincible and invaluable. Humour is the invariable foe of convention, and loves to make fun of Mme. Grundy and all who follow in her train. It keeps social life from falling into ruts or from staying there when it does so. Many abuses which resist the combined assaults of reason, argument, and denunciation yield to the genial onslaught of humour, and fly before it like an arrow.

Humour is an almost necessary quality in the reformer. Luther owed much of his success to his possession of it. It was also a prominent characteristic of Lincoln. The fanatic is destitute of it, and this may account for the fact that he generally fails. Humour of itself does not reform; it is only a force that weakens the strength of what is to be changed, and prepares the way for the reform.

But, apart from its practical influences on conduct and society, it adds a joy to life without which life would be dull and poor. It is a relaxation and a delight to step aside for a moment from the sober, grey, and solemn world, where reason and order rule, into a realm where the whimsical, the incongruous, and the absurd hold sway, and summon us to laughter or play. Those also are part and parcel of the life of the world. Some of the world's greatest benefactors have been its humorists. They brighten with a touch of fun the horizon of life, which is often dark and dismal. The humourist tries to make life a gladsome thing. Even Dante named his great work the Divine Comedy, because he believed in a happy ending to the story of the world's life, and the more sudden the perception of it, the more intense is the emotion which is produced. Humour then relieves itself in an explosion of laughter. The element of surprise is an almost necessary adjunct of humour.
and that a true artist in the one was also a true artist in the other.

But humour, like many of the powers and qualities which are capable of evil as well as of good, has a tendency to coarseness and even obscenity. Many of the humorous stories of the writers of the Turkic society are coarse and even lewd. Humour is often unrefined, and hurtful to the finer aspects of the emotional and spiritual life. The dreams which men cherish of higher and better things are always under its mocking touch. They may be called ‘quixotic,’ but ‘by these things men live, and wholly therein is the life of (the) spirit’ (Is 58:11). It may weaken the pursuit of a high ideal, because it sees the apparent futility of effort towards it. It may lead to the neglect of the more serious and noble side of life, and in its degradation and lowering of moral standards and experiences serve as subjects for laughter. Those who possess the sense of humour in a high degree are always in danger of being carried away by it.

As to other religious tenets of the Hungarians, we know very little indeed. They had no elaborate system of theology, and the triumphant Christianity of the 11th century passed severe laws for the abolition of their rites, their hymns, and even their places of worship. We know that they had a belief in a life beyond the grave. At the burial of their warriors they took care that their horses and dogs should be interred with them. They also thought that if a battle was fought by a Hungarian was bound to serve the Hungarian hero after his death. They held firmly that the highest god loved the warriors and the virgins with which he could endow a man was bravery.

The priests of the Hungarians were called tátos (or Sztóas), wise men. The sacrifices, said the simple prayers, sang of the great deeds of heroes. They resembled the Welsh bard somewhat; but they had less religious strength than the bard. The winds of the old heathen religion of the Hungarians.

Among the modern Hungarians, fairies (tender, apparitions) are, in older tradition, subject to a goddess named Furuzsina, and live in a far-away land of matchless beauty, though they still have mansions in this world (especially mountain castles) till vexed by mankind. They often entice away mortals whom they love. Fate-telling fairies (usually three, but also seven or nine in number) are also prominent figures in Hungarian folklore, dwelling near a spring, well, or brook. These fates are usually considered beneficent. Other fairies dwell in lakes and rivers, and there are, besides, mermen (vesi emberek) and mermaids, of an often love-unions with human beings. Many springs are regarded as holy, and drought follows if stones are thrown into them, while folk-stories often retain traces of the wide-spread belief in the magic properties of water. Giants and dwarfs figure in popular belief; the former are, in general, kindly, and in their wonderfully beautiful palaces they live lives of model bliss and prosperity. Unlike giants generally, the Hungarian giants are wise, and are particularly distinguished by the fact that they keep their strength in a vat in the seventh cellar of their palaces, taking with them only what they may require. The chief function of dwarfs is to guard treasures; but they take their third owner (they can be sold by one man to another) to hell. Obvious traces of an early fire-worship have survived, especially about the time of the summer solstice. The children of the ‘wind-mother’ (Szélnanya) or the subjects of the ‘wind-king’ (Szélkirály) and apotropaic is often called ‘wind-locks’ (szélnyű).

Generally speaking, however, the belief in disease-demons is rather attenuated among the modern Hungarians. In regard to Hungarian ideas concerning fate, it is noteworthy that the old term for casting lots is nyílom, to shoot an arrow.
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Before the fates have decided the future of a child, witches may decree it an evil destiny, though this may sometimes be ameliorated. The life of each man is predestined, but, if at midnight one throws gold coins away at a cross-road, he who picks them up innumerable to the others as many years as he takes coins. Traces of foundation sacrifice still persist, the heads of horses or dogs, or the bones of a raven or black cock, being buried in the foundation of the building.

The dog and the wolf were sacred animals to the ancient Hungarians, who made oath by them. After death shepherds and horse-keepers who have suffered wrong during life, as well as those who have been brought to harm by perjury of others, are transformed into wolves, horses, and dogs respectively; and in these forms, they obtain retribution for the injustice done them.

Folk-heroes are numerous, and whatsoever has appertained to, or come in contact with, the dead has magic potency, which may be used either for beneficent or for maleficent purposes; while the hair, blood, etc., of another gives him or her who secretly obtains it power over its original owner. There is a firm belief in witchcraft and sorceries, etc., part of which may be borrowed from neighbouring peoples, but much of which may equally well be an inheritance from the pagan period.


HUNTING AND FISHING. — In the history of culture the hunter as a representative of a stage of development in human progress stands between the hunter and the agriculturist, who depends entirely upon the provision of Nature for the roots, fruits, eggs, insects, etc., which he gathers while making no effort to ensure his food supply in the future, and the herdsman whose means of livelihood are his flocks or herds of domesticated animals. By a hunting community must be understood one in which the principal source of food supply to the community is the flesh of wild animals killed or taken in the chase. In an early stage of social development, such a community will continue to employ the methods of the collector for vegetable food. The Tasmanians did not practice agriculture to a certain extent, the cultivation of the ground being left to the women. Further, although hunting and fishing may no longer constitute the characteristic industry of a community, and may cease to be regarded as a sport, as in dynastic Egypt and other countries of high civilization such as Persia and India, the methods of the primitive hunter survive, and in many cases are the principal or only means of providing a supply of animal food. Throughout the greater part of Africa the peoples, according to the character of their environment, are either agrarian hunters or herdsmen; but, as they do not, as a rule, eat their cattle, they are compelled to rely upon the chase for fresh meat. It is not uncommon in such cases for the hunting community, trained, as it is, by nature, to hunt the Congo, where men are chosen to lead hunting expeditions on account of their special skill, or in Upper or Lower Uganda, trained to the chase from an early age, who do nothing else.

In a hunting community, the conditions of life are not such as to favor either a high standard of, or progress in, culture. Climatic conditions, as a rule, are such as either to absorb the whole time and energy of the people in the provision of the Tundra region of Asia, and in the extreme north and south of America, or so little effort is required to secure a livelihood, as in the Congo, that it affords no stimulus to advancement. An almost equally effective check on progress is the migratory character of the hunting community, necessitated either by the seasonal movement of the game or by its scarcity. As a consequence, habitations are usually of a flimsy and temporary character, except where the rigour of the climatic demands protection and shelter in the interior. The number of individuals forming the group is comparatively small, because a wide extent of country is required for the support of each member; and social organization is loose, because the solitary hunter has not yet learned to appreciate the advantage of cooperation and subordination. Authority, in so far as it exists, is exercised by the old men or leaders to centre in the skilled hunter.

The natives of Australia, when on their hunting expeditions, erected shelters of interwoven boughs, and, although it is not correct to say of all the tribes that they erected no permanent habitations, some of them, especially in the settled regions, lived in huts which were little more than windbreaks. The Bushmen wandered about in small groups; they made no chief, and their habitations were seen as mere coverings from the boughs of trees. Among the Andaman Islanders the sites of the encampments were determined largely by their fitness for the chase, and of game and fishing; of their three types of habitations, the temporary shelter, consisting of a frame of poles covered with palm-leaves, was usually in two at one time the only type; it was in this type of shelter that the whole group numbered from thirty to sixty individuals. The Negritos of Central Africa, in the rock dwellings, the Malay Peninsula, and the nomadic Aeta (Philippines) may be mentioned as further examples of the primitive culture and social organization of the still hunting groups in the world. In America the tribes were all hunters and fishers, with the exception of the tribes of the south-west, but exhibited considerable variety in culture and social organization. Many practical agriculturists among the Chaco, the Northwest, and the eastern part of the southern Andes, practised agriculture and herding. The Shoshoni had a very loose social organization and an almost complete absence of ceremonial. The Yuma and Shoshoni of California were both at a very low stage in culture, the latter ate their food for the most part raw, had no domestic animals except dogs. The former also practised agriculture, and the buffalo was the chief staple of food and material of industry. Here the social organization was of a more stable and closely woven character, and the chiefship was acquired by merit; this was no doubt due to some extent to the fact that there was a great deal of competition in hunting the buffalo required concerted action and subordination. The Algougues and the northern woodlands practised agriculture and herding, and evolved a highly organized machinery of government. In South America, the Awakas of Guiana, the Tapuyos and more of Brazil, the Tehuelches, and the Quechua — to mention instances only — are nomads with a loose tribal organization and a low type of culture, and are, for the most part, ignorant of agriculture. The Eskimos afford a typical example of a nomad community which draws its means of existence almost entirely from the animal world, and varies its location, methods, and objects of pursuit in accordance with the changing seasons. In Africa, however, where hunting and fishing are universal, even the tribes which may be described as pastoral, i.e., having a large extent abandoned nomadic habits through the additional necessities of cereal cultivation, still retain dependence on their women. To the nomad herdsmen and the agriculturists of East Africa, hunting is merely an additional means of subsistence, and is entered on by the whole population of Uganda, partly as a sport, partly through the desire for meat as a supplement to the ordinary diet.

Although the culture of the hunter is, speaking generally, of a rude type, the implements and weapons which are the tools of the craft are either in their earlier stages, or more interesting to the ethnologist, or of great importance to the naturalist.
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indicate a remarkable capacity to adapt himself to his environment, and, within the limits of the available materials, to construct for himself the means most suitable for the attainment of his end.

The use of the bow and arrow is almost universal, the blunted bone being employed in many localities for killing birds. This weapon, however, is not found in Australia or in most parts of the Pacific, except occasionally as a toy. Knives occur in a variety of forms as well as spears. It is, however, in the weapons of a more restricted distribution, devised to meet special circumstances, that the ingenuity and adaptability of the primitive hunter have been most strikingly displayed; as, for instance, in the case of the harpoon, of which the essential feature is that the head should come apart from the shaft and so be supplied with vegetable food; in the arrows of some of the bird-catching peoples, to mark its position in water, or hammer its escape on land. The blowpipe, used with light poisoned darts, which is found in South-East Peninsula of Australia, and in the forest regions of South America, and was at one time used in parts of the southern United States, is another example of a weapon admirably adapted to meet special conditions, and especially fitted for use in killing small birds and monkeys in a dense forest country.

It is, however, in digging weapons that primitive man shows this peculiarly acute quality of mind. The methods and devices used in hunting, trapping, and fishing show a capacity for close observation of the habits of the animal, and for the supply of vegetable food: in each case, the process is one of simple collection.

Recent advances in the study of the nature of animal food do not differ materially from the earliest methods by which a primitive community procures them. The collection of insects, grubs, or birds' eggs, especially sea birds' eggs, involved as a rule no special measures. Sometimes the place the sea-bird or the eggs were in the nets or by the seashore, where they were gathered by the inhabitants of the minnows. Occasionally the European and Australians on land, and aquatic birds, obtained exclusively by women digging. The Eskimos of Alaska have been known to catch a man simply by the hands as it tried to escape across the ice. The Australian women catch frogs, mudfish, and the like, under the ice of the floe while waiting. The Eskimos in fishing may be seen in the branch of a tree employed by tribes of the north-west coast of America to dip up their water from the sea, and the gummy bag held in the hand of the Australian women, when they are in cooking, to catch small fish as they swim down stream. In these cases, no part of the prey is involved, and this is also the case when, either on accident or as the result of observation, the prey is found in its lair. In California, the Indians use to cut down trees, sometimes as small as sixes or ten, after the fishes, the natives of the Hooked Peninsula in its nest. In Australia, the bark of the tree was examined for marks of the animal's claws; when its nest was found, the animal was dragged out and killed.

Illuminating the discovery of the bird, the hunter stationed himself at some spot which, to his knowledge, was frequented by the birds. He would be the one who owned a track leading to the waterhole, or some spot at which it came to feed. In the Torres Straits, the native, having observed the invisible route by which pigeons return from their feeding-grounds by day, stations himself in a tree near their line of flight, and with a length of cord attached to his wrist, knocks the birds down as they pass. In Blain'sbook Island, trees were built under the ground, and while the natives on the Dyak river cockatoos knocked off their roosting-places at night with a long cane. In the winter the Eskimos take advantage of the heat of the meal and winter by the holes into which it comes out to breathe, or, in the year, winter. It is in lakes in the


sun. The Eskimo build platforms on the trees visited by the birds, from which they kill the animals as they alight on the ground below. It is, however, in running down the deer that the savage hunter displays his skill and daring. The Australian hunter captured the kangaroo by pursuing only, following it until it was exhausted and then ran down the men, and the natives of Hawaii the goats. The Saahof Indians of California hunted the deer on foot, and they were at intervals along its trail taking up the quiver of arrows and relaying.

The pursuit of wild animals with the object of securing the prey by throwing it out demanded exceptional speed and endurance, while the result must, not infrequently, have been disappointing. Primitive man has, therefore, preferred, as a rule, to rely upon other means of approaching sufficiently near to his prey to enable him to discharge and capture it. Both tracking and stalking require highly trained powers of observation, and those with great skill to avoid attracting the attention of the quarry through its senses of smell, sight, or hearing. Record has frequently been made of the ability with which primitive peoples move noiselessly through jungle and forest without disturbing a twig.

Most hunting races, however, do not rely entirely upon their own skill in tracking; they have utilized the natural instincts, speed and scenting powers, of the dog.

The Australians employ the dingo in hunting the emu, and other game. In hunting the same, the Eskimo dogs overtook their masters and held the prey until the latter came up. In the Malay Peninsula only the wild tribes use the dog. The Barua-Javan, while following down a stream in his canoe, sends his dog through the woods along the bank to hunt the menagerie, and the natives then also train their dogs to hunt by themselves. Both the Bokol (Oolo) and the Esko perform certain rites over the dog before they are free of the bush, to make them courageous and of keen scent. The hunting leopard of India and Persia and the hawk in Europe and Turkey, as recorded by Marco Polo, are other instances in which the natural instincts of animals have been utilized by man in hunting. In fishing, the employment of the men, or the man, by the natives of the Andes and the Australians to hunt the turtle or dogfish by gathering in consultation. In approaching the quarry, advantage is taken of shelter, both natural and artificial. The Australian, when hunting ducks, swims beneath the surface of the water, with breath held through a reed. On the Nile, the ancient Egyptians hunted duck in much the same manner, covering their heads with a calabash; while in China it used to be the custom to catch swans by placing a basket containing bait on the head of the swimmer. Convenient trees, shrubs, or tufts of grass were used to cover the approach of the hunter; sometimes branches, small bushes, or bunches of grass were carried in the hand. The Bushman crept up behind a grass screen to the herts of antelopes, ostriches, or other game; the Australian of the Lake Eyre and the Southern screens of bushes, or in some districts a collar-like head-dress, when stalking the emu.

The appearance of the animal to be caught is frequently imitated.

The Bushman hunted the quaggas, which grazes with the stork, by covering himself with the skin of one of these birds and imitating its action in feeding by means of a stick thrust up through the neck. Among the Dogrib Indians, two hunters covered themselves with the skin of a musk-rat, the first holding in his bands heads against which he rubbed the head of the animal in imitation of its action in feeding. In North America, in driving the buffalo one of the hunters, dressed up in a buffalo skin, pointed the head to the sides of the precipice towards which it was desired to drive them. Various forms of decoy were employed.

A method frequently used in Australia was to fasten a wounded bird to a tree. It then attracted others by its cries.

1 P. A. Talbot, In the Shadow of the Bush, London, 1913, p. 120.
5 W. T. Hornaday, In RIFT, 1887, pp. ii. 482. 
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Sometimes the fury of the bird was initiated by the hunter. The Blue-bearded Heron selects a place in the middle of the water, and then about it are seen the crocodiles and other large fish. The bird frequently takes the crocodile to the hand and other fish in its eggs against the other. A form of decoy was an instrument of the preserver of the pressure of wood, and kept the Australians attracted pelicans by throwing shells into the water to attract the attention of the animals and attract the attention of the catching made of creaser or other material in which were set sharp thorns. It was a box-like construction with a network of strings. This was fastened to a stake and then placed in or above a small hole or in a small crevice on the rocks. A common form of trap was for the bird to be fastened to a stick from a tree. This was commonly used for big game, e.g., in the British Isles they used the Easemos for leopards and lions. Closer allied to the form is the spring trap, the spring usually being a springing legs down over or near the path and fastened with a twig, which, on release, tightens a noose around some part, usually the leg, of the animal. Among the Anjages, the release was a piece of cord or a small animal by the neck.

In another form of release trap, the spring may set in a slow manner and fasten the animal to a stick or a wire. The natives use a spear, and in the Malay Peninsula by the Easemos and in the African tribes by the Zulus. The native tribes placed a wooden spike in the trap, the spring being the form which caused the spring. An effective combination, consisting of a noose with a spear-trap set in openings at regular intervals, is used by the Jbana Benussi and Berembus tribes. The snare and trap have at all times been much used in North America. Among the Sioux, the hunter is caught by a net set down into the water. For example, the Indian tribes came to the surface of a river or into a lake, the hunter on the animal being fastened to it, a large net, a skin, or a piece of a large piece of wood, holding an excavation. The net may be used simply as a snare or to catch birds by shooting across the path which an animal is expected to take, or it may be machined instead of being thrown. In catching pigeons, for example, one side of which is pegged to the ground, the other fastened to a rod, the animal being killed when it alights or is fastened with a noose as they settle on their water holes. In ancient Egypt the clay nets were used in catching ducks.

In some of the cases mentioned above, pits and other forms of traps are used in conjunction with a fence intended to make the attack on the animal more certain. A fence is set around the animal by the hunter, and the traps are set in various parts of the area. The hawks which are often used by the native tribes, on the other hand, are more frequently planted in the area. The numbers employed may vary from two, three, or four, the number required for duck-driving in Australia, to the 60,000 mentioned as engaged in the great hunting expeditions of the Incas, when 30,000 head of game would be taken.

In Western Australia, at the moonlight time the black swan, the native bird in New South Wales, is hunted, and when the birds are only far from the water, they are shot with a network. A more elaborate method was used in driving duck. A net was stretched across the river or stream, the ends being fixed to pieces of wood, and the party went up stream and drove the birds down. When the birds appeared in the net, the hunter would fire, and the birds would rise, while one man whipped like a duck hawk and threw a piece of bark in the air in such a way as to force them back into the net of the hunter. The flock dipped, and many were caught in the net.

Fire was not infrequently used to assist the hunter either by driving or by confounding the animals. The Seneca hunted deer by night in canoes in the bows of which lights were fixed. At Pueblo, elk-deer and water-fowl were hunted by torch-light, while the Plains Indians drove the buffalo to the corral by fire. Fire was often used in Australia and Tasmania for driving the kangaroo.

The Eskimos and other peoples of the northern parts of North America used sometimes in hunting deer to draw a cord on a peninsula and drive the animals into the water, where they were easily caught or driven by hunters in canoes.

2. Beach-Beding, L. 1842, 509, 512.
4. H. E. Weeks, 183.
fences for driving the deer were erected near the track usually followed by them in the annual migration from their northern feeding-ground.

The Selangor Baka makes frequent use of game-fences, which the natives call "curtain fences," placed in lines with palm leaves across the path. These are sometimes as much as 500 yards in length. In Bugis they are made of a heap of woven grass, or of leaves, and are tied together by strings of cowrie shells. The deer are driven into them by the Baka and are killed by men stationed at the ends. The Baka of South Nigeria, in driving game, use nets which, when joined together, extend for half a mile. These are stretched across the land between the rivers which join to form an angle. In Africa the drive was frequently made without net or fence: the hunters surrounded the piece of scrub or bush in which the game lay, and advanced upon it with shots at a given signal. This was the method followed by the Central African tribes, the loango, ivory coast, and "medicines" for locust, being in the middle of the line. 

In Uganda in the lion hunts organized by order of the king.

In North America the drive was the most favored method of hunting the bison. Hords of bison were driven over crags and precipices, but the method more commonly employed was to erect a huge corral, such as was and is still used in Burma in hunting elephants. The buffalo corral was circular. A whole tribe would take part in these drives, and, as soon as the herd had been driven into and shut in the enclosure, women and children chafed on the back and faces of the animals as they gathered round in their endeavor to escape. After the introduction of the horse, the Indians, among whom the Comanches excelled as horsemen, not infrequently abandoned this method; the horses had no headband upon which they could be given a signal, or else the signal was given as a sign of a given signal.

In ancient Egypt the king frequently took part in hunting wild cattle. The herd was surrounded by troops of people of the upper classes and driven into enclosures. Among the Egyptians, as among the Indians, success was measured by the number of animals obtained in one expedition.

In fishing, so far as circumstances allow, the same methods are applied in Australia as in New Zealand. Fishing is the collection of shell and other fish and the simple operations of catching fish with the foot or treading them. The most widely employed device of catching fish is to make use of bait, or bow and arrow, spear and harpoon, the devices of attracting fish by the reflection of fire, by splashing, capture by the net, trap, and the drive — all of which are used in hunting animals on land.

One of the most primitive applications used in fishing, especially the earliest dip-net, is the bough of a tree covered with leaves, which is used to dip up fish spawn on the North Pacific Coast. Most primitive races use some form of dip-net, either to take small fry or to catch fish driven into shallow waters by other methods. At Natah Sound, sardines were driven into shallow waters and scooped up with tongs and wicker baskets. A special form of net is used in the Malay Peninsula. A very simple form consisted of a basket of bamboo strips used by the Malayan to catch small fish in pools. The common form is a basket of bamboo strips used by the Kedah Semang to catch small fish in pools. At the Keal, the Nias used the dip-net to scoop up salmon from stages built in the river. Some doubt was expressed as to its occurrence in America before the advent of the white man, but the Chukchis used a dip-net at San Marco, Florida, while there is little doubt that in Washington it antedates European influence.

The net, in its various forms, is the means upon which most men most commonly rely to supply himself with food from sea and river. The Andaman Islanders at one time used neta eighty feet in length and fifteen feet in depth, with a stake and stick, to each of which was attached a canoe. The fish were driven into the water and were caught. In Australia, on the Daintree, the natives use nets some twenty feet long fastened to two poles. Twenty or thirty of these nets are used together, each being worked by two men, who swim out into the river. As a rule the net in Australia is used to catch fish or suckers, although the use of them is recorded on the Darling. The Aborigines of the Bara, in Australia, used stone suckers and oar-wood floats to catch salmon. On the lake they used the same net, dragging it in small lakes between two canoes. In pre-European days in South America the net was used both on Lake Titicaca and among the coast tribes. The lamas, not strangers, who made living by fishing, landed on the coast of Peru, used nets for fishing.

The fish trap is distributed almost as widely as the net.

A primitive form of trap in use among the Australian Indians is a hollow log which is put down in a stream for some hours. Baskets and cages are also used. On Lake Nyoong, in the upper reaches of the Nile, among the Boxen, who make their living entirely by fishing, exchanging the fish they do not eat for grain, the men use the fish trap only, while the women use the net and line.

On the upper reaches of the Fraser and Thompson rivers the Dene and Carrier Indians use fish traps, among the former bottle-shaped baskets in connection with a weir; if it is not possible to build a weir across the stream, a pen or corral is built, into which the fish are driven by splashing water. Similar traps are fixed at one side of the water, into which the fish swim in trying to escape. An ingenious form of trap is a pot-hanger basket, a screen-like erection at the top of a fall; as the fish in ascending the river leaps the fall, it strikes the screen and falls into the curved pocket at the bottom.

Catching fish by means of a weir, whether in a trap or other, is of frequent occurrence. In Australia, dams and weirs were built across streams, in which nets were fixed, or upon which platforms were built. The platforms were covered with bouncing fish in which the fish became entangled. One of the most famous weirs is that at Beverag on the Gippsland River, a few miles above Bourke. It is sixty to a hundred yards wide, and extends for over a hundred yards along the stream. It is built of stone, three to four feet high, and consists of a labyrinth of interwoven passages in which the fish are tangled and caught by hand. Sticks or bush fences were also built. Portable bush fences were sometimes extended across a water-hole, to which the women and children went with bunches of grass and heavy baskets.

Poison is often used either to simplify the fishing, making it possible to take them by hand, or to drive them from their places of refuge. It was employed by the Australians; and in North America it was used throughout the Western States. The Californian Indian used soap root after cutting off the water. The use of some kind of vegetable poison is recorded among the Pima, the Tarahumara, the Payas of Honduras, the Mogros of Columbia, the Peruvians, and the Malays. In Asia this is the case, both on the Upper Nile and in the Amazon. The Darien Indians also use poison when the water becomes clear.

Many peoples took advantage of the fact that fish are attracted by the reflection of fire, to fish by night, as did the Californian Indians. In Australia (Victoria) a torch is fixed in the bottom of the canoe. While it is paddled up stream, a man sitting with his back to the light spears the fish as they swim past him.

The rod, though recorded among a number of peoples, is not very frequently employed. It is used among the Kedah Semang. Among the Benuak and the Bodi the fisherman (who, like the Adene, attract the fish by striking the water with the top of the rod), angling is left to the women and children; sometimes its use is confined to women, as among the Nilotic tribes and on the Murray in Australia.

The hook used in Africa is usually a piece of bent wire. The Australians used many different materials. A thorn probably represents the earliest form of hook, and is still used with a line in the Malay Peninsula, but the Australian native used a piece of twisted, single-hawk toad, tortoise-shell carefully molded into a bow, stone, etc. The material required most was iron; but the beautifully made hooks of this material were the result of a long process of patient grinding, piercing, and polishing.

When the game has been taken or killed, the disposal of the carcass is, as a rule, dependent upon a generally recognized custom; usually it becomes the property of the man who first wounded the animal, but the distribution of the various parts...
HUNTING AND FISHING

of the body is not always in his control, and frequently must also be in accord with the will of another, be it that of a man's relatives, a lady seated in his car, or a lady seated in his car, or his brother's children.

For example, in Australia among the Kurno, a catch of eels was regarded as a mark of respect to a man's relatives, a lady seated in his car, or his brother's children. The Kurno man, in the words of the chief, was allowed to keep the left side for himself, but the remainder was distributed among his parents and relatives, with the head being given to the first and second born, the owner of the land on which the animal was killed, and of the dog which pulled it down. The bones of an animal were given to the god of the chase, while the head was eaten on the field, as it could not be buried.

In Uganda, certain spells were different in that the person who brought the death to the man and his family was believed to be connected with it.

Right of ownership or hunting rights over the land are important in the hunting community and clearly recognized. In New Guinea, as in Wag-Waga and the Tutu tribes, the rights rest entirely in the same way that the owner of a horse believes his horse to be his own, and as such, the animal is killed on ground regarded as the property of another tribe, it is not considered a part of the kill to that community.

On the Congo, the Bonobo used to send the head of the animal to the owner of the land on which they killed the animal. Among many hunting peoples certain animals or certain parts of animals are not eaten, either for reasons which vary from tribe to tribe, or for reasons which are assigned, or by an express taboo. The most familiar instance is the very general prohibition against eating the flesh of the totem animal. Some peoples do not as a rule eat the flesh of wild animals, e.g., the agricultural Akikuyu of Africa, even those who hunt, hunt only for a few days a week, and the Tohono O'odham, who hunt only for a few days a month.

Among the Nandi, the most of the clan have some prohibition laid upon them in connection with animals. The Nyeklo clan among the Nandi, for instance, do not eat the flesh of wild animals, as they may not wear the skins of wild animals except the hyrax. The Katero are the only ones who may eat it. Their Captain, when giving a feast of the season, will give his wife and children a pound of it. The head of the animal is sent to the owner of the land on which the animal was killed, and of the dog which pulled it down. The bones of an animal were given to the god of the chase, while the head was eaten on the field, as it could not be buried.

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fishing charms are in use. The Kotts, for instance, in hunting the trampal, use a deformed bone of that animal on the arm to compel
other pigs to come to them; in hunting the walley they blacken
parts of the face with the burnt bark of an odoriferous tree; they
rub from the black lakes alligators, pigs, ducks, etc., on the
tooth of their dogs, and, before hunting, give them the bark
of cotoneaster trees coated with wax. The last-named charm is
especially efficacious if pieces of mullet are added, be-
cause, as the dogs come near attracted by the smell, they
are caught in the claws of the walley, which also grows in
the season with the seasonal ritual which is, as a rule,
immediately connected with food supply. Primitive races
do not recognize a close season in hunting, but
climatic, social, or religious conditions, or condi-
tions connected with the natural history of the animal,
sometimes enforce a period of rest from the pursuit of a particular species. In Central Africa the growth of vegetation, in the Arctic
and sub-Antarctic regions the rigour of the winter and the
migration of species, make a change in methods and objects of pursuit imperative. Among the
Ngazas, a gewas, or tabu, forbids all hunting during the
agricultural season. Where such causes as these are
operative, the primitive mode of thought requires the
hunting season to be inaugurated by a
special ceremony to obviate the risk which attac-
taches to a spiritually dangerous operation, as well
as secure by a due observance of it the future supply of food will not be endangered by an
overight or mistake.

LITURGY.——See references in footnotes.

E. N. FALLAIRE.

HUNTINGDON'S (COUNTESS OF) CONNEXION.——The Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion is a local consideration of about
congregations, akin by origin to the Calvinistic Methodists, making some use of the Anglican liturgy
and the Thirty-Nine Articles, worshipping in buildings held by trustees with nominally absolute
powers, assisted now by a conference of representa-
tives. The founder, the Countess of Huntingdon,
Selina Shirley (1707–91), daughter of the second
Earl Ferrers, was attracted to Calvino by the
Methodist Society by George Whitefield. John
Newton declared that at this time he was not sure
that there was in the whole kingdom a single
minister publicly known as a gospel preacher.
She, therefore, approved Whitefield's plan of lay
preaching, and her seat of Donnington Park became
a centre of itinerancy over the Midlands. The
death of her husband (1746) left her in the prime
of life free and rich. On the return of Whitefield
from Georgia she relieved him of his money diffi-
culties and appointed him her chaplain, for his
capacity he conducted frequent meetings in her
drawing-room, and introduced Methodist influence
to society circles, while his correspondence from the
latter end the ceremonial which attac-
taches to the bear sacrifice suggests that it is locked
upon as an object of worship, if not as a deity.
When hunting the bear, the Denes begged the
animal to come to be shot; it was petitioned not to
angrily resist. Sometimes the bear was thanked for allowing itself to be killed. When
the flesh of the head had been eaten, the skull was
placed on a pole as a mark of respect, and, if
this was omitted, it was believed, the other bears
would not allow themselves to be killed. This
practice of placing the skull on a pole, usually situ-
ated at one end of the hunter's house, is found
throughout the two regions mentioned above.
Among the Ainus, bear hunting was the chief
occupation. It supplied the staple of their food

1 Selina Shirley, Mem. of Best. New Gerard, 1777.
2 Th. 178.
3 Holte, The Name, e.
4 Shortly before, No. 26 in Late, Salcon, 1858, p. 289.
5 W. E. H. Lees, A Brief Account of the Bushmen Fielders, Cape
Town, 1873, p. 59.
6 Johann, Deutsch-Ostafrika, Leipzig, 1897, p. 487.
7 J. Chalmers, 'Travels,' Jfd xvi. [1868], 232.
8 E. S. Grinnell, Blackfoot Lodge Tales, London, 1890, p. 237, etc.
9 Hill-Tout, 1872.
and chapels of ease; many were of the leisure classes. So successful was the experiment that other towns were similarly treated, from York to Lewes, from Norwich to Swanses; and the Countess moved her chaplains about as she deemed best. Her fame was at its height in 1786, when, after a vain remonstrance with Archbishop Cornwallis on the bad example of his wife, she brought on him a severe rebuke from the king. This naturally did not increase the friendliness of the bishops, and in her desire for evangelical clergy she adopted a still more independent attitude, resembling that of her Klamath river. There were no Klamath river.

Howell Harris, the Calvinistic Methodist, had acquired large premises at Trevecca, whither a number of Welsh evangelists had migrated. On this place he fixed for a Seminary, and on her first birthday (24th Aug. 1786) Whitefield opened it, for training at her expense young preachers who should be free to work within or without the Established Church. She appointed as President John Fletcher, who often came across from Madeley to take his duties seriously. A resident master was sought, whose prime qualifications were to be faith and power from above, devotedness to God's cause, and Christian experience. Greek, Latin, Divinity, and the Sciences were to be taught. From 1786 onwards the Seminary not only sent forth earnest recruits for work in Britain, Ireland, and America, but was the key-stone of its day, whither huge crowds resorted. In 1770 the Wesleyan Conference passed resolutions which led to a falling asunder of the Arminian and Calvinistic wings of the revival army. The Countess decided to establish a great London centre for the Calvinists, and bought fine premises in Spa Fields, which had been first a pleasure resort, and then a proprietary chapel. Retaining, as usual, a certain part of her technical residence, she evidently destined the main building to be the cathedral. A neighbouring clergyman, therefore, successfully tested the legality of her proceedings by actions in the consistory court of the Bishop of London (1779). This crisis considerably altered the character of the movement. Some of her sixty chaplains severed all official relations with her; others broke with the Establishment, and took licences under the Toleration Act. She guarded these by registering her buildings for Dissenting worship. This, however, was hardly more than a technicality, for the liturgy was used almost unchanged, and the Thirty-Nine Articles were taken as the basis of a new Confession. The gap caused by the defection of some chaplains was partly filled by students from Trevecca. As the bishops grew more reluctant to ordain these, the final breach occurred in 1783, when two of her clerics openly ordained six students in Spa Fields. This emboldened Wesley to follow suit next year.

The Countess proposed to consolidate the movement by forming an Association of ministers and laymen, somewhat on the lines of the Old Dissent, but was persuaded to bequeath all her chapels absolutely to four trustees. The Seminary was at once transferred to Cheesham, and became the centre of gravity. The foreign missionary movement inaugurated by Carey was taken up enthusiastically by the London Missionary Society being formed at Spa Fields (1786), and the college supplying numerous volunteers.

The Itinerant system inherited from the Countess has given place to comparative facility of tenure, and the Congregationalists have shown themselves ready to disregard all differences and to welcome into fellowship; but the disintegration was checked in 1899 by Chancery. The college is now at Cambridge, while the trusts encourage continuous service within the Connexion.
HUPA

In the autumn, when the acorns have fallen in considerable quantities, a feast is held. Fresh acorns are ground, pressed with the teeth, and made into mush by women designated for the office. When the people have gathered about noon, the priest leaves the sacred house and goes to the feast-ground. No one is allowed to look at him as he passes, for he impersonates the god of vegetation. He builds a fire ceremonially, and piles stones in it, which are to be viewed by the women to cook the mush by dropping them hot into the baskets in which it is contained. First the priest and then the other men go to the river for a bath. The women wash their hands and faces only. The mush is served to the people in baskets, as they sit on stones, which remain from year to year in a circle about the fireplace. Fish, cured and fresh, are served in addition to the acorn mush. When the people have eaten, the priest places in the fire all the food that remains, and prays that the new crop may not be harmed by the birds and rodents, and that even in small quantities it may nourish and sustain the people. The stones used in cooking are deposited with those of previous years, and are never used again, except by the priest who keeps them in an orderly pile.

There are priests in whose families it is the traditional duty to catch the first lamprey eels and first salmon of the season, and perform a ceremony that shall ensure an annual run of these in large numbers and of excellent quality. The lamprey is protected by the priest, the object of which is to prevent certain evil supernaturals from being at the mouths of the rivers from stopping the migrations, and to guard against the offending of the deity by the breaking of tabus. The eels and salmon caught are eaten by people who gather for the purpose, but the number so caught is usually insufficient for a considerable feast.

There are several ceremonies of a public character, the benefits of which are for particular individuals. The breaking of one of the main tabus connected with deer results in the enslavement of the offender's soul by the beings who are believed to own and care for the deer. When this has happened, the unfortunate man loses his health and, upon ascertaining the cause, calls in a priest learned in this particular. A night is spent in song and prayer, in which several laymen participate, the object being the release of the soul. Because of certain omissions on the part of the parents, or as the result of several deaths in the family, the souls of children, while they are still living, are supposed to have gone to the world of the dead. They are recalled by prayer, songs, and dancing, which continue during the first half of the first night, and during the whole of the third night. The ceremony is in charge of a priest or priestess, who spends the preceding days with a young girl in the forest, securing the necessary herbs and pitchwood used in the ceremony.

A ten days' ceremony is held for the benefit of each girl at the first appearance of menstruation. During this time she is under the guardianship of an old female relative, who makes sure that she keeps the tabus in regard to food and water, which are allowed her but once a day in combination as acorn gruel, and prevents her from eating with men. The girl bathes in a ceremonial way at prescribed places each morning, and afterwards brings wood for the house-fire. Special care must be exercised in regard to the language and conduct of the girl during this time. Not only will whatever she says happen, but whatever she does will become a fixed habit during her future life. The rising tone is spent in song. Several times during the night the men come into the house, where the girl is com-
pletely covered with a blanket, and sing over her, shaking rattling wands as an accompaniment. After the men withdraw, the women, who remain, sing songs of their own. This ceremony and the keeping of the tabus are supposed to procure long life and a desirable disposition for the girl.

A shaman, or medicine-man, first undergoes training during several months under the care of an older shaman. He is required to restrict his supply of water and food, and engage much in bathing and in smoking of tobacco. The nights, especially towards the close of his training, are spent before a fire in a large underground room. Men and women join in the songs, and keep time with their feet as they sit about the sides of the room. The candidate must show his ability to control certain imagined semi-material objects, called ‘pains,’ injecting them and removing them from himself and others at will.

Besides these shamans with supernatural power, the singers at the greater ceremonies with supernatural gifts, and the priests charged by inheritance with the celebration of the dances and feasts, nearly every adult knows several formules for some particular object, such as hunting, fishing, gambling, love-making, and the cure of ailments. These formules are generally repeated over some fragrant herb which is applied to the body, internally or externally, or to the weapons and implements concerned. The formule recite the discovery of the remedy or power by a supernatural person, the first appearance of the results which followed. A prayer is addressed to this being, and an offering of tobacco made by blowing it in a group of four, with denial of any harm from the hand. One may secure from another the benefit of one of these formules by the payment of a reasonable fee. Care is taken, in reciting them in the presence of others, to chant them in a manner that they can not understand. Many formules have songs used in connexion with them, particularly those relating to hunting, fishing, gambling, and love-making.

Hunting is usually a male occupation. For this reason the Hupa hold that burials should be conducted with great care. The personal property of the dead is either buried with him or destroyed, apparently to prevent his return for it. Great care is exercised to avoid the reappearance of the ghost, especially in dreams. A five days’ ceremony is necessary to free the grave and the family of the deceased from uncleanness.

Religious beliefs.—The Hupa believe that they sprang spontaneously into being from the ground, in the same locality in which they have lived since they have been known by white men. They believe that they have been preceded by a race of similar origin—immortals, who, by their correct behaviour, fixed for the mortals destined to follow them the traditional conduct for all situations in life. Their chief, Yimantswinyinap, gave shape to the world according to his whims, provided some of the ceremonies, and rid the world of the monsters that preyed upon men. His wives, to whom he had been faithful, broughth death into the world, and frightened the immortals from it. The latter fled to worlds beyond the Pacific Ocean and above the sky, where they still practise the perfect ways and celebrate the dances. Yimantswinyinap presides over one community of them, and his son over another. They observe the condition of the earth and its inhabitants during the celebrations of the dance. The immortals in the fame of Yimantswinyinap’s conduct was often not above reproach and the evils in the world, including death, are the results of his uncontrolled passion. He is seldom addressed in prayer.

A god of vegetation, Pusukatsinini, ‘the lives south,’ was the originator of vegetable food, and still controls its supply by making annual provision according to the care or abuse of the previous crops by the people. He is generally invisible, is small of stature, and always carries a sack of seed.

The deities of the several rivers or mountains are under the care of local gods, called Toss. They keep the deer in the interior of their special hills, and let out only those destined as the reward of the hunter who keeps the tabus and sings the required songs. They have the owls for servants. The Hupa seldom mention them, but fear them greatly and direct many of their prayers to them.

The two thunders, at the north and the south, control the weather, sending that which is unseasonable when they are offended by the presence in sacred localities of those who have been bereaved, and are therefore in a measure unclean. They are appeased by a ceremony conducted near a rock in which the thunders are interested. The particular sort of weather desired is indicated by sprinkling the rock with water, or by carrying coals of fire round it.

There are numerous deities believed to occupy the interior of mountains, deep pools in the streams, and certain places by the trails. These are not undependable to mortals, with whom they have become acquainted through friendly visits to the sick and to strangers and the uninitiated young members of the tribe.

The lower world, the abode of the dead, is under the control of a person seldom named. All except shamans and singers at the dances go to the common home regardless of their conduct in life. They appear there in the exact condition in which they have been depicted night preceding a hunt in continued song and prayer.

The elderly men and the religiously inclined younger ones follow the daily habit of bringing sweat-house wood during the afternoon, taking a plunge into the river after the sweat bath, and spending some time in prayer, sitting naked after the bath. When a particular branch is desired, the men go to some high, wooded point, trim the branches from near the top of a large Douglas spruce, and make nai in the sacred section of the green brush throughout the night. Bathing in certain pools, believed to be dangerous because they are the haunts of water-monsters, is productive of good luck. Whenever occasion suggests, extemporal prayers are resorted to, accompanied by burning the sacred root.

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HURON.

The Huron were a confederation whose principal members were four Iroquois tribes—Attignawanant (‘Bear People’), Arundahronon (‘Rock People’), Attigneonongnha (‘Cord People’), and Tohontaaents (‘White-ears or Deer People’)—that, from about 1639 to 1650, occupied a large area, and were united in the pen insula formed by Nottawasaga and Matchedash Bays, the River Severn, and Lake Simcoe, in what is now known as Simcoe Co., Ontario (see the map). They were governed by a high council of elders, and their religious rites were conducted by the nearest female kin; and the personal belongings of the husband, such as clothing, hunting and fishing implements, and a small amount of canoe were regarded as a gentle property—by his brother or by his sister’s son. Each phratry had the right to certain religious ceremonies and to the preparation of certain medicines; each gens to the worship of its tutelary deity; and each individual to the possession and use of his particular amulet or charm.

The general picture of the Huron, as given by the early Recollects and Jesuits, is attractive. We are introduced to a people, grave, patient, courteous, and hospitable, modest in demeanour, brave, and, on the whole, industrious. Their faults were those of primitive peoples generally. They were cruel to the enemy, they would feed or steal from the alien, pre-nuptial chastity was lightly esteemed, and their religious rites consisted much of that which was abhorrent to the positively religious. Their criminal code has been summarized by Powell (1 REBEW [1881], 68-80). A girl guilty of fornication was punished by her mother or a female guardian; but, if the case was flagrant or neglected, it might be taken up by the council women of the gens. An adulteress had her hair cropped, her left hand was amputated, and her left ear cut off for the second. Theft was punished by twofold restitution, and treason was a capital crime. Murder and maiming were compounded (cf. the elaboration of Rougemont, in Lalemsant, Le Jeune, xvi. 227-229). Among the minor members of the confederacy were the Iroquoian Wenrohronon and the Algonquin Tonataratonbronon, who joined the Huron in 1639 and 1644 respectively.

The term by which this confederacy is known is not Indian, but French. Huron being a pejorative of Ou. Fr. hure, ‘rough, bresting hair; and having been applied to the peasants of the Jacques in 1648. According to Lalemsant (op. cit. 229-231), the term was applied to these Indians by a Frenchman about 1600, because of their condition of head-dress. Their native name was Wendat (probably meaning ‘islanders’ or ‘peninsular dwellers’), which appears in a number of variants, and which has been corrupted into their modern designation Wyandot.

The geographical system of the Huron has been studied exhaustively by J. W. Powell (1 REBEW [1881], 59-68), who shows that it was based on a gentle organization of consanguineal kindred in the female line, and that each gens bore the name of some animal, the ancient of this animal being the tutelary deity of the gens concerned. The gentes in the Wyandot period have been Big Turtle, Little Turtle. Mud Turtle, Wolf, Bear, Beaver, Deer, Porcupine, Strap-turtle, Highland Turtle. Huck, Snake, the Mud Turtle, Beaver, Strap-turtle, Highland Turtle. Beak, and Hawk are now extinct. The Wolf exercises the functions of umpire, mediator, and executive between the gens, including the Bear, Deer, Hawk, and Snake, and the second comprising all the rest (W. E. Connelley, Archaeol. Report Ontario, 1899, pp. 100 f., 105 f.; according to him, the Wyandont represent chiefly the Tionontati, or Tobacco Nation (on which see Mooney, HAI ii. 750 f.; for a different enumeration of Wyandot gentes, see Powell, loc. cit.). Each gens possessed a tract of land, which it could change only with the permission of the tribe; and at intervals of two years the women councilors re-partitioned the land. The property, consisting of the wigwam and household articles, was inherited by the eldest male or female child; and the personal belongings of the husband, such as clothing, hunting and fishing implements, and a small amount of canoe were regarded as gentle property—by his brother or by his sister’s son. Each phratry had the right to certain religious ceremonies and to the preparation of certain medicines; each gens to the worship of its tutelary deity; and each individual to the possession and use of its particular amulet or charm.

The general picture of the Huron, as given by the early Recollects and Jesuits, is attractive. We are introduced to a people, grave, patient, courteous, and hospitable, modest in demeanour, brave, and, on the whole, industrious. Their faults were those of primitive peoples generally. They were cruel to the enemy, they would feed or steal from the alien, pre-nuptial chastity was lightly esteemed, and their religious rites consisted much of that which was abhorrent to the positively religious. Their criminal code has been summarized by Powell (1 REBEW [1881], 68-80). A girl guilty of fornication was punished by her mother or a female guardian; but, if the case was flagrant or neglected, it might be taken up by the council women of the gens. An adulteress had her hair cropped, her left hand was amputated, and her left ear cut off for the second. Theft was punished by twofold restitution, and treason was a capital crime. Murder and maiming were compounded (cf. the elaboration of Rougemont, in Lalemsant, Le Jeune, xvi. 227-229). A secret sorcerer might be killed by any one (Brebenn, 223; Rougemont, 219, and in Lalemsant, Le Jeune, xvi. 221). If, however, a sorcerer was placed on trial and found guilty, he might appeal to ordeal by fire. Outlawry was of two degrees: if the outlaw continued to commit crimes, he might be killed without fear of clan vengeance, etc.; or he might be the dupe of whomsoever met with him to kill him (Powell, 67 f.). In any case, he was denounced; and more children, if harshly treated by their parents, were apt to hang or poison themselves (Le Mercier, J. E. xiv. 37-40; Robin Le Jeune, xvi. 171-173). A trait of the Huron and other Iroquois, as well as of the Algonquin and other eastern tribes, which has always shocked the general reader was their savage cruelty toward prisoners taken in war. No tortures were too terrible to be applied; and the bare recital of them as recorded in the Jesuit Relations and similar documents is, it must be confessed, somewhat unpleasant reading. It would appear that to some degree there was a delight in torture for its own sake—a sentiment which appears often in children of the higher races, and of which traces are found among even the most cultured adults. In many instances, further, there was a sentiment of personal revenge for the loss of a relative must have played a part. Yet there was also another side, in which, apparently, must be sought the explanation of this trait. In a case reenacted by Charlevoix, Hist. of New France, tr. J. G. Shea, New York, 1896-97, i. 105-110 (repeated by Le Jeune, J. E. xvi. 37-79), a Seneca captive was conducted to a Huron village to take the place of the captured nephew of a chief, if the latter so desired. The prisoner was given a bribe, was clothed in a new beaver robe, and, seated in every cabin,
was treated with all kindness. The chief received him with affection, and the captive Huron's sister gave him food as if he were her own brother. With regret, however, the old chief informed the prisoner that his limbs were so severe that he must die, and the captive was accordingly tortured to death. Generally speaking — although exceptions frequently occurred — a captive was treated as well as possible until he reached the village where his fate was to be decided. There he might be adopted in the stead of a kinsman captured or slain; and such adoption was, in reality, based on a belief that the person so adopted was actually the person whom he represented. If tortured, he was expected to show defiance to his tormentors, and to bear every pain with the utmost stoicism. In the midst of his tortures, caressing words were addressed to him, and he would be honored with delicate touches of firebrands or red-hot hatchets. To the horrified observers of all this, such caresses seemed, with good reason, the irony of demons incarnate; but it may be suggested that these were both intended and received as genuine. The substitute for a hero must die like a hero; if he was a poltroon, he dishonoured both himself and the dead. In him were curiously blended, to the Indian mind, both the enemy and the friend. He must suffer all night until the dawn (Lalemant, in Le Jeune, Jes. Rel. xvi. 76; cf. lxi. 65), double-bliss in honour of the war-god, who seemed to have been another form of the Huron. After his death, if he had borne himself bravely, portions of his body were eaten (see art. CANNIBALISM, ii. § 6); and in some cases a Huron would make an inscription in his own neck, and permit the blood of his tortured enemy to flow into it; for,

"since they have mingleth his blood with their own, they can never be surprised by the enemy, and have always knowledge of their approach, however secret it may be" (Brebeuf, in Le Jeune, Jes. Rel. xvi. 287-288). It should be noted that, whereas in times on bear, dog, deer, or fish, the head was the most important part, in cannibalistic foods the head was given to the lowest individual present (ib. 289).

The trophy usually carried off from a slain enemy during war was the head, and the cabin of the war-chief was called "the house of cut-off heads" (Le Mercier, in Le Jeune, Jes. Rel. xli. 50). If, however, their burden of heads proved too heavy, "they were content with taking the scalp with its hair, which they call pensive . . . to make trophies of them, and to put them, in time of war, on the palisades or walls of their town, hanging, or of a long pole (Sagard, Voyage, no. 382, p. 482; cf. 485)."

The Huron possessed a form of fellowship, by which "two young men agree to be perpetual friends to each other, or more than brothers. Each reveals to the other the secrets of his heart, and his name; his wives, and that he is an important, and defended him from wrong and violence, and at his death is chief mourner" (Powell, 68).

The sexual morality of the Huron appears to have been rather low. Pre-nuptial chastity was rare, and the young men frequently kept mistresses. Even after marriage, husband and wife are described as permitted to seek other temporary partners, without manifestation of jealousy by their lawful spouses (Sagard, Voyage, 160, 165, Hist. 318 f., 450); and Sagard even declares that the favours of girls were sold for a small price by themselves and by their fathers—and of wives by their husbands—and that panders were not unknown (ib. 177). In a proposal of marriage, the man asked the girl of her parents. If she then accepted his presents, he was privileged to pass two or three nights by her side before consummating the marriage; but, if she had little liking for him at the end of that time, the matter was closed. If she felt affection for her lover, the formal marriage took place by the simple announcement of their wedlock in the presence of relatives and friends, and a wedding feast followed (Voyage, 161-163, Hist. 318 f.). Marriage within the gens was forbidden, though it must be contracted within the tribe; so that, if a person outside the tribe was chosen as a mate, he or she must first be adopted into some other gens than that of the prospective marriage partners (ib. 143, 199). The newly married couple was usually placed among the brides—unless sisters, who must be married within each other's lifetime, or else the chief would recompense the husband's niece, as in the case of a wife of a chief, as the case may be. If his bride he has never met, without reproach (Le Jeune, Jes. Rel. xvi. 258); must be from different gentes. The husband is the chief of his gens, but lived with the woman of his gens. Polyandry was unknown (for Powel, 68). The descendants of brothers and sisters were regarded as "brothers" and "sisters," and could see intermarry "if they follow the good customs of the nation"; nor was a widow or widow expect a re-marry within three years (Le Jeune, 29-38).

The principle of matrilocality is also obvious as a cause of death, for,

"in the event of the death of the mother, the child belongs to her sister or to her nearest female kin, the latter being 

led by the council women of the gens. As the child became a mother, on the death of the father the maternal sisters are held for her own male relative until she marries" (Powell, 64)."

Divorce was extremely facile (Lalemant in Vincent, Jes. Rel. xxvii. 51-53; Sagard, Hist. 396 f.); but, if there were children, only a can cause dissolved the marriage. In this event, the children went with the father; but if the parents were not the heirs of their father, whose property went to the children of their sisters (Sagard, xiv. 104-105, 173).

The cult of the Huron, as has already been noted, was largely composite in character. That is stated by Lalemant (in Le Jeune, Jes. Rel. xv. 197-199) that the Huron rites of marriage took place at the drinking-net, has been envolved from the Algonquins, because "some years ago, the ojib of the net had declared himself enemy of the loss of his wife, and hence had prevented Huron from catching fish until he had a space: whereupon, to make him the more content, he gave him two (cf. Brebeuf, in Le Jeune, Jes. Rel. x. 167, where it is added that fish fed him)."

As among so many other peoples, beliefs relatively fluid among the Huron, whereas custom and rites were firmly established. This is kept up by Le Jeune (Jes. Rel. xvi. 199):

"The belief and superstitions of the savages are we deeply rooted, often an unspoken, and they are not only not on a few but, in themselves, and others disappear, or are disapproved by the rays of the sun and the four winds, as it were, to prove that we are not related to the ears, that is a longer story. It is in each other, understanding the bad habits of the wild."

The traditional history of the Huron was alive by being recited at assemblies for the section of chiefs (Hagmenecan, in Lalemant, Jos. Rel. xxix. 61), and they believed that they came originally from a mountain side between Quebec and the lower St. Lawrence (Wilson, Trav. Bkg. Can. ii. p. 69).

Their cosmology is elaborately described by Brebeuf (in Le Jeune, Jes. Rel. x. 127)."
victory. Very frequently, they address themselves to the sky, paying it homage; and they call upon the sun to be witness of their sorrow, or of their innocence. But, above all, in the treaties of peace and alliance with foreign nations, they intercede with the monster, and ask the sky, which sees into the depths of their hearts, and which witnesses to the treachery of those who betray their trust, and do not keep their word."

We are also informed by the same authority (ib. 217) that the principle of evil was acknowledged to be the Pehueni. They believe that there is a kind of monstrous serpent which they call Angel, which brings with it two birds of omen, and almost every misfortune in the world. They say that this monster lives in subterranean places, in caverns, under a rock, in the woods, in mountains, but generally in the banks of rivers. They say that the sorcerers use the flesh of this frightful serpent to cause the deaths of those upon whom they cast their spells.

If a man died by drowning or freezing, the sky was said to be angry, and must be propitiated by cutting up the corpse and throwing the entrails and choicest portions into a fire, as an offering to the offended deity (Brébent, in Le Jeune, Jés. Rel. x. 160). The widespread belief in the thunderbird (cf. Brébant, Voyages, 251, Hist. 500; Brébent, 46) during eclipses shot arrows at the sky to deliver the man from danger. They used these arrows to try to drive away the wind and weather (Sagard, Voyages, 251, Hist. 349, 494) and even made miniature birds or figures of the monster out of clay (Sagard, Voyages, 251, Hist. 405 f., 425; Brébent, 165-167). To secure good fishing, tobacco was often burned in honor of the water-spirit; but, if any portion of fish or game fell into the water, they would not eat it, thinking it was polluted. They believed that the naga would tell the fish if such a thing occurred, or even if a fish was hardly preserved; but, on the other hand, a good catch might be secured by the services of a fishing preacher (prédicateur de poissons) in each cabin, who told the fish of the Indians' devotion to them, and used them to help the Huron, who honored them and did not burn their bones (Sagard, Voyages, 255-258, Hist. 639-642, 494). Human sacrifices were unknown among the Huron (Sagard, Hist. 499).

In the Huron's mythology, the monster being thus recorded by Lalemant (in Vimont, Jés. Rel. xxiii. 56): "It should go every day to his field, throw some tobacco on the fire, and burn it in honour of the demon whom he has wounded, calling about this form of prayer: "Listen, O sky! Take my tobacco; have pity on us!"

The general attitude of the Huron towards the unusual and their faith in charms are summarized by Breteanu (Jés. Rel. xxix. 25-27; cf. also Raguenseau, in Lalamant, Jés. Rel. xxxii. 211-213;): "They had a superstitious regard for everything which offended a little of the uncommon. If, for instance, in their hunt they had difficulty in killing a bear or a stag, and on opening it they found it in their head or in the entrails a bone, or a stone, or a serpent, etc., they said that such object was an omen, that is, as an evil omen, calling this form of prayer: 'Listen, O animal, so that it could not be killed;... if they found in a tree, or beneath the soil, some stones of an uncommon shape, like a plate, or round, or round, they esteemed this encounter fortunate, because certain demons (they say), which live in the woods, come to visit them again successful to fishing, hunting, trade, and gaming. These Indians believe that their changed forms, transforming themselves, for instance, into a serpent, or a river's back, or an eagle's claw, etc., changes which none had seen, but which all believed.'"

The system of fraternities was developed among smiths on the forgehead, would be killed (Brébent, in Le Jeune, Jés. Rel. xii. 163). The Huron. The members of one of these, in endeavouring to expel the disease demon Aoutaerhoi, carried hot stones and firebrands in their mouths, rubbed the sick with the glowing embers, and growled like bears in their ears (Le Mercier, in Le Jeune, Jés. Rel. xiv. 50-55). In general, Lalemant (ib. xvii. 197) says: "For several of these superstitions there are organized fraternities, to which, and especially to the masters of which, one must address himself. All those who have once been the object and occasion of the dances or the feast belong to the fraternity, to which, after their death, one of their children succeeds; some have, besides, a secret or a charm which has been de-\n\n\n183 They say that the sorcerers ruin them; for if any one has succeeded in an enterprise, if his trading or hunting is successful, immediately, these wicked men bewitch him, or some member of his family, so that they have to spend it all in doctors and medicines. Hence, to cure them, there is a large number of doctors whom they call Arendidosses, ... Some only judge their effect by the polarity of the fine arrows: the yellow arrow for male, to cure the disease by blowing, by potions, and by other ridicu-\n\n\n184 But neither case do anything without generous presents and good pay."

185 There are here some sociologists, whom they call also Arendidosses, and who undertake to cause the patients to recover, to cure them, and to predict future events' (cf. also Brébent, in Le Jeune, Jés. Rel. x. 187-190; Raguenseau, in Lalamant, Jés. Rel. xxvii. 135-136, 211; Sagard, Hist. 184).

The Huron maintained the doctrine of the multiple soul. According to Sagard (Jés. Rel. xvi. 191), the belief in souls profoundly affected the Huron theories of dreams, ondonoc ("wishes of the soul"), disease, and medicines. Failure to dream was one of the signs that the soul had departed (Le Jeune, Jés. Rel. xvi. 193). The whole theory is set forth by Raguenseau (in Lalamant, Jés. Rel. xxvii. 180-191; on the importance of dreams, see also Brébent, in Le Jeune, ib. x. 169-173; du Peron, ib. xv. 177-179; on the ondonoco, du Peron, 179-181; Lalamant, in Le Jeune, ib. xvii. 147-149, 182-183, 186-187; Chastelain, in Le Jeune, ib. xix. 193).

Parents dreamed on behalf of their sick children (Brébent, 173). On one occasion a man dreamed that he was burned by the Indians. To avoid this fate, he was somewhat severely burned as a fictitious captive by his compatriots at the regular burning place, after which he offered a dog to be killed, roasted, and eaten (Lalamant, in Vimont, Jés. Rel. xxiii. 171-173; cf. also Breteanu, Jés. Rel. xxxii. 19). Sometimes the dream led to obscene rites (Sagard, Hist. 308 f.). After a propitious dream a feast was often given, for, according to Raguenseau (in Lalamant, Jés. Rel. xxxii. 185), they say that these gifts are given to compel the soul to keep its word, because they believe that it is pleased at seeing this expression of satisfaction for the propitious dream, and that, consequently, it will set to work sooner to accomplish it. And, if it failed to do so, they think that that might be sufficient to prevent such a result, as if the indisposition of the ondonoco had withdrawn its words' (on feasts among the Huron, especially Brébent, in Le Jeune, ib. x. 176-183).

The theory of the Huron medicine was based on the belief that 'all remedies always inoffensively have their effect; if, then, the patient did not recover with a natural remedy, the patient was sick of a supernatural, and there was need of a supernatural and miraculous remedy' (Breteanu, Jés. Rel. xxxix. 25). According to Raguenseau (in Le Jeune, Jés. Rel. xxxii. 193), the "Huron recognizes three kinds of diseases. Some are natural, and they cure themselves with natural remedies; others are supernatural, and there was need of a supernatural and miraculous remedy."
HUSITES

desires something, and that they care by obtaining for the soul what it desires. Doubtless, the attributes of the spell are by a spell that some sorcerer has cast upon the sick person; these diseases are transmitted by withdrawing from the victim the body of the spell that causes his sickness. This spell may be a knot on his hair, or a thread on his hat, or the hair of an animal's tail; a piece of leather, or of bone; a leaf of a tree, some grains of sand, or other similar things.

Most diseases arise from unsatisfied soul-desires or from witchcraft (Ragueno, 201-506, with the general procedure in such cases). The Huron sought baptism at first 'almost entirely as an aid to health' (Brébais, 13). A curious custom is recorded by Sagard (Hist. 313), that states sometimes, either in consequence of a dream or at the bidding of the leé (medicine-man), the girls chose young men with whom they passed the night. In some instances stench was used to drive away demons of disease (Le Jeune, Jes. Rel. xix. 71). A death all failed, and there were many sick in the village, recourse was had to the lonauroycors or oumcorose (turning the brain upside down), when the villagers turned everything topsyturvy, shouted, and ran about all night, seeking to expel the demons. They then thought of the first object that came into their minds and went, if necessary, to cabin demanding something, and receiving gifts until they obtained that of which they thought. All other presents were returned after a feast, ordinarily lasting three days; but, if they failed to secure the object desired, the persons thus disappointed thought that their death was near (Sagard, Voyage, 278-292, Hist. 774 f.; cf. Brébais, 175-177). This feast was also celebrated every winter in honour of all the deities together (Lasleman, in Vimont, Jes. Rel. xvi. 83). Frequently the game of crooked and 'dish' (a dish containing six plum stones, white on one side and black on the other, being dashed on the ground so as to cause the stones to jump out, the object being to throw all of one colour) were played as a cure for sickness (Brébais, 185-189).

Of ceremonial dances we have scant information, but we are told that children were not allowed to imitate them (Lasleman, in Le Jeune, Jes. Rel. xvii. 163).

The Huron believed in reincarnation. This is in evidence in a case in which a sorcerer claimed to have been a demon living under the ground who, wishing to become a man, had entered the womb of a woman who, knowing she had not consented to the normal way, caused herself to give birth prematurely (Le Mercier, in Le Jeune, Jes. Rel. xii. 105-107). This belief seems also to have been extended to animals, for a Huron who lost a favourite dog during a bear-hunt lamented that a small bear had not been brought him to get the dog's name and take its place (ib. xiv. 38). In some cases regarding the future life the Huron "make no mention either of punishment or reward. And as they do not make any distinction between the good and the bad, they consider the goods given and the goods received as the interment of both" (Brébais, in Le Jeune, Jes. Rel. xvi. 181).

The Milky Way was called by the Huron the way of souls, and the souls of dogs were also immortal, a group of stars near the Milky Way being known as the path of dogs (Sagard, Voyage, 223, Dict. 211). It was possible, under certain circumstances, for the souls of the dead to be brought to the world of the living, and Huron folklore had at least one specimen of the Orphans and Eurydice cycle (Brébais, in Le Jeune, Jes. Rel. x. 148-153).


LOUIS H. GRAY.

HUSITES.—The Husites were the followers of John Hus, who, after the death of their leader, sought by force of arms to secure toleration for themselves in Bohemia. Thereafter in the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries, they were divided into two sections, the one, the Ulbrichtists or Caletists, forming a party within the Roman Catholic Church; the other, the Bohemian Brethren, becoming an independent religious community.

1. John Hus.—Jan Hus, the reformer of Bohemia, was born in the second half of the 14th century in a village called Hussite near the town of Prague. The year and day of his birth are unknown. As family names were not then in common use among the rural population of Bohemia, he styled himself, from the name of his native place, John of Hussite, subsequently (from 1366) abbreviating the name to John Hus. The poverty of his parents compelled him to earn his livelihood as a chorister and musician. After having, in 1385, having resolved to devote himself to a clerical career, he began his studies at Prague. In 1389 he graduated B.D.; in 1394, B.D. and in 1396 M.D. A. Chalmers, Gram., tr. J. Wilkie, in Quebec Archd. and Hist. Soc. (1831) 143-196. For Huron grammar, see B. G. Combas of the N. Amer. Indians (40 Rev. 1870), pp. 116-118, 341-345, 351, 406, 458, 481, 725, 753.

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secured three votes, and the other nations, combined, only one. This caused a large number of German teachers and students to withdraw from Prague and found a new University at Leipzig (1609). In this, and in other acts that so much from racial antipathy to the Germans as from resentment against their fierce opposition to the Wycliffite doctrines which he advocated and regarded as his right, the champion of Gregory XIII. (1411), led to a division among Hus's own followers. Hus assailed the bull in trenchant sermons and disputations, while the theological faculty of the University, including many of his former adherents, defended it. The breach became wider and wider, and led to popular riots in Prague, so that at length the King, who was still on Hus's side, found it necessary to induce him, for the sake of peace, to leave Prague (1411). Hus did not seek the danger; he had not ceased for his continued activity in Southern Bohemia, where he devoted himself partly to composing polemical tracts in the castle of a patron, and partly to preaching to the people of the district, and soon put him at the head of the popular movement.

In order to effect an adjustment between the contending parties, the Emperor Sigismund, as he then was, in this same year, summoned a council to meet at Constance on the 1st of November 1414. Hus was quite prepared to attend the Council, but only as one who should be permitted in free discussion to try to win the fathers to the side of the Wycliffite teaching, and not as an accused person requiring to vindicate his actions. After prolonged negotiations with Sigismund the latter promised to use his Imperial authority to obtain for Hus this free and secure position in the Council. It was as bearing this understanding that Hus and the entire Bohemian people regarded the Emperor's safe-conduct, which in its actual terms, however, was to be given to Hus on a promise that he certainly intended it as a mere safe-conduct; for, when by a base betrayal Hus was apprehended in Constance on the 28th November, the Emperor was so enraged that he threatened to leave the Council. Nevertheless, he at length allowed the Council to institute a prosecution for heresy against Hus, and was able to secure only a single mitigation in the latter's favour, viz. that—for contrary to Canon Law—'the accused heretic should be permitted to defend himself in open court. In all other respects the case took the usual course. As the prosecution did not undertake to confute the alleged errors which Hus had taken from Wyclif's writings, and as Hus therefore unconditionally refused to recant, he was condemned to death by burning. He died at the stake on the 6th of July 1415, steadfast under long-protracted agony, and in true greatness of soul praying to the last. Hus was a follower of Wyclif, and made no higher claim. His ideas of Church reform are all derived from Wyclif, whose writings he often reprinted without making any additions or alterations; and he still adhered to many doctrines and practices of the Church which the latter rejected, as, e.g., the Seven Sacraments, Transubstantiation, Masses for the Dead, Intercession of the Saints, Purgatory, the Merit of Works, and others. From Wyclif he received, above all, the principle that the Holy Scriptures is the standard of truth in matters of faith, and that the authority of the Church must be subordinate thereto. For Hus, Christ was the Head of the Church, and all Christendom must submit to the papal hierarchy, but the community of the elect. These principles he proclaimed to the people with glowing eloquence, and so prepared them to put forward the demands for the abolition of these ecclesiastical abuses long felt to be tyrannical.

LITERATURE.—The sources for the life of Hus are collected in the following works:


2. The Hussites.—The treacherous arrest of Hus, his condemnation as a heretic, and his execution were felt by the Bohemians as an indignity to their nation, and, when Sigismund began a savage persecution of Hus's followers in Bohemia, the people rose in revolt (1419). It is worthy of note that from the first the Hussites did not demand that the prisoners of war, who were in the hands of the Hussites fought and conquered was the chalice, though Hus himself had never demanded that the laity should partake of the cup in the Lord's Supper, but that at most he had merely when his friends in Prague made that demand during his imprisonment in Constance. In point of fact, as the earlier Waldenses frequently joined hands with the Hussites, inspiring them with their fresh vitality, the claims of a large section of Hus's followers went far beyond what he himself had asked for.

This is true especially of the most extreme part of the Taborites—so called from Tabor, the name of the town which they founded in the district of Southern Bohemia where Hus had preached to the people during his absence from Prague. The Taborites were the people's party among the Hussites—the most uncompromising Wycliffites, whose position was at first defined in part by certain escholatical beliefs. The leader was the brilliant general, Jan Trocmoz of Ziska.

The more moderate party were designated Calixtines or Utraquists, who did not demand that the laity should have the cup (sacramentum sub utraque specie). They were sometimes called "Pragueans," from the fact that they were drawn mainly from the academic and civil circles of Prague. Their leader and counsellor was Jan Rokycan, a Magister of Prague University, who was made a bishop by his city in 1420, though his appointment never received papal ratification. The Utraquists put forward their distinctive claims in the Four Articles of Prague, as follows: (1) Unrestricted preaching of God's word; (2) communio in both kinds; (3) the apostolic poverty and moral purity of the clergy; and (4) Church discipline. In spite of the numerous differences between the two sections, they always combined in making war upon their common enemy. Having repulsed several German crusading armies (1420-22), they took the city of Prague, razing it and carrying out punitive massacres. The Council of Basel entered into negotiations with them, and at length, in the Compacts of Basel (1433), granted them the four conditions just noted. But by taking
Hussites, this step the Council managed at the same time to bring about an irreconcilable antagonism between the two Hussite parties, as the Taborites absolutely refused to be satisfied with such trifling concessions. The two sections, and the united forces of the Calixtines and the Catholics gained a decisive victory over the Taborites at Libusin on 20th May 1434. It soon became apparent, however, that Rome was bent upon revoking the concessions it had made. It did not adhere to the Compactate; in fact, Pope Pius II formally cancelled them in 1462. Still, they remained actually in force, for the Bohemian Diet had made them the law of the land, and the change was resisted at every stage to maintain them. But in 1567 the Diet itself repealed them, as Ultra- 
quistes by that time in a state of utter dissolution.
From the time of Luther's entrance upon the scene they had in ever-increasing numbers allied themselves with the reforming movement directed by him. The Taborites as a party were never of any consequence after the defeat of 1434; a section of what still remained of them attached itself to the Bohemian Brethren.

I. The Bohemian and Moravian Brethren.—The Hussite wars, with their meagre results, left behind in Bohemia a general dissolution of ecclesiastical order and a spirit of pessimism. In all parts of the country there arose small communities, attaching themselves to individual priests, and the more bigoted circles of these communities often sought to effect reforms in strange ways, while their members, like the older Taborites, spoke of one another as brothers and sisters. But Rokyca
nava, the leader of the Ultraquistes, and the Archbishops of Prague, were satisfied with what had been won, and in his sermons vigorously denounced the moral and religious defects of the Roman Church, as well as of his own party, and made a deeper impression upon a little circle of religiously disposed persons whose leader and head was Brother Gregory. When, however, this circle called upon Rokycanova to translate his strictures into action, he declined to do so. Then, after appealing also to Peter of Chelten—a thoroughly 
genuinely parson of Wysl, and the leader of one of the small communities mentioned above—his practical support of their designs, but again in vain, they withdrew, about 1467, to the east of Bohemia, to the solitude of Kunwald, and there formed, not another monastic order, but a community like the Waldenses (q.v.) or the Friends of God (q.v.). Their practice was to send out 
Itinerant preachers in pairs, they had a communal organization and communal law, they divided their members into beginners, proficients, and the perfect, as in the Theologian Hermogenes (ed. Pfeiffer, tr. E. Winkworth, 2nd ed., London, 1854, ch. 14), in 1467 this community, which meanwhile had gained ascensions in several other districts of Bohemia and Moravia, dissociated itself completely from the Ultraquist Church by adopting the policy of selecting and ordaining its priests from its own ranks, subsequently procuring for them a second ordination as the hands of a Waldensian bishop named Stephen, resident in Austria. They assumed the name jednota bratrská (Czech, 'society of brethren'), afterwards Latinized as Unitas Fra
trum. This group of smaller numbers, however, called themselves Waldenses, or, more frequently, Pithards (Beg-
hards). As they had now broken off relations with the Church, they proceeded to withdraw from the world. Military service, the taking of oaths, the delivering of penal judgments, and, accordingly, all participation in the administration of State or Church, were forbidden to their members. They likewise loathed science, the sole function of which they reckoned to be the correction of error by science. But their supreme concern was practical Chris
tianity—purity of conduct, the permeation of social life with religious sentiment, the self-denying love to one's neighbour, the fulfilling of the law of Christ according to Gal 6,; hence, too, they sometimes called themselves 'Frates legis Christi.' In the succeeding decades their estrangement from worldly interests became gradually more rigorous—a development which was not affected by the events of the conciliar period, but resulted in the severance of the 'Little Sect' (also called Anomeites, after their leader, Anos of Wod
nian).

II. The Brethren had found their standard of doctrine in the writings of Brother Gregory (Seven Letters to Rokycanova, 1464-70, Tractate on the Holy Church, 1470, On Two Kinds of Work—that founded on the Sand and on the Rock, probably 1471, and others); but from about the year 1480 the spiritual leadership of the sect was assumed by Brother Lomax, B.A. of Prague University, who, with a reverent regard for traditional usage, finally settled its constitution, its order of worship, its social organization, and its doctrines. His numer
ous works include, besides theological tracts, the hymn-book of the Brethren, the first catechism for the various grades of the community, full official instructions for their priests, and a number of ritual, etc. It was this effective organisation that enabled the community to survive the numer
ous persecutions directed against them, and even to emerge therefrom with renewed strength. Their adversaries had been successful in having a decree adopted in the national statute-book, and this made a law of the state, that the Unitas Fratrum, with its congregations and as
semblies, should not be tolerated in Bohemia (1508). This law nominally remained in force for a century (till 1609), but the nobles had sufficient power to be able for the most part to protect the communities on their own estates.

Very soon after the rise of Luther, the Ultraquist Church in Bohemia entered into negotiations with him, and upon both sides there was a desire for closer union. This fact induced the Brethren also to send an ambassador—John Amalarius, who, after the death of Lucas (1522) that the relations between them and the German reformer became really intimate, and that their leading men such as Johann Horn and Johann Angweus, sought to meet him half-way by adopting his doctrines in their Confession. (Their 'Statement of Faith,' with a preface by Luther, appeared 1533.)

In consequence of the defeat suffered by the Bohemian nobles in their revolt against Ferdinand 1. in 1547, the latter became powerful enough to set in operation once more the old laws against the Brethren. The large majority of the Brethren were thus forced to withdraw from Bohemia, and sought refuge in Poland. They were, however, per
mitted to remain in Moravia, where, indeed, they had their chief settlements, as also the administra
tive centre of their Church. The need of a legally secure position pushed the German Brethren to have attained in 1555 by the 'Religious Peace' of Augsburg, led the Brethren—under the guidance of Biholaiav—and also the Ultraquistes, who is ever larger number, however, became Lutheranes, to engage in prolonged ecclesiastical negotiations with Maximilian II. In the course of these negotiations, in 1575, the evangelical State adopted the Confession of Bohemia, in the framing of which the representa
His teachings attracted attention in educated circles; Lord Advocate Forbes adopted his principles at once. Parkhurst followed him in emphasizing the consonantal Hebrew text, yet Lexicon attests. George Horne for the same reason opposed Kennicott's scheme of collating Hebrew MSS. He also believed that Hutchinson had excelled Newton in his understanding of the geography of the world, and he added William Jones of Nayland in a reply to Clayton's Essay on Spirit. Jones twice elaborated a theory of the Trinity, and to the end of the century developed his physical teachings. No later adherent made any mark.


2. The name 'Hutchinsonians' is sometimes applied to the followers of Anne Hutchinson (1600–1643), in her pleas for experimental religion and freedom of conscience. Reaching Boston in 1634, she found the civil enfragement limited to church members, with an oligarchy of ministers and elders in power; most of the settlers were Puritans, so intolerant that they shipped back a few who dared to use the Prayer-Book. She herself, though an admirer of John Cotton, was not at first admitted to membership in his church, which also silenced all women members; she therefore began teaching in meetings of her own. She was soon attended by men, the most prominent being young Henry Vane, son of a Privy Councillor. The Company forbade the organization of new churches without the consent of the magistrates and of the elders in existing churches; the dragoons replied by putting forward Mrs. Hutchinson's brother-in-law to be assistant to Cotton, and electing Vane governor (1638). She then attacked the oligarchy as being under a covenant of works, whereas she and Cotton and most of the Boston church were under a covenant of grace, enjoying the peculiar indwelling of the Spirit. This led to all the elders in the colony assembling and condemning 82 opinions which they attributed to her or derived from her teaching; these they afterwards published in England to justify themselves, labelling them Antinomian, Familist, and Libertine. Cotton retracted, and at the next elections (1637) Vane was defeated, and returned to wage a better fight in England for toleration. His voluminous and obscure religious works are indebted to Boehm as much as to Mrs. Hutchinson. Other sympathizers migrated to the Connecticut River, and discarded all religious tests for civil membership. She and other adherents were banished; they settled in what they re-named the Isle of Rhodes (now Rhode Island), where her follower William Coddington and her husband were the earliest rulers, and the colony was soon famed as the home of religious liberty.


HYKSOS.—'Hyksos' is the title given to a race of invaders, apparently of Semitic origin, who conquered Egypt during the time of confusion and weak rule which followed the close of the XVIth and ended with the rise of the XVIIIth dynasty. The chief authority for the facts of the Hyksos conquest and domination is a fragment of the history of Manetho quoted by Josephus (c. Antiq. i. 14). Its statements may be summarized as follows:

In the reign of a king named Thutmose the gods were angry with Egypt, and there came up from the East a race of ignoble men who conquered the country without a battle. They oppressed the native population with great cruelty, burned the cities, and opened the temples. Thereafter they made one falata their king, and he established a great fortified place called Avaris (El-Arwa) on an arm of the Nile near Bubastis. Here he kept a garrison of 800,000 men. The Hyksos dominan-
HYKSOS

The end of Vol. VI.